

Studies in Celtic History XLII

MEDIEVAL WELSH GENEALOGY

STUDIES IN CELTIC HISTORY

ISSN 0261-9865

General editors

Dauvit Broun

Máire Ní Mhaonaigh

Huw Pryce

Studies in Celtic History aims to provide a forum for new research into all aspects of the history of Celtic-speaking peoples throughout the whole of the medieval period. The term 'history' is understood broadly: any study, regardless of discipline, which advances our knowledge and understanding of the history of Celtic-speaking peoples will be considered. Studies of primary sources, and of new methods of exploiting such sources, are encouraged.

Founded by Professor David Dumville, the series was relaunched under new editorship in 1997. Proposals or queries may be sent directly to the editors at the addresses given below; all submissions will receive prompt and informed consideration before being sent to expert readers.

Professor Dauvit Broun, Department of History (Scottish), University of Glasgow,
9 University Gardens, Glasgow G12 8QH

Professor Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, St John's College, Cambridge CB2 1TP

Professor Huw Pryce, School of History, Philosophy and Social Sciences, Bangor University,
Gwynedd LL57 2DG

For titles already published in this series
see the end of this volume

MEDIEVAL WELSH GENEALOGY
AN INTRODUCTION AND TEXTUAL STUDY

BEN GUY

THE BOYDELL PRESS

© Ben Guy 2020

All Rights Reserved. Except as permitted under current legislation no part of this work may be photocopied, stored in a retrieval system, published, performed in public, adapted, broadcast, transmitted, recorded or reproduced in any form or by any means, without the prior permission of the copyright owner

The right of Ben Guy to be identified
as the author of this work has been asserted in accordance with
sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988

First published 2020
The Boydell Press, Woodbridge

ISBN 978-1-78327-513-7

The Boydell Press is an imprint of Boydell & Brewer Ltd
PO Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DF, UK
and of Boydell & Brewer Inc.
668 Mt Hope Avenue, Rochester, NY 14620-2731, USA
website: www.boydellandbrewer.com

A catalogue record of this publication is available
from the British Library

The publisher has no responsibility for the continued existence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this book, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate

This publication is printed on acid-free paper

Typeset by: www.thewordservice.com

CONTENTS

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	viii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xiv
<i>A Note on Orthography, Manuscripts, Tables and Translations</i>	xvii
1. Medieval Welsh Genealogy and its Contexts	1
Kinship and Society in Medieval Wales	4
Literary Genealogy in the Insular World	12
Formal and Structural Conventions of Insular Literary Genealogy	20
Literary Genealogy in Medieval Wales	32
Modern Approaches to Medieval Welsh Genealogy	46
2. The Earliest Welsh Genealogical Collections: The St Davids Recension and the Gwynedd Collection of Genealogies	51
The Harleian Genealogies	53
The St Davids Recension in Llancarfan	79
3. A Southern Genealogical Anthology: The Jesus 20 Genealogies	101
The Manuscript	102
The Extant Form of the Jesus 20 Genealogies	106
The Jesus 20 Genealogies, Source II	113
The Jesus 20 Genealogies, Source I	129
The Sources of the Morgan ab Owain Genealogies	150

Contents

4. Reframing the Welsh Past in Early Thirteenth-Century Gwynedd: The Llywelyn ab Iorwerth Genealogies	159
Textual History	160
Textual Analysis	200
5. The Pedigrees of the Kings of Gwynedd	233
Early Versions Traced through Cunedda Wledig	233
The Pedigree from Beli Mawr to Adam	235
The Pedigree of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd	243
The Exeter 3514 Genealogies	249
Mortimer Genealogies	256
The Fifteenth-Century Extended Galfridian Pedigree	258
Coda	265
Appendix A: Supporting Material	269
A.2.1: Manuscripts of the St Cadog Genealogies	269
A.2.2: The St Cadog Genealogies	272
A.2.3: Geoffrey of Monmouth's Use of the St Davids Recension	276
A.3.1: The Contents of Jesus 20	281
A.3.2: The Jesus 20 King-list	283
A.3.3: Pedigrees from the Pseudo-Rhodri Mawr Recension	288
A.3.4: A Welsh Version of the Brychan Narrative: <i>Sarth Marthin gynt, ynawr Brycheiniawc</i>	292
A.3.5: Witnesses to the Ceredig Tract	294
A.3.6: The Sons of Glywys	297
A.4.1: Witnesses to Ieuan Brechfa's Lost Manuscript(s)	299
A.4.2: Witnesses to Henry Salesbury's Lost Manuscript	302
A.4.3: <i>Bonedd y Llwythau</i>	304
A.4.4: Additional Material in <i>Llyma Dalm o Weheliaethau a Llwythau Cymru</i>	313

Contents

A.4.5: The Use of <i>De gestis Britonum</i> in the Pedigree of Beli Mawr	316
A.4.6: The Use of <i>Historia Gruffud vab Kenan</i> in the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth Genealogies	320
A.4.7: Pedigrees from the St Davids Recension	322
A.5.1: <i>Cyprius quidam filius Ieuan</i> and its Relatives	324
A.5.2: The Fifteenth-Century Extended Galfridian Pedigree	328
 Appendix B: Editions	 333
B.1: The St Davids Recension	333
B.2: The Jesus 20 Genealogies	338
B.3: <i>Gwehelyth Morgannwg</i>	345
B.4: The Llywelyn ab Iorwerth Genealogies	349
B.5: The Gutun Owain Recension of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth Genealogies	390
B.6: <i>Llyma Dalm o Weheliaethau a Llwythau Cymru</i>	414
B.7: <i>Llyma Frychan Brycheiniog a'i blant</i>	421
B.8: <i>Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd</i>	427
B.9: The Mostyn Genealogies	429
B.10: The <i>Cwtta Cyfarwydd</i> Genealogies	431
B.11: <i>Brenhinllwyth Morgannwg</i>	435
 <i>Bibliography</i>	 439
<i>General Index</i>	467
<i>Index of Genealogies</i>	483
<i>Index of Manuscripts</i>	521

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figures

1.1: Einion ap Gwalchmai's ancestry through <i>achau'r mamau</i>	25
1.2: The Northumbrian pedigrees in the Anglian collection of royal genealogies and regnal lists (Cotton Vespasian B. vi)	27
1.3: The pedigrees in the Scottish genealogical collection of 995 × 997 (TCD 1298 (H.2.7), part i and the Book of Leinster)	28
1.4: Bleddyn Fardd's poetic genealogy of Owain Goch	36
2.1: The proposed relationships between the Harleian genealogies, the Jesus 20 genealogies and the <i>Historia Brittonum</i>	68
2.2: The genealogical scheme of the St Cadog genealogies	80
3.1: The textual connections of the elements of the Jesus 20 genealogies that derive from the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension	123
3.2: The possible derivation of <i>Bangar m. Gardan</i> from <i>Bonedd y Saint</i>	141
3.3: The rulers of Morgannwg in the late tenth and eleventh centuries	145
3.4: The transmission of the Morgan ab Owain genealogies	147
3.5: Summary of the textual development of the Jesus 20 genealogies	157
4.1: The X-branch	163
4.2: The Π sub-branch	167
4.3: The Gutun Owain recension	174
4.4: The southern tradition	182
4.5: Peniarth 127i and its relatives	190
4.6: The Henry Salesbury recension	197
4.7: Llywelyn ab Iorwerth's pedigrees (LIIG 11)	203
5.1: Galfridian history in Gutun Owain's pedigree roll	259

Illustrations

A.2.1.1: Hywel Emanuel's view of the relationships between the manuscripts of the <i>VS Cadoci</i>	271
B.7.1: <i>Llyma Frychan Brycheiniog a'i blant</i>	423
B.10.1: The family of Gwaithfoed of Gwent in the <i>Cwitta Cyfarwydd</i> genealogies	432
B.11.1: The BJ branch of the transmission of <i>Brenhinllwyth Morgannwg</i>	437

Maps

Medieval Wales: territorial divisions and religious houses	xviii
--	-------

Tables

2.1: Harley 3859: contents and collation	55
2.2: The structure of the Harleian genealogies	61
2.3: A comparison between the Jesus 20 genealogies and the Harleian genealogies	64
2.4: The structure of the Life of St Gurthiern	87
2.5: The kings of Dyfed in the Book of Llandaf	93
2.6: Sources of the genealogy of St Petroc	95
2.7: Versions of the Glastening pedigree	97
2.8: Evidence for sections of the St Davids recension having been available to writers connected with Llanccarfan in the twelfth century	100
3.1: The structure of the Jesus 20 genealogies	106
3.2: The groupings of the Jesus 20 genealogies	109
3.3: Cross-references in the Jesus 20 genealogies	110
3.4: Items in the Jesus 20 genealogies that probably derive from the Gwynedd collection of genealogies	114
3.5: Rhodri Mawr's patriline and Cunedda Wledig's ancestry compared	117
3.6: The ordering of the six versions of the Brychan Tract	132
3.7: Arianwen in the Brychan Tract	132
3.8: Clydwyn in the Brychan Tract	132
3.9: The ordering of Brychan's daughters in Jesus 20	134

Illustrations

3.10: Harmonisation in JC 4 and JC 13	152
3.11: Versions of the Buellt pedigree	154
4.1: Shorthand references to the contents of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies	161
4.2: The structure of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies	201
4.3: <i>Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru</i> , part I	207
4.4: The geography of <i>Bonedd y Llwythau</i>	209
5.1: Non-Galfridian pedigrees traced through Brutus	237
A.2.2.1: Analogues to <i>VS Cadoci</i> , §45	272
A.2.2.2: Analogues to <i>VS Cadoci</i> , §46.1	273
A.2.2.3: Analogues to <i>VS Cadoci</i> , §46.2	274
A.2.2.4: Analogues to <i>VS Cadoci</i> , §47	275
A.2.3.1: Names in <i>De gestis Britonum</i> that are paralleled in the St Davids recension	276
A.3.1.1: The contents of Jesus 20	281
A.3.2.1: The names in the Jesus 20 king-list compared	283
A.3.2.2: Parallels between the Jesus 20 king-list and <i>De gestis Britonum</i>	286
A.3.2.3: Parallels between the Jesus 20 king-list and <i>Brut y Brenhinedd</i>	286
A.3.3.1: The Rhodri Mawr patriline	288
A.3.3.2: The Gwynedd pedigree	288
A.3.3.3: The Powys pedigree	289
A.3.3.4: The Manx pedigree	290
A.3.3.5: The Ceredigion pedigree	291
A.3.4.1: Marchell ferch Tewdrig's pedigree	293
A.3.5.1: Witnesses to the Ceredig Tract	294
A.3.6.1: Lists of the sons of Glywys Glywysing	297
A.4.1.1: Witnesses to Ieuan Brechfa's lost manuscript(s)	299
A.4.2.1: Witnesses to Henry Salesbury's lost manuscript	302
A.4.3.1: The chronology and geography of <i>Bonedd y Llwythau</i>	304
A.4.4.1: The chronology and geography of the additional material in <i>Llyma Dalm o Weheliaethau a Llwythau Cymru</i>	313

Illustrations

A.4.5.1: The names in the pedigree of Beli Mawr taken from <i>De gestis Britonum</i>	317
A.4.5.2: The names in the pedigree of Beli Mawr taken from <i>De gestis Britonum</i> , as found in eight copies of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies	318
A.4.6.1: Textual correspondences between the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, <i>Historia Gruffud vab Kenan</i> and <i>Vita Griffini filii Conani</i>	320
A.4.7.1: The Meirionydd pedigree	322
A.4.7.2: The Dunoding/Ardudwy pedigree	322
A.4.7.3: The Rhos pedigree	323
A.4.7.4: The Rhufoniog pedigree	323
A.5.1.1: Texts corresponding to <i>Cyprius quidam filius Ieuan</i>	325
A.5.2.1: The fifteenth-century extended Galfridian pedigree, Brutus to Beli Mawr	329
B.4.1: The system for transliterating John Jones's dotted letters	350

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book began as a teenage obsession and has evolved through many stages to reach its current form. During this long process, I have naturally accumulated many debts. Firstly, I owe profound thanks to my parents for their sincere encouragement at every stage along the way. Such encouragement led me towards the Department of ASNC in Cambridge, my spiritual home since 2009, which has been a constant source of support during the intervening years. From Cambridge, I should acknowledge in particular Professor Paul Russell, who has been a mentor and a friend as well as a ready font of advice, and whose erudition has contributed much to this book. Further learned guidance has been kindly offered by Professors Thomas Charles-Edwards, Barry Lewis and Huw Pryce, who have all commented profitably on various earlier drafts. It is especially fortuitous that my work on the genealogies should have evolved concurrently with Barry Lewis's work on *Bonedd y Saint*, the primary corpus of Welsh saints' genealogies; this happy coincidence has resulted in much productive discussion and cross-fertilisation of ideas. I am also profoundly grateful to Dr Daniel Huws for responding patiently to my queries about Welsh manuscripts and for allowing me advanced sight of his magnificent *Repertory of Welsh Manuscripts and Scribes*, without which the present book would have been much the poorer.

I have been blessed as a scholar to have been surrounded by a generation of like-minded friends and colleagues who have made the field such an invigorating place to work. I would especially like to acknowledge Dr Lindy Brady, Dr David Callander, Dr Georgia Henley, Dr Owain Wyn Jones, Dr Joshua Byron Smith, Dr Rebecca Thomas and Dr Myriah Williams, who together helped to foster the intellectual environment in which this book took shape. The National Library of Wales in Aberystwyth has proved a conducive and friendly place to work, and my many visits there have been facilitated primarily by the unfailing kindness of Dr David Parsons, Dr Mary-Ann Constantine and the rest of the gang at Tan-y-Castell, which has become a home-from-home over the years. On occasions when it has not been possible to satisfy the urgent need for manuscript consultation with physical visits to the libraries in question, I have been fortunate to benefit from reliable 'eyes on the ground': namely, Gruffudd Antur in Aberystwyth and Dr Colleen Curran in Oxford. Much of the preliminary work that underpins this book was funded by the AHRC, whose support I gratefully acknowledge.

Lastly, my wife, Dr Rose Guy, deserves more thanks than I can give for her constant love and support.

Special thanks are due to the Committee of Managers of the H. M. Chadwick Fund, which provided the press with essential financial support for the publication of this book. It is sincerely hoped that Hector Munro Chadwick would have approved of the contents of the book, which owes a significant intellectual debt to his scholarship and to the scholarship of his wife, Nora Kershaw Chadwick.

ABBREVIATIONS

- AASFCT* *Anglesey Antiquarian Society and Field Club Transactions*.
AB *Analecta Bollandiana*.
AC *Annales Cambriae* (ed. and transl. Dumville).
ANS *Anglo-Norman Studies*.
Arch. Camb. *Archaeologia Cambrensis*.
ASC (A) The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, manuscript A (ed. Bately).
ASC (B) The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, manuscript B (ed. Taylor).
ASC (C) The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, manuscript C (ed. O'Brien O'Keefe).
ASC (D) The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, manuscript D (ed. Cubbin).
ASE *Anglo-Saxon England*.
Asser Asser, *De rebus gestis Ælfredi* (ed. Stevenson; transl. Keynes and Lapidge).
AU The Annals of Ulster (ed. and transl. <https://celt.ucc.ie/>).
AWR Pryce, with Insley, ed., *Acts of Welsh Rulers*.
BBCS *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*.
BD *Brut Dingestow* (ed. Lewis).
BGG *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd* (ed. Appendix B.8).
BL British Library.
Brev. The Breviate chronicle (ed. Gough-Cooper, *Annales Cambriae: The B Text*).
BT (P) *Brut y Tywysogyon*, Peniarth 20 version (ed. and transl. T. Jones).
BT (R) *Brut y Tywysogyon*, Red Book of Hergest version (ed. and transl. T. Jones).
BT (S) *Brenhinedd y Saesson* (ed. and transl. T. Jones).
ByS *Bonedd y Saint* (ed. EWGT 51–67).
CA College of Arms.
CB *Cognacio Brychan* (ed. and transl. Wade-Evans, 'Brychan Documents', pp. 27–30 and 35–7; ed. VSBG 315–18).
CBT Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion.
CBT I J. E. C. Williams, with Lynch and Gruffydd, ed., *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd*.
CBT III N. A. Jones and Owen, ed., *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr I*.
CBT IV N. A. Jones and Owen, ed., *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr II*.
CBT V E. M. Jones, with Jones, ed., *Gwaith Llywarch ap Llywelyn*.
CBT VI Costigan *et al.*, ed., *Gwaith Dafydd Benfras*.
CBT VII Andrews *et al.*, ed., *Gwaith Bleddyn Fardd*.
CC The *Cwita Cyfarwydd* genealogies (ed. Appendix B.10).
CCCC Cambridge, Corpus Christi College.
CGH O'Brien, ed., *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*.
CIB Sims-Williams, *Celtic Inscriptions of Britain*.
CLIH I. Williams, ed., *Canu Llywarch Hen*.
CMCS Vols 1–25: *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*. Vol. 26–: *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*.
CMWM Guy *et al.*, ed., *Chronicles of Medieval Wales and the March*.

Abbreviations

- Corpus* Redknap, Lewis and Edwards, *Corpus*.
 Cott. The Cottonian chronicle (ed. Gough-Cooper, *Annales Cambriae: The C Text*).
 CS *Cronicon Scotorum* (ed. and transl. <https://celt.ucc.ie/>).
 CUL Cambridge, University Library.
 Cy *Y Cymmrodor*.
 DB Domesday Book (ed. A. Williams and Martin).
Descriptio Gerald of Wales, *Descriptio Kambriae* (ed. Dimock).
 DGB Geoffrey of Monmouth, *De gestis Britonum* (ed. and transl. Reeve and Wright).
 DMLBS Latham, Howlett and Ashdowne, *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*.
 DSB *De situ Brecheniauc* (ed. and transl. Wade-Evans, ‘Brychan Documents’, pp. 24–7 and 31–4; ed. *VSBG* 313–15).
 DWB *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* <<https://biography.wales>> [accessed 6 August 2019].
 DWH Siddons, *Development of Welsh Heraldry*.
 EA *Extent of Anglesey* (ed. Smith).
 ÉC *Études celtiques*.
 EHR *The English Historical Review*.
 EIWK Charles-Edwards, *Early Irish and Welsh Kinship*.
 EWGP Jackson, ed., *Early Welsh Gnomic Poems*.
 EWGT Bartrum, ed., *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*.
 EWSP Rowland, ed. and transl., *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*.
 Gildas Gildas, *De excidio Britonum* (ed. and transl. Winterbottom).
 GM *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* (ed. Appendix B.3).
 GP G. J. Williams and Jones, *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid*.
 GPC Online *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru Online* <<http://geiriadur.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html>> [accessed 6 August 2019].
 Harl. The Harleian chronicle (ed. Phillimore).
 HB (Harl. 3859) *Historia Brittonum* in Harley 3859 (ed. Faral, *La légende III*, 5–62).
 HB (Vat.) *Historia Brittonum*, Vatican recension (ed. Dumville).
 HE Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (ed. and transl. Colgrave and Mynors).
 HG The Harleian genealogies (ed. Phillimore).
 HGK Evans, ed., *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*.
 HSJ *The Haskins Society Journal: Studies in Medieval History*.
 HW Lloyd, *History of Wales*.
Itinerarium Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Kambriae* (ed. Dimock).
 JC The Jesus 20 genealogies (ed. Appendix B.2).
 JMH *Journal of Medieval History*.
 LBS Baring-Gould and Fisher, *Lives of the British Saints*.
 LHEB Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain*.
 LL Evans and Rhys, ed., *Liber Landavensis*.
 LIC *Llên Cymru*.
 LID *Llyma Dalm o Weheliaethau a Llwythau Cymru* (ed. Appendix B.6).
 LIDC Jarman, ed., *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*.
 LIFB *Llyma Frychan Brycheiniog a'i blant* (ed. Appendix B.7).
 LIIG The Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies (ed. Appendix B.4).
 LIIG (GO) The Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, Gutun Owain recension (ed. Appendix B.5).

Abbreviations

- MA² O. Jones, Williams and Pughe, *Myvyrian Archaiology*.
 MG The Mostyn genealogies (ed. Appendix B.9).
 MGH *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.
 MGH: Auct. ant. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Auctores antiquissimi*.
 MGH: SS *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores*.
 MGH: SS rer. Merov. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*.
 MMBL Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*.
 MWM Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*.
 NLW National Library of Wales.
 NLWJ *National Library of Wales Journal*.
 ODNB *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com>> [accessed 6 August 2019].
 OED Online *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (Oxford, 2018) <www.oed.com> [accessed 6 August 2019].
 OW Old Welsh.
 PBA *Proceedings of the British Academy*.
 PK *Progenies Keredic* (ed. and transl. Wade-Evans, ‘Brychan Documents’, pp. 27 and 34; ed. EWGT 20).
 PL Migne, *Patrologiae [...] Series Latina*.
 RC Ellis, ed., *Registrum vulgariter nuncupatum “The Record of Caernarvon”*.
 RMWL Evans, *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*.
 SC *Studia Celtica*.
 SD Vinogradoff and Morgan, ed., *Survey of the Honour of Denbigh*.
 SEBC Chadwick, ed., *Studies in the Early British Church*.
 SHR *The Scottish Historical Review*.
 TCD Trinity College Dublin.
 THSC *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*.
 TYP¹ Bromwich, *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, 1st ed.
 TYP² Bromwich, *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, 2nd ed.
 TYP⁴ Bromwich, *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, 4th ed.
 VGC *Vita Griffini filii Conani* (ed. and transl. Russell).
 VS *Vita sancti*.
 VS Cadoci *Vita sancti Cadoci* (ed. and transl. VSBG 24–141).
 VS Carantoci I *Vita prima sancti Carantoci* (ed. and transl. VSBG 142–7).
 VS Carantoci II *Vita secunda sancti Carantoci* (ed. and transl. VSBG 148–9).
 VS David Rhygyfarch, *Vita sancti David* (ed. and transl. Sharpe and Davies).
 VSBG Wade-Evans, ed. and transl., *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*.
 WCD Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary*.
 WG 1 Bartrum, *Welsh Genealogies AD 300–1400*.
 WG 2 Bartrum, *Welsh Genealogies AD 1400–1500*.
 WG 3 Siddons, *Welsh Genealogies AD 1500–1600*.
 WHR *Welsh History Review*.
 ZcP *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*.

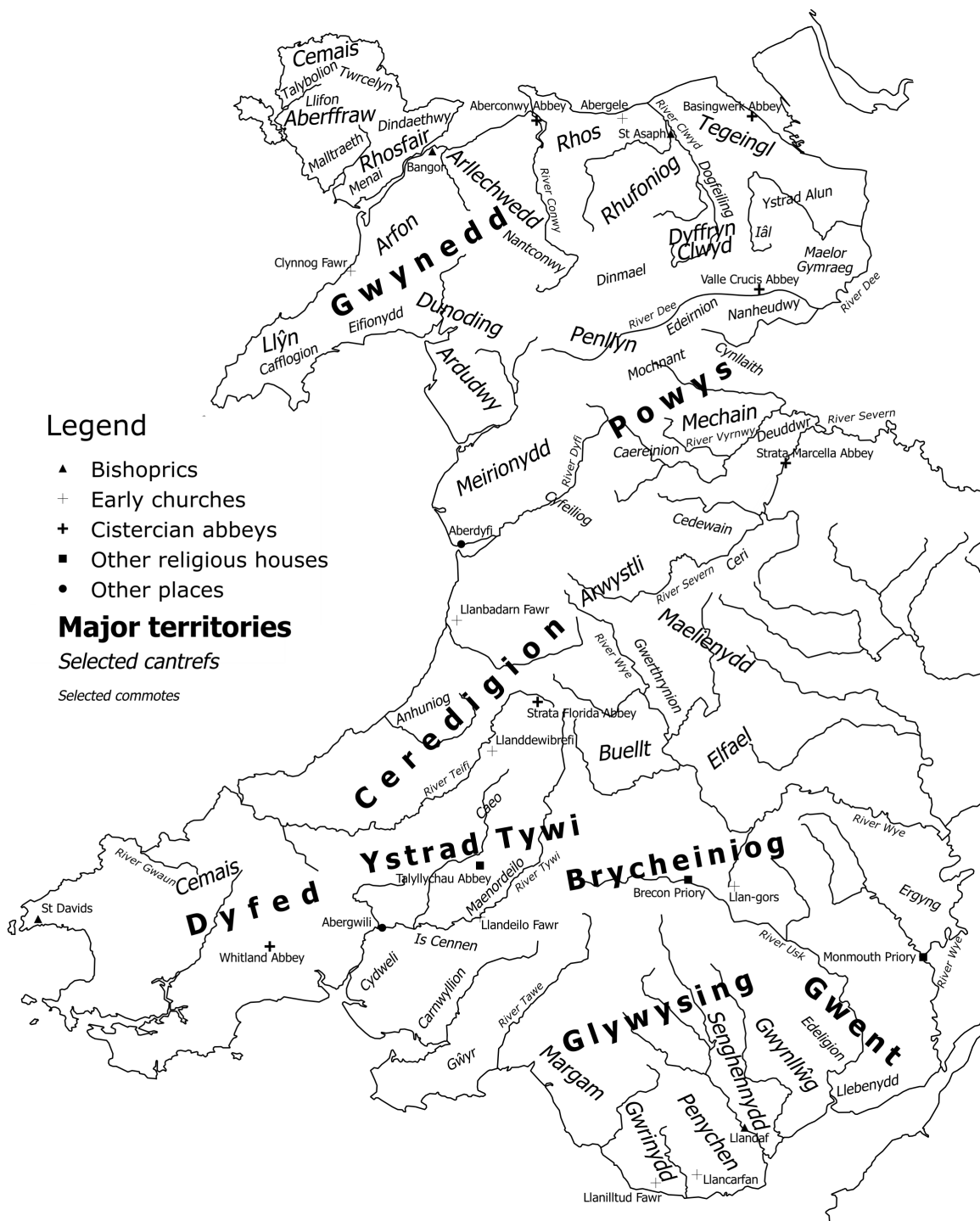
A NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY, MANUSCRIPTS, TABLES AND TRANSLATIONS

Following standard practice, I render all Welsh personal and place names into modern Welsh orthography unless deliberately quoting a form from a particular text. Where obscure or corrupt names cannot be meaningfully rendered into modern Welsh orthography, they are left in their manuscript spellings and italicised.

Throughout the book, manuscripts are referred to using a short form of reference. Full details about repositories and shelf marks are given in the index of manuscripts at the end of the volume. In many cases, it should be possible to find the full manuscript reference in the index using only the short form of reference. Cases where this may be less obvious include the following: Brogyntyn, Cwrtmawr, Llanstephan and Peniarth manuscripts are held in the National Library of Wales in Aberystwyth; Cotton, Harley and Royal manuscripts are held in the British Library in London; Ashmole, Bodley, Marshall and Rawlinson manuscripts are held in the Bodleian Library in Oxford; Jesus manuscripts belong to Jesus College in Oxford (though are held in the Bodleian Library); and Rylands manuscripts are held by the John Rylands Library in Manchester. Since modern manuscripts are often formed from several parts of diverse origin, short references to manuscripts are sometimes appended with a lower-case Roman numeral indicating part number.

This book contains many tables that set out multiple versions of the same genealogy in parallel. The vast majority of these genealogies are in ascending linear form (i.e. 'pedigrees'). Most tables mirror this form by beginning with the name at the head of the pedigree at the top of the column and ending with the name at the end of the pedigree at the bottom of the column. Chronologically speaking, therefore, one moves backwards in time as one reads down the column of a table. This is the opposite of family tree diagrams, which typically move forwards in time from top to bottom.

Unless otherwise stated, all translations offered are my own.



Medieval Wales: territorial divisions and religious houses

MEDIEVAL WELSH GENEALOGY AND ITS CONTEXTS

Sicut rogavi te ut remaneres Ephesi cum irem in Macedoniam, ut denuntiaries quibusdam ne aliter docerent, neque intenderent fabulis et genealogiis interminatis: quae quaestiones praestant magis quam aedificationem Dei, quae est in fide.

As I desired thee to remain at Ephesus when I went into Macedonia, that thou mightest charge some not to teach otherwise, not to give heed to fables and endless genealogies: which furnish questions rather than the edification of God, which is in faith.

I Timothy 1.3–4¹

Despite these strictures, interest in ‘fables and endless genealogies’ has remained a pervasive feature of society up to the present day. The two facets of this interest are inextricably bound together. Genealogies are meaningless without the attendant ‘fables’, or rather the social discourses conceptualised through ‘fables’, which inscribe meaning upon them. Likewise, discourses of family, ethnicity and nationality are commonly instrumentalised through the medium of genealogy. During the Middle Ages, this same tendency stimulated the production of genealogical writing right across Europe. This book offers the first full analysis of one particularly rich instance of such genealogical writing, which developed in medieval Wales.

Just as social discourses emerge from and are maintained by society (or those with power in society), so genealogy does not exist without its inherent and inescapable subjectivity. Put simply, genealogy is ‘about’ individuals or families of individuals. In any representation of genealogy, there is present an implicit or explicit desire to demonstrate the relationships between specific people. The subjective and instrumental aspects of genealogy are well encapsulated by the *Oxford English Dictionary*’s first definition of ‘genealogy’: ‘an account of one’s descent from an ancestor or ancestors, by enumeration of the intermediate persons; a pedigree.’² For the purpose of defining medieval genealogies, one might go further. Although many medieval genealogies assume the form of ‘an account of one’s descent’ or a ‘pedigree’, some genealogies take a different perspective, describing, for example, the descendants rather than ancestors of an individual. Either way, the crucial aspect of a genealogy according to this definition is that it is an account of the relations of a specified *subject*. This applies equally to the outcome of modern family history research, the ultimate purpose of which is usually to discover new knowledge about a subject’s ancestors or relatives and arrange this knowledge in relation to the subject. The idea that a genealogy is constituted through its subject, to which any reported genealogical information primarily pertains, is useful for the study of medieval genealogy, and the concept is employed in this sense below.

¹ Cf. Titus 3.9; for comment on the references to genealogies, see Punt, ‘Politics’, pp. 386–9. Throughout this book, the Bible is quoted from the Latin Vulgate text in Weber and Gryson, *Biblia Sacra*. English translations of the Vulgate are taken from the Douay-Rheims translation.

² *OED Online*, s.v. ‘genealogy, *n.*’, 1a.

The activity of creating a genealogical account, and the field of knowledge that this activity produces, can itself constitute 'genealogy' in an epistemological sense, defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary* as 'the investigation of family pedigrees, viewed as a department of study or knowledge'.³ This second definition of genealogy is equally relevant for the present study. On the one hand, any medieval account of familial relationships between individuals can be described as 'a genealogy' in the sense already mentioned. But on the other, the medieval field of knowledge created by the aggregation of such genealogical accounts, and by the routinisation of the practices and conventions that lent structure and meaning to the accounts, might also be legitimately described as 'genealogy'. This study is concerned with genealogy in both these senses. Indeed, if they are to be understood properly, these two senses of 'genealogy' cannot be analysed in isolation, since so much that is known of medieval genealogy as a field of knowledge must be deduced from genealogies rather than from prescriptive accounts written by genealogists.

Why is it that 'fables and endless genealogies' can 'furnish questions rather than the edification of God'? It was not simply the case that people in the past whiled away the hours arguing about whether claims of relationship could be accurately verified. Rather, claims of relationship could carry social, cultural or political meanings, and it was those meanings that 'furnished questions'. Depending on how, where and when one made claim to a genealogical relationship, one might be understood to be claiming ownership of a status, a social or political function or an ethnic affiliation. Such understanding was predicated on the meanings ascribed to particular genealogical connections by dominant cultural discourses. For example, in ninth-century Wales, the claim that a given subject was descended from Cunedda Wledig was given meaning by the cultural discourse or 'fable' that ascribed the foundation of kingship in Gwynedd to Cunedda; in neighbouring England, where that discourse was absent, the same claim would bear no such cultural meaning. It was the cultural meanings attributed to certain personal relationships that made such claims potentially controversial and open to contestation.

This is not to say that all medieval genealogies were fabricated, or that their sole purpose was to advance personal interests. A large proportion of the genealogies surviving from medieval Wales report genealogical relationships with a high degree of accuracy. Indeed, it would scarcely have been possible to invent relationships between individuals who remained present in popular consciousness, because knowledge of genealogy, and especially of the relationships between high-status individuals, was widespread in society. Nevertheless, even verifiable relationships could be reported in ways that endowed the relevant genealogies with contextual meanings that would not be apparent from examining them in isolation. When studying surviving genealogies, it is always necessary to consider the interplay between the genealogies and the contexts of their production and dissemination, in order to appreciate the meaning and relevance of the genealogies for contemporaries.

It was not only the claims of relationship in genealogies that could be ascribed meaning, but also the choices made by genealogists with regard to matters like form and structure. It is no accident that in medieval Wales, just as in neighbouring Ireland and England, written genealogies so often survive within collections of genealogies rather than as isolated textual items. The deliberate arrangement and juxtaposition of genealogies was no less significant for communicating meaning than the contents of the genealogies themselves. Therefore, it is necessary to consider the meanings not only of the genealogies, but also of the collections of genealogies. For instance, while it might hold true that an individual genealogy was originally conceived to *justify* a ruler's position, presumably by partisan supporters of that ruler, it might nevertheless be the case that the genealogical collection into which that ruler's genealogy was later embedded was intended by the compiler merely to *rationalise* contemporary

³ *OED Online*, s.v. 'genealogy, n.', 4.

political circumstances in genealogical terms, without deliberately biasing the presentation of the collection in favour of that one ruler.

The present study is primarily concerned with the interpretation of three major collections of secular genealogies surviving from medieval Wales: the Harleian genealogies, the Jesus 20 genealogies, and the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. In each case, interpretation proceeds on two complementary fronts. Firstly, principles of manuscript studies and textual criticism are applied in order to understand the parameters of the collections within the contexts of their survival. This process is particularly important for the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. Since that collection was probably assembled early in the thirteenth century but survives only in later manuscripts dating between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, it is necessary both to understand the various contexts in which the text was preserved and, through the editorial process, to establish the form of the hypothetical archetype, which can be used as a critical basis for further investigation into the 'original' thirteenth-century text. Secondly, the collections are subjected to hermeneutic analysis. The temporal, geographical and political contexts of the latest phases of compilation are suggested through a consideration of the relationship between the overall purpose of the compiler and the specific, contextually locatable meanings that are encoded in individual genealogies. Interpretation of the latter can pose severe difficulties, since it relies on having previously established, from better evidenced instances, the 'rules of the game'; in other words, the practices and conventions underlying genealogy as commonly understood by contemporary practitioners.⁴ This process is inevitably subjective, and in many instances multiple interpretations might be possible (though not necessarily equally probable). Nevertheless, by taking account of the practice of genealogy in medieval Wales as a whole, and by considering the genealogical collections alongside a wide range of other genealogical and non-genealogical sources, it is possible to establish an informed view about the relationships between the genealogical collections and their genealogies.

There is a further complication that emerges as a major factor of interest in the study. Comparison of surviving texts indicates beyond doubt that both the major genealogical collections and the individual genealogies contained therein underwent processes of diachronic development. Collections were re-redacted in several stages over time, and genealogies were sometimes reworked in order to accommodate changes in political circumstances or cultural discourse. Awareness of this process inevitably has a major impact on the interpretative approach described above, for it implies that there is not only one relationship between a compilation and its genealogies, but rather several relationships, embedded stratigraphically within the text. Such layers can be exceedingly difficult to disentangle; indeed, it is sometimes only possible to do so by comparing the texts with one another, which can help to establish more firmly which decisions can be attributed to which agencies.

The closely-knit versions of the pedigrees of the kings of Gwynedd provide an excellent case study for how pedigrees could develop diachronically, both inside and outside of genealogical collections. The Gwynedd pedigrees developed over a very long period, from the ninth to the fifteenth century and beyond. The fifth chapter of this book examines this process, focussing especially on the changes made in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and on the subsequent deployment of the pedigrees down to the reign of Henry VII. The ubiquity of the pedigrees of the kings of Gwynedd allows the discussion to extend to minor genealogical texts that are not directly addressed in the preceding chapters, as well as to the wider influence of Welsh genealogy in English and Icelandic contexts.

⁴ As aptly put by Eric John: 'genealogy was a game to be played with reasonably strict rules. To unravel the rules is, moreover, to learn something about early medieval politics we should not otherwise know': 'Point of Woden', p. 130.

In the remainder of this introductory chapter, some of the key factors for the study of genealogy in medieval Wales are discussed. These are grouped into four sections. Firstly, the relationship between kinship and society is examined, focussing on the question of why certain types of genealogical knowledge would have been commonplace in medieval Welsh society. Secondly, the emergence of genealogy as a literary form in early medieval Britain and Ireland is traced. It is within this broader context that the origins of the genre among the Britons of Wales can be located. Thirdly, attention turns to the development of literary genealogy within medieval Wales during the period when this can be observed, between the eighth and the sixteenth centuries. Lastly, there is a brief survey of modern approaches to medieval Welsh genealogy, which provides the scholarly context for the remainder of the book.

Kinship and Society in Medieval Wales

Across medieval Europe, knowledge of family relationships would have been widespread. At a time when one's role and status in society were largely determined by the familial connections engendered through birth and marriage, it was inevitable that people should maintain a keen awareness of those relationships that underpinned their social and legal position. This is not to say that all individuals necessarily possessed an encyclopaedic knowledge of their distant relations. For many purposes, what mattered was one's nuclear family: parents, siblings and children. If there was social or political advantage to be gained from association with other relatives, then one might turn to more distant kin, but this was only rarely necessary.⁵ In general, detailed genealogical knowledge was restricted to no more than three or four generations of a family.⁶ Only in certain circumstances was it necessary to be aware of, or draw attention to, more distant connections. For instance, a normative assumption among the medieval land-holding and ruling classes was that it was desirable for a man to transmit his land and social position to his descendants in the male line.⁷ Although in reality the circumstances could often prove more complex than contemporaries may have wished (and historians might imagine), families that successfully facilitated patrilinear inheritance of this kind could develop a dynastic awareness that extended across more than three or four generations.⁸

However, this does not mean that awareness of deeper ancestry was restricted to the male line only. For claims of high status, it might have been more advantageous to draw attention to descent through one or more female connections.⁹ For choosing an appropriate spouse, it became necessary to avoid marriage within the prohibited degrees, taking account of female relations no less than male.¹⁰ During the most stringent phase of the application of this rule, between the first half of the ninth century and the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, one was required to avoid any marriage partners with whom one shared an ancestor (male or female)

⁵ Cf. Sabeian and Teuscher, 'Kinship', pp. 13–14.

⁶ Pohl, 'Genealogy', p. 232. A good example of the general limits of knowledge about one's family is provided by Lambert of Cambrai's *genealogia antecessorum parentum meorum*, which Lambert inserted into the chronicle that he was writing between 1152 and 1170: Duby, 'Structure', pp. 135–43. One need not subscribe to Duby's views about social change in tenth- and eleventh-century France for the example to be instructive: cf. Bouchard, "Those of My Blood", ch. 10; Bouchard, 'Conclusion', pp. 305–6.

⁷ For a perceptive study of such 'patrilinear consciousness' in France between the ninth and eleventh centuries, see Bouchard, "Those of My Blood", ch. 4.

⁸ See the example of the late twelfth-century genealogy of the counts of Guînes, discussed in Duby, 'Structure', pp. 143–6.

⁹ Cf. Crouch, *Birth of Nobility*, p. 161.

¹⁰ For the development of the prohibition, see Brundage, *Law*, pp. 140–1, 191–3, 355–6 and 373–4; Bouchard, "Those of My Blood", pp. 40–4.

up to seven generations back.¹¹ In order to comply with such rules, it was, in theory, necessary to be aware of one's ancestry on all sides. The key point in all these cases is that the maintenance and deployment of deep genealogical knowledge was contingent upon requirement and circumstance.

From the twelfth century onwards, external observers occasionally commented that the Welsh had a greater predilection for genealogical knowledge than others. Writing around 1194, Gerald of Wales, in a chapter of his *Descriptio Kambriae* entitled 'De generositatis amore, et genealogia longe retenta' ('Concerning love of high birth, and long-remembered genealogy'), described the Welsh as follows:¹²

Generositatem vero, et generis nobilitatem, prae rebus omnibus magis appetunt. Unde et generosa coniugia plus longe cupiunt, quam sumptuosa vel opima. Genealogiam quoque generis sui etiam de populo quilibet observat; et non solum avos, atavos, et tritavos, sed usque ad sextam vel septimam, et ultra procul generationem, memoriter et prompte genus enarrat in hunc modum; Resus filius Griphini, Griphinus filius Resi, Resus filius Theodori; et sic deinceps, ut supra de generatione principum.

They truly desire high birth and nobility of kin [*generis nobilitatem*] above all other things. For this reason, they covet marriages into high-born families more greatly than marriages into wealthy or rich families. Indeed, every person preserves the genealogy of his kin [*Genealogiam [...] generis*], and recites the descent unhesitatingly from memory not only to grandfathers, great-grandfathers and great-great-grandfathers, but even as far as the sixth or seventh generation and far beyond, in this manner: Rhys son of Gruffudd, Gruffudd son of Rhys, Rhys son of Tewdwr; and so on, as with the genealogy of the princes above.

Writing over three centuries later, in the first half of the sixteenth century, the English antiquary John Leland drew attention to a similar practice:¹³

Ea enim est, & semper fuit, natura Cambrorum, ut manifesto probro sibi esse ducant foris sapere, domi autem non sapere. Quare ab ipsa pueritia parentum suorum genealogias, tum etiam patrias antiquitates religiose discunt. Ausim hoc adfirmare nullam esse gentem, quae tam expedite de situ locorum circumiacentium, de urbibus, de montibus, de lacubus, de fluminibus, & eorum cursu pronuntiet. Nunquam facile credidissem Cambros ita in suis rebus exercitatos fuisse, nisi paesens praesentes illos per totam late Cambriam audivissem.

For it is, and always has been, the nature of the Welsh to take it as a flagrant disgrace for them to know about external matters, but not about domestic ones. Because of this, from youth they religiously learn both the genealogies of their ancestors and their native antiquities. I dare say that there is no people which can so easily pronounce about the siting of surrounding places, about cities, about mountains, about lakes, and about rivers and their courses. I might never have easily believed that the Welsh were so expert in their own affairs, had I not been present to hear about them everywhere throughout the whole of Wales.

Comparing these passages side-by-side, three noteworthy points emerge: (1) the high value placed by the Welsh on what Gerald calls *generis nobilitas* ('nobility of kin'); (2) the widespread ability among the Welsh to recite their agnatic ancestry back as far as six or seven

¹¹ Cf. Bouchard, "Those of My Blood", ch. 3.

¹² *Descriptio* I.17. For the date of the first recension of the *Descriptio Kambriae*, see Dimock, *Itinerarium*, pp. xxxix–xl; Bartlett, *Gerald*, p. 216.

¹³ John Leland, *Commentarii*, ch. DLXXIII (ed. Hall II, 464). Cf. Lloyd-Morgan, 'Narratives', p. 135. For some early modern attitudes towards Welsh genealogies, see F. Jones, 'Approach', p. 303; Powell, 'Genealogical Narratives', p. 175.

generations or beyond; and (3) the apparent longevity of the love of genealogy among the Welsh, even into the sixteenth century. Each of these points is considered in turn.

Status and Descent

For the first point, it is essential to recognise that, in medieval Welsh society, there was no distinction between nobility and freedom.¹⁴ A freeman who had inherited his land was a *breyr* (etymologically ‘district-king’) or more commonly *uchelwr* (lit. ‘high-man’), regardless of his level of wealth and power relative to other freemen. In the Latin texts of the Welsh laws, men of this status are generally termed *optimas*, or occasionally *nobilis*.¹⁵ The essential qualification for belonging to this class was *bonedd*, whose range of meanings, tellingly, encompasses nobility, noble descent, lineage and pedigree.¹⁶ Even a freeman who had not yet inherited his land was still *bonheddig* or *nobilis* (‘noble, aristocratic, of noble lineage’). To be of free or aristocratic status, one had to be descended from others of the same status. The concept of *generis nobilitas* was thus inextricably bound up with notions of descent. As Gerald suggests, this would certainly have encouraged one to choose marriage partners on the basis of descent rather than immediate material circumstances. It would also have encouraged knowledge of one’s linear ancestors.

This is not to say that disparities in status did not exist within Welsh free society. The most obvious disparity was between ordinary freemen and royalty. As was the case everywhere else in medieval Europe, it was much more desirable to marry the daughter of a king than the daughter of a non-royal *uchelwr*, however powerful he might be. For instance, the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies record that the numerous daughters of Gruffudd ap Cynan, king of Gwynedd (d. 1137), married some of the most prominent Welsh kings and lords of the day.¹⁷ Moreover, the aura of royal status did not necessarily disappear as soon as a branch of a royal dynasty had lost the right to rule. This may be seen in the case of Gruffudd ap Cynan himself. Before his succession, Gruffudd was technically ineligible for the kingship of Gwynedd, because neither his father nor any uncles had been king before him. It was therefore necessary to justify Gruffudd’s succession in a different way. Gruffudd’s biographer did so by constructing a genealogical argument to show that Gruffudd was overwhelmingly royal in status because he was descended from many separate royal families on both his father’s and mother’s sides.¹⁸ People like Gruffudd had ample reason to remember and value distant royal descent even if it stemmed from a king’s daughter or from a junior branch of a royal dynasty. Even before his succession to the kingship, Gruffudd was no ordinary *uchelwr*.

¹⁴ See the discussion and references in *EIWK* 172–3; cf. Jenkins, ‘Second Look’, pp. 64–5.

¹⁵ E.g. the term used by Latin D, *optimas*, is rendered into Welsh in *Llyfr Blegywryd* as *breyr*: Latin D (ed. Emanuel, *Latin Texts*, p. 318.22–3); *Llyfr Blegywryd* (ed. S. J. Williams and Powell, p. 5.12). For the relationship between the two, see Emanuel, ‘Book’; Charles-Edwards, *Welsh Laws*, pp. 20–1 and 31–5. In Latin B, *optimas* is similarly used as the general word for a person of this status, though the wergild of the *pencenedl*, which is specified as a position held by an *uchelur*, is considered under the heading ‘De dignitate penkenedyl et aliorum nobilium’ (‘Concerning the status of the *pencenedl* and other *nobiles*): Latin D (ed. Emanuel, *Latin Texts*, pp. 207.30 and 219.19). Gerald of Wales himself equates *Huchelwer* (i.e. *uchelwyr*) with *nobiles*: *Descriptio* I.2. The relevant passage is quoted and discussed in Chapter 3 below, pp. 118–21.

¹⁶ *GPC Online*, s.v. *bonedd*. Among the glosses on the ninth-century Welsh Juvenius manuscript, one finds Old Welsh *boned* glossing Latin *gentem*, here meaning ‘family origin’: McKee, *Cambridge Juvenius*, pp. 294–5. For an introduction to the Juvenius manuscript, see too McKee, ‘Scribes’.

¹⁷ *LIIG* 15.1, 15.2, 30.1.1, 31.1.1, 32.1.1, 33.1.1, A1.1.1, A2.

¹⁸ *VGC* §§2–7; cf. *EIWK* 220–3; Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, pp. 333–4; Smith, ‘Biography’, pp. 348–9.

Knowledge of Deep Ancestry

Gerald's claim that the Welsh could generally recall their agnatic descendants as far back as six or seven generations or more should be set in perspective.¹⁹ Not all circumstances required knowledge of lineage that was so deep. As has already been noticed, distant descent from kings did not automatically entitle one to rule, even if it could imbue one with royal status. Although there is some slight variation in the Welsh law-books, it was generally agreed that only the king's son, nephew or brother was entitled to succeed to the kingship on the death of the king.²⁰ A potential heir was termed an *edling* (a term borrowed from Old English *ætheling*); sometimes a single *edling* was designated as the sole heir-apparent during the lifetime of the king.²¹ Contrary to what has sometimes been claimed, Welsh kingship was not generally partible at the point of succession.²² Partibility was rather a feature of the inheritance of land.²³ For the purpose of land inheritance, it was necessary to know a slightly wider group of kinsmen, though one still no more than four generations in depth: namely, those descended in the male line from a common great-grandfather. Upon the death of a landholder, his land would ordinarily be divided equally among all his surviving sons. No distinction was made between 'legitimate' and 'illegitimate' sons; all that mattered was that the deceased man had previously acknowledged his paternity of those sons. However, the division of the original landholder's land was not made permanent until after the generation of his great-grandsons. This was because the landholder's sons, grandsons and great-grandsons could reshare the land between themselves if, for whatever reason, the division had become imbalanced. This system could work as a mechanism against the escheat of land to the lord, since the lands of anyone who had died without a male heir would pass first to other agnatic relatives within a four-generation group.²⁴ In order to maintain one's rights of inheritance, it was therefore essential to know all of one's agnatic relations within three degrees of kinship.²⁵

There were, nevertheless, certain contexts in which knowledge of deeper ancestry, and of a broader range of contemporary collateral relatives, was required. One of these contexts was the feud that arose, following a homicide, between the kindred of the slayer and the kindred of the slain, alongside the system of compensation intended to counter that feud. The homicide, the feud and the compensation were all termed *galanas* in Welsh.²⁶ In theory, reconciliation of the opposing factions could be achieved through the payment of *galanas* (i.e. 'wergild') by the kindred of the perpetrator to the kindred of the victim.²⁷ For the purposes of this compensation payment, four kindreds were involved on each side, encompassing the

¹⁹ For what follows in the remainder of this section, see generally *EIWK* ch. 3; for a similar discussion focussed on the early Middle Ages, see Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, pp. 293–304.

²⁰ *EIWK* 217–18.

²¹ For the position of the *edling* in the Welsh law-books, see Stacey, 'King', esp. pp. 47–53. For other Welsh terms denoting the heir-apparent, see Charles-Edwards, 'Heir-apparent'. In Anglo-Saxon England, the word *ætheling* was used to denote any potential heir to the throne: see Dumville, 'Ætheling'.

²² This was established by Smith, 'Dynastic Succession' (recapitulated more succinctly in Smith, 'Succession'). For the early medieval period, see too Charles-Edwards, 'Dynastic Succession'; Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, pp. 329–32.

²³ For an extended treatment of medieval Welsh land law, see Jenkins, 'Second Look' (see pp. 48–9 for partible inheritance).

²⁴ There are even recorded cases of land passing to second cousins once removed, who were technically outside of the four-generation group: Brown, 'Kinship', pp. 500–1.

²⁵ For an excellent discussion of the fate of this system of inheritance in the later Middle Ages (based on the records of the commote of Llannerch), see Smith, 'Family'.

²⁶ For an introduction to *galanas*, see Jenkins, 'Crime', pp. 15–19; for more detail and aspects of diachronic development, see Charles-Edwards, 'The Three Columns of Law: A Comparative Perspective', pp. 29–39.

²⁷ The following summary simplifies the difficult and sometimes contradictory evidence from the Welsh law-books: see *EIWK* 181–200.

kindreds of the four grandparents of both perpetrator and victim (both signified below as 'ego'). These four kindreds were conceived agnatically. Thus, for this purpose, both grandfathers and grandmothers belonged to the agnatic kindreds of *their* fathers (i.e. ego's four great-grandfathers). Only one of these four kindreds would be ego's own agnatic kindred. For the collection and payment of *galanas*, it was, according to the law-books, necessary to consider these four kindreds to a depth of six or seven generations back from ego. Thus, in theory, all agnatic descendants of four of ego's male ancestors in the sixth or seventh degree (traced agnatically through ego's four great-grandfathers) were eligible to pay (on the perpetrator's side) or receive (on the victim's side) the compensation.²⁸ In other words, even relatives as distant as ego's sixth cousins were implicated in the system of *galanas* envisaged by the law-books, for they shared a common ancestor with ego in the seventh degree.

A telling remark concerning the feasibility of knowledge of the deep kindred group is found in *Llyfr Iorwerth*, the law-book associated with thirteenth-century Gwynedd, in a section describing how very distant kinsmen (related beyond seven degrees) could pay the perpetrator's share should the perpetrator be unable to pay:²⁹

O deruyd na bo y'r llourud dym a talho, yaun yu rody ydau keynnyauc palader eg kymorth. Ac esef e telyr ydau, o'r seythuet dyn allan; ac esef yu e seyth dyn henne, braut a keuenderu a keuerderu a keyuyn a gorcheyu en a gorchau a ney uab gorchau. A chany ellyr ryuau kerennyd o henne allan, talent ydau keynnyauc palader.

If it happens that the homicide has nothing which he can pay, it is proper to give him a spear penny in assistance; and thus it will be paid to him — from the seventh person on [i.e. to more distant relations], and these are those seven persons: brother and first cousin and second cousin and third cousin and fourth cousin and fifth cousin and nephew son of a fifth cousin [i.e. sixth cousin]; and since kinship cannot be counted from there on, let them pay him a spear penny.

For the payment of *galanas*, the share owed by the kindred of the perpetrator was theoretically owed by relations no more distant than fifth or sixth cousins, or, to put it another way, relations with whom the homicide shared an ancestor who lived no more than six or seven generations ago. But in this passage, it is suggested that even more distant kinsmen could be called upon to pay the perpetrator's own share should the perpetrator be unable to pay. It is striking that, for these more distant relatives, it is assumed that their relationship to the perpetrator could not be defined precisely. The hypothetical rules of *galanas* thus encouraged knowledge of one's descent back six or seven generations through four separate lines, as well as knowledge of one's collateral kinsmen as far as fifth or sixth cousins on four sides of the family, though no more.³⁰ This may go some way to accounting for Gerald's observation that the Welsh could recite their agnatic ancestors back as many as six or seven generations.

In practice, however, it was unlikely that, in most cases of *galanas*, one would need to or even be able to involve collateral relatives as distant as fifth or sixth cousins. This is borne out by late medieval record evidence from marcher lordships where *galanas* had not been abolished. For example, in the lordship of Clun in the fourteenth century, the *galanas* kindred was reckoned only to the fourth degree rather than the sixth or seventh.³¹ It has been

²⁸ It is the sixth degree in *Llyfr Cyfnerth*, *Llyfr Blegywryd* and the Latin law-books, but the seventh degree in *Llyfr Iorwerth*.

²⁹ *Llyfr Iorwerth* (Galanas B), §106/6–8 (ed. Wiliam, p. 71; ed. Charles-Edwards, 'The Three Columns of Law from Iorwerth Manuscripts E and B', p. 268; transl. Jenkins, *Laws*, p. 145; transl. *EIWK* 201); I have followed Charles-Edwards's text and translation. Cf. *Llyfr Iorwerth* (Galanas E), §107/4–5 (ed. and transl. Charles-Edwards, 'The Three Columns of Law from Iorwerth Manuscripts E and B', pp. 266–7). For the development of *Llyfr Iorwerth*'s tract on *galanas*, see Charles-Edwards, 'Galanas Tractate'.

³⁰ This is also pointed out in R. R. Davies, 'Survival', p. 349, with reference to a sixteenth-century example.

³¹ R. R. Davies, 'Survival', p. 345; cf. Smith, 'Contribution', pp. 91–3.

suggested by Thomas Charles-Edwards that *Llyfr Iorwerth*'s seven-generation *galanas* kin might have been the result of an extension that took place under the influence of the canonical prohibition of marriage within seven degrees.³² If this is correct, then it is notable that the same factors were encouraging deeper genealogical knowledge in medieval Wales as elsewhere in medieval Europe.

The Continuing Significance of Deep Ancestry

A further context in which knowledge of deeper ancestry was required helps us to address the third point raised above, concerning the longevity of interest in genealogy in medieval Wales. Although the inheritance of land was organised within an agnatic descent group of no more than four generations in depth, one often finds in later medieval records, such as the 'extents' of the fourteenth century, references to land-holdings (termed *gwelyau* or *gafaelion*) that are named from ancestors of the current holders who lived more than four generations ago.³³ For example, in Llysdulas on Anglesey, one of those holding land in the *gwely* of Tegeryn ap Carwed in the middle of the fourteenth century was a great-great-great-grandson of Tegeryn.³⁴ In the context of land-holding, the word *gwely* had originally referred to the agnatic descendants of a common ancestor, but since any land that had been obtained by that common ancestor in free tenure came to be inherited by his agnatic descendants, the land-holding itself could also be termed a *gwely*. In the case of the *gwely* of Tegeryn ap Carwed, the *gwely* had retained the name of the holder's distant ancestor, even though, by the fourteenth century, that ancestor had little direct bearing upon the land-holding rights of his descendants, which depended on inheritance through the four-generation group. However, it seems that the significance of the deeper ancestral link invoked by the holding's eponym lay with the obligations of the holders, rather than their rights of inheritance, since the nature of those obligations had been established when the land was held by the *gwely*'s eponym (in this case, Tegeryn ap Carwed).³⁵ The obligations, which had initially been established by the native Welsh princes, were given a degree of permanence by the conquest of the Welsh principality by Edward I in 1282–3. Later generations of Welshmen, even down to the sixteenth century, were thus required to invoke comparatively deep ancestry in order to explain the nature and distribution of the obligations associated with those of their land-holdings held under Welsh free tenure.³⁶

But despite the existence of such legal and economic reasons for retaining knowledge of one's ancestry, it was the ongoing association of noble birth and noble ancestry that was the most decisive factor for the perpetuation of knowledge of deep agnatic ancestry among the Welsh *uchelwyr* or 'gentry' of the later Middle Ages.³⁷ If one could demonstrate that one was descended from a recognised noble lineage, then one was noble, regardless of the extent of one's wealth and landed possessions.³⁸ To a considerable degree, it was the continued social significance of such genealogical knowledge that enabled genealogists in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries to record pedigrees from oral sources that were largely accurate for the preceding two or three centuries.³⁹ Little wonder John Leland was so amazed.⁴⁰

³² *EIWK* 193–7.

³³ For an introduction to the extents, see Carr, 'Jones Pierce Revisited'.

³⁴ Jones Pierce, 'Medieval Settlement', pp. 5–6.

³⁵ *EIWK* ch. 4; Carr, *Gentry*, p. 10.

³⁶ For further discussion of *gwelyau* and *gafaelion*, see Chapter 4 below, pp. 210–11.

³⁷ See especially Carr, *Gentry*, pp. 1–2.

³⁸ For the wealth of the gentry of North Wales in the later Middle Ages, see Carr, *Gentry*, ch. 3.

³⁹ Guy, 'Writing Genealogy', p. 102; Bartrum, 'Notes', pt 1, 68–70.

⁴⁰ Gwenogvryn Evans encountered a comparable situation at the end of the nineteenth century: 'a considerable section of the community takes a most astonishing interest in this subject of pedigrees, and a

Common Genealogy and Literary Genealogy

In the preceding sections, it was emphasised that knowledge of genealogy would have been pervasive at every level of free society in medieval Wales. A freeman would have known many aspects of his own genealogy, his neighbours' genealogies, and probably the genealogies of his lords and kings. The applications of this genealogical knowledge were varied. Different social, legal and political situations required the deployment of precise, contextually bound genealogies, which thereby differed in scope and content depending on the context, even for a single individual. Such contexts were usually ephemeral.⁴¹ The genealogical knowledge deployed by an individual to underline his or her social status may have overlapped little with the genealogical knowledge deployed in a case of *galanas*; and the latter may have differed considerably again from the genealogical knowledge deployed for another case of *galanas* twenty years later.

Since these pragmatic, everyday genealogies existed only within the contexts for which they were evoked, there was little need to write them down and preserve them for posterity. The genealogical knowledge that informed such genealogies was communicated orally and confirmed only through collective acceptance of its veracity; the presentation of that knowledge in a written genealogy would have brought little additional benefit in most circumstances. Accordingly, the written genealogies that survive today from medieval Wales, just like those from elsewhere, are not representative of the full range of situations that instigated the use of genealogy in everyday life. Surviving written genealogies do not merely reflect everyday oral genealogies.⁴²

The relative truism of this notion is qualified by the exceptions. Some medieval genealogies of a more ephemeral kind do indeed survive within the transitory contexts that generated them. For instance, short genealogies of only three or four generations were sometimes written onto the dorses of charters, particularly in Italy, from the tenth and early eleventh centuries onwards, to illustrate the prior descent of properties that had subsequently fallen into ecclesiastical hands.⁴³ In a similar manner, the court rolls from the lordship of Dyffryn Clwyd in late medieval Wales contain sufficiently detailed genealogical information, including records of agnatic descent going back three, four or even five generations, to allow the reconstruction of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century families in some detail.⁴⁴ Most striking is the five-generation genealogy inserted into the Dyffryn Clwyd court rolls of 1313 for the commote of Colion, which shows the relationships between the twenty-seven co-parceners who partitioned their ancestral land between themselves in that year.⁴⁵ In these examples, the existence of the genealogical information in writing is contingent upon specific legal circumstances. But in the context of the literary manuscripts where one finds the majority of written genealogies surviving from medieval Wales, there is only one instance known to me where genealogies were recorded to illustrate a contemporary legal issue. These genealogies are found written into the margins of pages 522–3 of a late thirteenth-century Latin manuscript, now Exeter 3514, which preserves texts associated with the Cistercian abbey

student not nursed in the firm faith of a descent from a follower of the Norman Bastard, or a Welsh Royal tribe finds himself frequently in a most embarrassing position': *RMWL* I.ii, p. vi. My thanks to Thomas Charles-Edwards for this reference.

⁴¹ The fragmentary and circumstantial nature of oral genealogies has been observed in anthropological contexts: Wilson, *Genealogy*, p. 23.

⁴² A point made emphatically in an Irish context by Ó Corráin, 'Irish Origin Legends', p. 69; Ó Corráin, 'Historical Need', p. 144; Ó Corráin, 'Creating the Past', p. 189; cf. Miller, 'Historicity', p. 255.

⁴³ Genicot, *Les généalogies*, 1985 supplement, p. 2.

⁴⁴ E.g. Barrell and Davies, 'Land', pp. 32–3; Brown, 'Kinship', pp. 516–19; and cf. the comments of Smith, 'Family', p. 426.

⁴⁵ Brown, 'Kinship', pp. 497–8.

of Whitland in Carmarthenshire.⁴⁶ The annotator of the manuscript was clearly concerned with marriage within the prohibited degrees. In the lower margin of page 523, the annotator explicitly shows that both Richard de Stackpole (fl. 1272–1308) and Lucy de Camville were descended in the fourth degree from William de Carew (fl. 1194–d. c. 1213).⁴⁷ What the annotator does not mention is that Richard de Stackpole and Lucy de Camville were married, and that their marriage was contested: on 21 July 1290 they received a papal dispensation from Pope Nicholas IV to remain married, despite being ‘related in the fourth degree of kindred’, because ‘the marriage [had] been made in order to put an end to the enmities which have long subsisted between the two families’.⁴⁸ One can only speculate as to why the matter would have been of interest to the annotator, and whether the genealogies were written down before or after the dispensation was granted. But it remains clear that this genealogy was written for the purpose of illustrating a specific legal issue.

The majority of written genealogies surviving from medieval Wales were created for no such legal purpose. Instead, most of them were designed for one of only two purposes: (1) to specify the origins of the (usually royal) status of a subject, typically in relation to one or more territories; and (2) to outline the perceived interrelationships between multiple branches of a family.⁴⁹ It was only these relatively limited functions of genealogy that were consistently expressed in literary form in medieval Wales. The remainder of the broad field of knowledge that constituted everyday genealogy continued to exist, but it was not deemed to be an object of literary attention. An important distinction therefore arose between ‘literary genealogy’, which was written down for limited purposes according to established literary conventions, and ‘common genealogy’, which was constituted, usually orally, in specific, often legal, contexts. Although the literary conventions that were applied to the writing of genealogy must have affected popular conception of genealogy in non-literary contexts,⁵⁰ they nevertheless ensured that literary genealogy became a phenomenon distinct from common genealogy. Literary genealogy was, moreover, a distinctly literate phenomenon. An informed person might have been aware of all the genealogical information contained in any given genealogical literary text, but that person was unlikely to have ‘performed’ that literary text from memory in the form in which it had been written down. The distinction between genealogical knowledge and genealogical performance is explored further below in relation to Welsh bardic knowledge of genealogy.

The literary conventions governing the presentation of Welsh genealogical texts were not exclusive to Wales. They seem to have emerged within an early medieval Insular context and may be observed in both early medieval Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England. The early stages of this process, in which one might locate the birth of the Welsh literary genealogical tradition, are addressed in the following sections.

⁴⁶ For this manuscript, see Crick, ‘Power’; for the possible Whitland connection, see Smith, “‘Cronica de Wallia’”, pp. 277–82. For other genealogies in this manuscript, see Chapter 5 below, pp. 243–56.

⁴⁷ For Richard de Stackpole, see Owen, *Old Pembroke Families*, p. 27 and Stackpole, *History*, pp. 33–4. For William de Carew, see Round, ‘Origin’, pp. 24–5. For the Camvilles of Llanstephan, see Lloyd, ed., *History of Carmarthenshire I*, 196, 236 and 284.

⁴⁸ Bliss, *Calendar*, p. 515; cf. Stackpole, *History*, p. 33. Note that Lucy’s surname is misspelt as ‘de Rannvilla’ (for ‘de Kannvilla’).

⁴⁹ These purposes of written genealogy in medieval Wales are recognised and described in *EIWK* 207–9 and Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, pp. 360–4. In the latter, Charles-Edwards further distinguishes between the ‘status genealogy’ and the ‘agnatic pedigree’, though it could be argued that the agnatic pedigree is just a simple form of status genealogy.

⁵⁰ For an example of this from the sixteenth century, see Guy, ‘Writing Genealogy’, pp. 112–13.

Literary Genealogy in the Insular World

Conceptual Framework

In the early Middle Ages, literary genealogy was exclusively dedicated to biblical, ethnic, royal or saintly subjects. The primary exemplar for literary genealogy was the Bible, which features a plethora of genealogies concerning exactly these subjects.⁵¹ For instance, the Book of Genesis describes in great detail the descendants of the sons of Noah, among whom may be found the eponyms of many peoples and places. In that context, genealogical exposition was an effective and concise way to reconcile the evident diversity of peoples known to contemporaries with the idea that the flood destroyed all of humanity except Noah's family.⁵² In the words of the Latin Vulgate, 'hae familiae Noe, iuxta populos et nationes suas. Ab his divisae sunt gentes in terra post diluvium' ('These are the families of Noe, according to their peoples and nations. By these were the nations divided on the earth after the flood').⁵³ Interest in genealogy is similarly found in the New Testament. The Gospel of Matthew opens with what the Latin Vulgate terms 'Liber generationis Iesu Christi filii David filii Abraham' ('The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham'): what follows is a detailed genealogy demonstrating the descent of Jesus's father Joseph from King David and the patriarch Abraham, among many others.⁵⁴ The quoted passage uses the word *filius* ('son') to draw attention to the importance of Jesus's notional descent from David and Abraham, even though Jesus was not the literal son of David and nor was David the literal son of Abraham. This usage was clearly the inspiration for a passage in the twelfth-century Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan, setting out what it calls Gruffudd's 'caelestem prosapiam et divinum genus' ('heavenly pedigree and divine lineage'): 'vere illud affirmetur, fuisse Griffinum Kynani, Kynanum Adae, Adam vero Dei filium' ('let it be truly affirmed that Gruffudd was the son of Cynan, Cynan the son of Adam, and Adam the son of God').⁵⁵ This passage immediately follows a far more extensive section concerning Gruffudd's earthly lineage. Gruffudd's 'heavenly pedigree' was evidently intended as a kind of counterbalance to the preceding secular genealogy, motivated possibly by the kind of religious discomfort with secular genealogy expressed in the letter to Timothy quoted at the beginning of this chapter. But upon closer inspection, it becomes apparent that both the 'secular' and 'heavenly' genealogies ultimately follow formal precedents set by the Bible; this suggests that the debate about the appropriateness of secular genealogy within Christian society took place as much within the religious sphere as between the secular and religious spheres.

Although early medieval literary genealogies variously concerned biblical, ethnic, royal or saintly subjects, most such genealogies were constructed within a common, overarching conceptual framework. Where saints' genealogies were specified, they almost invariably comprised branches of royal dynasties. Very many examples of this may be seen in the corpus of Irish saints' genealogies, which may have existed in some form by the middle of the tenth century.⁵⁶ Kings' genealogies, in turn, were often traced back to eponyms that were intrinsically representative of the origin of the polity or ethnic group. If it could be

⁵¹ Ó Corráin, 'Creating the Past', pp. 204–5.

⁵² Johnson, *Purpose*, pp. 4–7 and 77.

⁵³ Genesis 10.32.

⁵⁴ Matthew 1.1; cf. Luke 3.23–38. For discussion of these genealogies of Jesus, see Johnson, *Purpose*, chs 5–7; Punt, 'Politics', pp. 381–6.

⁵⁵ *VGC* §7.

⁵⁶ According to its editor, the recension of this corpus preserved in the earliest extant manuscript witness (Rawlinson B. 502, c. 1131) may have been 'first composed at the Columban monastery of Kells at a

demonstrated that the king descended from the lineage of highest status within the terms of the group's cultural discourse, the conclusion would follow that the king was the natural leader of that group. Legitimacy sprang from the logic of the teleology. Thus, the kings of Dyfed in the tenth century claimed descent from 'Dyfed', an eponym representing the kingdom, while the eighth- and ninth-century kings of the East Saxons claimed descent from the Saxon ethnonym *Seaxnet*.⁵⁷

When such genealogical arguments involved ethnonyms, they were commonly (though not invariably) predicated on the assumption that all members of the ethnic group descended from the ethnonym.⁵⁸ In the early Middle Ages, the idea of common descent was one of the most significant characteristics of ethnic group consciousness.⁵⁹ In such an environment, the importance of the king's pedigree was therefore its relative distinction and its inclusion of other figures associated with kingship, rather than simply the fact of its existence and its potential to demonstrate the king's descent from the ethnonym. For instance, according to the *Historia Brittonum*, Britto (or Brutus) was the common ancestor of all the Britons; a pedigree traced back to Britto/Brutus was therefore not inherently royal, but rather required some other marks of distinction.⁶⁰ In an English context, Bede explicitly mentions that Woden provided the *stirps* ('stem, stock') from which many of the English royal lineages traced their origin.⁶¹ Woden was not an ethnonym, but rather, by the eighth century, a genealogical marker of royalty, as is borne out by the many English royal pedigrees traced back to him.⁶² Equivalent genealogical markers of royalty in Brittonic pedigrees were Beli Mawr and Maxim Wledig.⁶³

The ethnonyms themselves, representing both the peoples and their kings, could be incorporated into genealogical frameworks of nations inspired by the Bible. The best examples come from Ireland. In the vernacular grammatical treatise *Auraicept na nÉces* ('The Scholars' Primer'), the canonical part of which perhaps dates to an early stage of the Old Irish period (700–900), a story is told of a certain Goidel, an eponym for the Irish language, who was assigned the language by its creator, Féníus Farsaid, following the fall of the Tower of Babel.⁶⁴ By no later than the early ninth century, the lineage of Goidel Glas had been traced back through a long pedigree to Japheth son of Noah, as witnessed, for example,

date not earlier, and perhaps a generation or so later, than 938': Ó Riain, *Corpus*, p. xvii; cf. *ibid.*, pp. xxvii–xxix. For doubts, see Jaski, 'Genealogical Section', p. 319.

⁵⁷ For Dyfed, see HG 2; LIIG 38.1; Guy, 'Earliest Welsh Genealogies', pp. 477–85. For *Seaxnet* and the East Saxon genealogies, see Yorke, 'Kingdom', pp. 3–4 and 13–16; Dumville, 'The West Saxon Genealogical Regnal List: Manuscripts and Texts', pp. 31–2; Dumville, 'Kingship', p. 78. For a general discussion of ethnic terminology in early medieval Britain (especially among the English), see Pohl, 'Ethnic Names' and cf. Charles-Edwards, 'Making of Nations'.

⁵⁸ For the same assumption elsewhere, see Henige, *Oral Historiography*, pp. 91–3.

⁵⁹ Pohl, 'Introduction — Strategies', p. 25; Pohl, 'Introduction: Ethnicity', p. 10. The same idea formed a central assumption of medieval origin legends of peoples: Reynolds, 'Medieval "Origines Gentium"', pp. 378–9 and 381.

⁶⁰ *HB* (Harl. 3859), §§10 and 17–18.

⁶¹ *HE* I.15.

⁶² See especially John, 'Point of Woden'; cf. Miller, 'Bede's Use of Gildas', p. 254 and n. 1; Dumville, 'Kingship', pp. 77–9; Keynes, 'Between Bede and the Chronicle', p. 58.

⁶³ As noted by Davis, 'Cultural Assimilation', p. 23. For the same process in early Irish genealogies, see Ó Corráin, 'Creating the Past', pp. 203–4.

⁶⁴ *Auraicept na nÉces* (canonical part), 1.1–14 (ed. and transl. Ahlqvist, pp. 47–8). For the dating, see Ahlqvist, *Early Irish Linguist*, pp. 18 and 36. For references to more recent work on *Auraicept na nÉces*, see Hayden, 'Anatomical Metaphor', pp. 23–5. For the place of this story in the development of Irish origin legends, see Carey, *Irish National Origin-Legend*, pp. 10–11. An apparently independent version of the story of Goidel Glas is found in Scottish sources: see Broun, 'Birth', pp. 10–11; Broun, *Irish Identity*, pp. 11–16.

by the interpolated verses in the early Leinster genealogical poems.⁶⁵ By no later than the twelfth century, Domnall mac Donnchada (d. 1113), king of Osraige, was given a pedigree explicitly tracing his lineage through Góidél Glas and on to Japheth son of Noah.⁶⁶ Examples such as these in Irish genealogical sources could be greatly multiplied due to the profusion of eponymous figures in the Irish genealogies who represent political and ethnic groups of differing magnitude.

Outside of Ireland, the integration of biblical, ethnic, royal and saintly genealogies was less advanced. In the context of northern Italy, one finds the genealogy of Theoderic the Great (d. 526), king of the Ostrogoths, proceeding from the dynastic eponym *Amal*, alleged great-grandson of *Gapt*,⁶⁷ as well as the retrograde pedigree of Rothari (d. 652), king of the Lombards, which is prefaced to the *Edictus Rothari*.⁶⁸ Yet neither of these pedigrees was ever deliberately connected to the genealogical scheme of the 'Frankish Table of Nations', possibly composed around the year 520 by a Byzantine author or, less probably, an author based in Ostrogothic Italy.⁶⁹ This text lists the various peoples who were descended from the three brothers Erminus, Inguo and Istio, including the Goths, who sprang from Erminus, and the Lombards, who sprang from Inguo. Nor was the Frankish Table of Nations ever used as a framework for the genealogical origins of the Frankish Merovingian kings, despite a Merovingian royal genealogy directly following the table in two early manuscripts.⁷⁰ The Frankish Table of Nations itself, however, was later integrated into biblical genealogy. One version of the table listed the three brothers Erminus, Inguo and Istio as sons of Alaneus, and it was this version that was developed further in the *Historia Brittonum*.⁷¹ The latter found two separate ways to trace the descent of Alaneus from Japheth son of Noah, one of which was adapted from the Irish genealogy of Góidél Glas.⁷²

⁶⁵ I simplify a complex process of development, imperfectly witnessed in extant texts; for detailed discussion, see Carey, 'Ancestry' and Jaski, "'We are of the Greeks in our Origin'". The *terminus ante quem* is based on the appearance of this long pedigree in *HB* (Harl. 3859), §17. For the additions to the early Irish genealogical poems, see Carney, 'Three Old Irish Accentual Poems', pp. 72–3; Carney, 'Dating', pp. 48–50; Ó Corráin, 'Irish Origin Legends', pp. 63–7; cf. Carey, 'Ancestry', p. 111 and n. 40. For a translation of one of the postulated additions, see Koch, with Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age*, pp. 56–7 (§68 'Núadu Necht', stanzas 34–52).

⁶⁶ *CGH* 15–17; cf. the extant pedigree of the Ciarraige Luachra, which is also traced back to Góidél Glas: *CGH* 287–8. Domnall mac Donnchada's pedigree is one of several pedigrees concerning the principal families of the Laigin and Osraige in the early twelfth century which are found at the beginning of the earliest manuscript preserving the corpus of early Irish genealogies, Rawlinson B. 502, written in Leinster perhaps around 1131: Ó Murchadha, 'Rawlinson B. 502', pp. 317–19 and 331.

⁶⁷ Jordanes, *Getica*, XIV.79–81 (ed. Mommsen, pp. 76–8; transl. Mierow, pp. 73–4). For commentary on the genealogy, see Pohl, 'Genealogy', pp. 236–8; Christensen, *Cassiodorus*, ch. 5, esp. p. 131; Heather, 'Cassiodorus', esp. p. 108; Moisl, 'Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies', pp. 219–23. *Amal*'s grandson *Ostrogotha* may have been perceived as an ethnonym, but he may nevertheless have been a real third-century person: cf. Pohl, 'Genealogy', p. 238.

⁶⁸ *Edictus Langobardorum* (ed. Bluhme, pp. 2–3; transl. Drew, p. 40); cf. Pohl, 'Genealogy', p. 239. Pohl misleadingly states that 'it is in fact not a royal genealogy but that of a high aristocrat who had become king seven years earlier'. However, the genealogy was recorded precisely because its subject was, by that point, royal and not merely aristocratic.

⁶⁹ Goffart, 'Supposedly "Frankish" Table of Nations', pp. 152–3 and 157–60; Wadden, 'Frankish Table of Nations', pp. 1–2. Goffart printed all witnesses to the text in parallel.

⁷⁰ As printed in Krusch, 'Catalogi', pp. 851 and 854; cf. Goffart, 'Supposedly "Frankish" Table of Nations', pp. 135–7.

⁷¹ Goffart, 'Supposedly "Frankish" Table of Nations', pp. 148–9 and 151, n. 78; Wadden, 'Frankish Table of Nations', pp. 2–3. See Wadden for a discussion of the dissemination of the Frankish Table of Nations in an Insular context.

⁷² *HB* (Harl. 3859), §§17–18; *EWGT* 125, nn. 17–18; Bartrum, 'Was there a British "Book of Conquests"?', p. 1; Carey, 'Ancestry', pp. 106–7 and 109–11; Thornton, 'Power', pp. 39–41 and 44–5; Jaski, "'We are of the Greeks in our Origin'", pp. 27–9; see too Chapter 5 below, p. 236.

It is rare to find all the constituent elements of early medieval genealogy together in a single text. Nevertheless, the ease with which successive writers of genealogy were able to move between genealogical subjects when elaborating upon the works of their predecessors is indicative of the extent to which such writers shared the same broad set of assumptions about the normative genealogical relationships that should exist between a king or saint and his people and between a people and biblical history. Although in many cases it was not specified, it was widely assumed that kings and saints derived from the most distinguished lineages within the ethnic group; the common ancestor of the ethnic group was in turn assumed to descend from the offspring of Noah.

Frankish Genealogy

The peculiar distinction of early medieval Insular literary genealogy can be thrown into sharper relief by comparing it with Frankish genealogy. Like their Insular counterparts, works with a significant genealogical component written in either Merovingian or Carolingian Francia were concerned exclusively with biblical, ethnic, royal or saintly subjects. For example, according to the mid-seventh-century Fredegar chronicle, the Franks were named after their eponymous leader Francio, a successor of both Frigas (from whom the Phrygians were named) and King Priam of Troy; when the Franks later elected their first king, Theudomer son of Ricimer, he is said to have been ‘ex genere Priami, Frigi et Francionis’ (‘from the family of Priam, Frigas and Francio’).⁷³ Although no specific line of descent is given to demonstrate Theudomer’s descent from Francio or the Trojans, the conceptual genealogical link was present. Texts of a more exclusively genealogical nature are very rare indeed in the Frankish world, but where they do exist, and concern contemporaries, they are almost invariably about Frankish kings.⁷⁴ The only surviving Merovingian example seems to have been written between 623 and 639, while Dagobert I was king of Austrasia, though it survives in a copy written in Freising around 818.⁷⁵ The text begins by tracing a genealogy of Roman kings forwards in time using the biblical *genuit* (‘begot’) formula. The Frankish Table of Nations is then inserted, which shows that the Romans and Franks were kindred peoples. Following this is a genealogy of Merovingian rulers, beginning with Chlodio and ending with Dagobert I. The biblical *genuit* formula is employed again. Although solely genealogical in content, this text could nevertheless be described as a king-list, since members of the Merovingian family are named only if they were kings of the Franks.⁷⁶

The exclusive concern with kings of the Franks may similarly be observed in genealogical texts from the Carolingian period.⁷⁷ The first text that constructs a genealogy for the Carolingians is Paul the Deacon’s account of the bishops of Metz, written in the

⁷³ Fredegar, *Chronicae*, III.2 and III.9 (ed. Krusch, pp. 93–5); cf. Reimitz, *History*, pp. 166–70; Wood, ‘Defining the Franks’, pp. 50–1. *Francio* in the Fredegar chronicle is an example of an ethnonym who was not envisaged as the ancestor of the entire ethnic group.

⁷⁴ Genicot, *Les généalogies*, pp. 18–19; 1985 suppl., pp. 3–6. The earliest aristocratic, as opposed to royal, genealogy from the Frankish world is the genealogy of Arnulf the Great (d. 965), count of Flanders, which in any case was designed to show Arnulf’s descent from the Carolingian emperor Charles the Bald via the latter’s daughter Judith, who married Arnulf’s paternal grandfather, Count Baldwin I: Witger, *Genealogia Arnulfi comitis* (ed. Bethmann, pp. 302–4); Friese, “‘Genealogia Arnulfi comitis’”; Duby, ‘French Genealogical Literature’, pp. 150 and 153.

⁷⁵ *Generatio regum* (ed. Krusch, ‘Catalogi’, p. 851); cf. Pohl, ‘Genealogy’, pp. 243–4; Reimitz, *History*, pp. 216–17; Goffart, ‘Supposedly “Frankish” Table of Nations’, pp. 135–6; Genicot, *Les généalogies*, pp. 15–16.

⁷⁶ Cf. Pohl, ‘Genealogy’, p. 244.

⁷⁷ For an overview, see especially Reimitz, ‘Anleitung’; for an important earlier contribution, see Oexle, ‘Die Karolinger’.

mid-780s at the behest of Angilram, bishop of Metz.⁷⁸ Paul endeavoured to demonstrate that Charlemagne was descended in the male line from the saintly Arnulf, a seventh-century bishop of Metz. Paul's genealogical account provided the basis for the more succinct genealogical text known as *Commemoratio genealogiae domni Karoli gloriosissimi imperatoris* ('Commemoration of the genealogy of the Lord Charles, the most glorious emperor'), written as part of an attempt to end the vacancy in the bishopric of Metz that lasted from the death of Angilram in 791 to the appointment of Gundulf by Louis the Pious in 816.⁷⁹ In this text, a further crucial step was taken: Arnulf's mother was identified as Blithild, a daughter of the Merovingian king Chlothar II (d. 629). The link is probably spurious, but it allowed subsequent Carolingian genealogical texts to trace an unbroken line of descent from the early Merovingian kings to the Arnulfing Carolingian line.⁸⁰ As in the Merovingian case, the central interest of the genealogical element of these texts is the transmission of kingship, even through the female line.

The Beginnings of Insular Literary Genealogy

Like Frankish genealogies, Insular genealogies were written according to biblical models. Also like Frankish genealogies, Insular genealogies concerned a prescribed range of subjects, which may be characterised as biblical, ethnic, royal or saintly, sometimes in combination. Yet there is an essential difference between Insular and Frankish genealogy. In the Insular world, genealogy became a literary genre circumscribed by its own forms and conventions. In Francia, this did not occur. Although genealogical information, sometimes plentiful in quantity, was routinely incorporated into texts of other genres (notably histories, saints' Lives and king-lists), genealogy did not emerge as a literary genre in its own right in early medieval Francia. There was no equivalent at all to the 'collections' of genealogies that were produced by the Irish, the English and the Britons.

Why the difference? One suspects that the pivotal factor was the nature of kingship in these societies. Among the Franks, Merovingian and Carolingian kingship was hegemonic; prior to the deposition and death of Charles the Fat in 887–8, there was little dissent from the discourse of Carolingian, and previously Merovingian, monopoly on royal legitimacy.⁸¹ Constance Bouchard has argued that it was the seizure of the kingship by the Carolingians following centuries of Merovingian rule that stimulated a new desire to conceptualise royal families as springing from long lines of male ancestors, since it was the first time since the fifth century that a new Frankish family was required to justify its royal status.⁸² This accounts for the new emphasis on agnatic lineage found in Paul the Deacon's *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*. However, in early medieval Ireland, and probably Anglo-Saxon England too, kings had been conceived as springing from long lines of male ancestors from no later than the second half of the seventh century. As in Francia, the only contemporaries who became the subjects of genealogies in this period were kings; but unlike in Francia, no single family had monopolised the royal title in either Ireland or England. Royal power in these societies, and especially in Ireland, was widely

⁷⁸ Paul the Deacon, *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus* (ed. and transl. Kempf, pp. 72–9); cf. Pohl, 'Genealogy', pp. 244–5; Bouchard, 'Carolingian Creation', pp. 140–1; Bouchard, 'Images', pp. 298–300; Reimitz, 'Providential Past', pp. 127–9. For the text, see the introduction to Kempf's edition.

⁷⁹ *Commemoratio genealogiae domni Karoli* (ed. Waitz, pp. 245–6); cf. Pohl, 'Genealogy', p. 246; Reimitz, *History*, pp. 403–4. For the influence of the *Commemoratio* on subsequent genealogical writing, see Hummer, *Visions*, pp. 288–300.

⁸⁰ This may be seen clearly in *Genealogia regum Francorum* (ed. Waitz, pp. 246–7), which ends with the four sons of Louis the Pious: cf. Wood, 'Genealogy', pp. 242–3.

⁸¹ MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 230–2.

⁸² Bouchard, 'Carolingian Creation'.

diffused. At any one time, there were far more contemporary kings who could become the subjects of written genealogies.⁸³

The plurality of kings in the Insular world would naturally have accelerated the production of royal genealogies; but there was an ethnic dimension too. As mentioned above, a vital component of ethnic identity in this period was the notion of shared descent from a common ancestor. This concept could be embodied by the king's pedigree, which by itself represented the many lesser lineages within the ethnic group. As Susan Reynolds has observed, 'some medieval writers do not seem to have distinguished the tracing of a king's genealogy from recounting the descent of his subjects'.⁸⁴ But when multiple kings presided over a single ethnic group, the group at large could only be represented by multiple kings' pedigrees. It did not matter so much whether those pedigrees visibly converged upon a single common ancestor, because the subjects of the pedigrees, as members of the same ethnic group, could be assumed, however distantly, to share a common descent. That royal genealogies were considered in exactly this way is strongly suggested by the parameters of the genealogical collections that were assembled among the Irish, the English and the Britons. As a matter of strict generic convention, these collections are each concerned with only a single ethnic group.⁸⁵ Despite their detail and complexity, the vast Irish genealogical collections do not contain a single pedigree tracing the ancestry of an English or Brittonic king. The same is true in English and Brittonic collections. The 'Anglian collection of genealogies and regnal lists' is concerned only with Anglian kings, in addition to the kings of Kent, which, at the time that the archetype of the Anglian collection was assembled in the reign of Coenwulf of Mercia (796–821), were firmly subjected to the Mercian king.⁸⁶ The Harleian genealogies are concerned only with Brittonic kings from western and northern Britain.⁸⁷ This is despite the fact that the *Historia Brittonum*, to which the Harleian genealogies are appended, contains several Anglo-Saxon genealogies derived from an early version of the Anglian collection.⁸⁸ But unlike the Harleian genealogies, the *Historia Brittonum* was not, by genre, a genealogical collection. A key convention of the literary genre of 'genealogical collection' among the Irish, English and Britons was thus that the scope of the collection should be defined ethnically. In a sense, this convention was a natural corollary of the genealogical collections' ultimate purpose: to represent the ethnic group through the high-status lineages of its kings.

⁸³ For the diffusion of kingship in seventh-century Ireland, see especially Byrne, *Irish Kings*, ch. 3; for England, see Kirby, *Earliest English Kings*, pp. 4–12; Dumville, 'Origins'. Important similarities and contrasts between Irish and English kingship in the seventh and eighth centuries are drawn out in Charles-Edwards, 'Early Medieval Kingships'.

⁸⁴ Reynolds, 'Medieval "Origines Gentium"', p. 390.

⁸⁵ The same is mostly true of collections of saints' genealogies, though the latter contain significant exceptions, such as St Germanus in *Bonedd y Saint* (*ByS* 61) and St Patrick in the Irish corpus of saints' genealogies (*Ó Riain, Corpus*, p. 1, §1). My thanks to Barry Lewis for pointing this out to me.

⁸⁶ Dumville, 'Anglian Collection', p. 24. Keynes also notes that Kentish pedigree might be considered 'Anglian' by virtue of its connection with the Deiran pedigree (both of which are uniquely traced back to *Uegdaeg Uodning*): 'Between Bede and the Chronicle', p. 57. Unlike Dumville ('Anglian Collection', p. 40; 'Kingship', p. 79), I am doubtful that the West Saxon pedigree was included in the archetype of the collection: cf. Bredehoft, *Textual Histories*, pp. 35 and 183, n. 71; Keynes, 'Between Bede and the Chronicle', pp. 58–9. For Coenwulf's domination of Kent, see Keynes, 'Control', pp. 113–18. For the earliest manuscript of the Anglian collection, also written during Coenwulf's reign, see Keynes, 'Between Bede and the Chronicle'.

⁸⁷ To avoid confusion with modern concepts, I use 'Brittonic' rather than 'British' as the adjective pertaining to the Britons. For the fate of Brittonic identity in Wales, see Pryce, 'British or Welsh?'. McKenna's discussion of these issues seems to underestimate considerably the continued potency of Brittonic identity among the Britons of Wales during the early Middle Ages, especially insofar as they continued to identify with the very real Britons still living and ruling in northern Britain just as strongly as with their Brittonic neighbours living west of Offa's dyke: McKenna, 'Inventing Wales'.

⁸⁸ Discussed in Dumville, 'Anglian Collection', pp. 45–50; Dumville, 'On the North British Section'.

Such an underlying purpose might account for why genealogical collections among the Irish, English and Britons all make substantial use of the vernacular languages. In all cases, Latin was an important supplementary language, but the primary languages used for describing the genealogical relationships between individuals were respectively Old Irish, Old English and Old Welsh.⁸⁹ This is another factor distinguishing genealogical collections from texts of other genres, which may or may not include genealogical information.⁹⁰ The ethnic imperative governing the scope of such collections thus manifested itself in language choice. To a far greater extent than on the Continent, ethnicity in early medieval Ireland and Britain was linked closely with language.⁹¹ Bede said as much when he explained that, in his own day, Christian study in Britain took place ‘quinque gentium linguis’ (‘in the five languages of the peoples’), namely the languages of the English, Britons, Irish, Picts and ‘Latins’.⁹² Each ethnic group was associated with, and thus partially defined by, its own language. If the purpose of a genealogical collection was to represent the ethnic group through its royal lineages, it would have seemed logical to use the language through which the group’s identity was partially constituted when writing the genealogical collection.

The contrasting relationship between ethnicity and kingship on either side of the English Channel is surely the reason for the paucity of written genealogies in Francia compared with the profusion of written genealogies in the Insular world. In early medieval Francia, prior to 888, there was at any one time only a single recognised royal family. The political history of the ethnic group could be recounted as the story of two successive royal families, Merovingian and Carolingian; there was no need to consider multiple contemporaneous royal lineages in relation to one another. In the Insular world, such comparison of royal lineages was essential for conceptualising the full political body of the ethnic group. This resulted in the production of genealogical collections. On the other side of the Channel, by the time that genealogy emerged as a more conspicuous genre of writing in the later eleventh century, the close relationship between genealogy, kingship and ethnicity had been undermined by the relatively weak authority of the French monarchy; the result was that most French genealogical writing of the eleventh and twelfth centuries concerned the great comital dynasties and their quasi-royal pretensions, rather than the royal dynasty itself.⁹³ There was no demand for collections of French royal genealogies.

Despite the relatively late date of the manuscripts (s. xii–), there is clear evidence that Irish royal genealogies began to enter the written record on a large scale in the second half of the seventh century.⁹⁴ In cases where the dynasties represented by those genealogies did not continue to prosper in later centuries, the genealogies sometimes survived in the forms in which they were written down in the seventh century, even in the manuscript collections of the twelfth century and later. This is particularly apparent with the genealogies of the Airgíalla in the north and the Eóganachta in the south.⁹⁵ It may have been around the same time that the first royal genealogies were written down in England. Although the evidence is slight, it may be significant that the *Historia Brittonum*’s version of the pedigree of the kings of Kent proceeds no further in time than Ecgberht (r. 664–73), whereas in the archetype of the Anglian collection it continued to Ecgberht’s grandson

⁸⁹ For the relative use of Latin and Old Irish in the Irish genealogies, see Ó Corráin, ‘Creating the Past’, pp. 193–6.

⁹⁰ Contrast the situation on the Continent, where the vernacular was not used to write genealogy before c. 1200: Genicot, *Les généalogies*, p. 43.

⁹¹ See the essential discussion in Charles-Edwards, ‘Making of Nations’. For the situation on the Continent in the early Middle Ages, see Pohl, ‘Telling the Difference’, pp. 22–7.

⁹² HE I.1.

⁹³ Genicot, *Les généalogies*, pp. 18–21; Duby, ‘French Genealogical Literature’.

⁹⁴ Ó Murchadha, ‘Rawlinson B. 502’, p. 325.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*; Jaski, ‘Genealogical Section’, pp. 324–5.

Æthelberht (r. 725–62).⁹⁶ The same period may have been significant for the writing of genealogy among the Britons, though there is no direct evidence for this prior to the mid-eighth century, when a written version of the pedigree of the kings of Dyfed was incorporated into the early version of the Old Irish tale *Indarba na nDéisi* ('The Expulsion of the Déisi').⁹⁷ The lack of seventh- or eighth-century orthographic forms preserved in later Welsh genealogical texts might argue against such an early beginning for the writing of genealogy among the Britons.⁹⁸

With so many genealogies entering writing, it was inevitable that conventions should develop governing the shape of the records. These conventions are outlined in the following part of this chapter. What is remarkable is that, despite the complete absence of any common content between Irish, English and Brittonic genealogical collections for the reasons discussed above, they all share very similar generic conventions.⁹⁹ One could posit two possible reasons for this. Firstly, it could be the accidental result of three independent literary traditions encountering similar problems within similar cultural settings. Each tradition had access to the Bible as a repository of exemplary forms, and each people group conceived of kinship in a broadly similar fashion. Alternatively, it could be the result of mutual influence between the literary traditions. It has already been noted, for example, that the Anglian collection was known to the Britons, even if they chose not to include its content in their own genealogical collections. Overall, this second possibility seems the more likely of the two, especially given the well-known and extensive interactions between Irish and English (and especially Northumbrian) *literati* in the seventh century.¹⁰⁰ If one were compelled to posit the direction of influence, it would be impossible not to view the Irish as the originators of the genre. The corpus of early medieval Irish genealogy dwarfs those of the English and the Britons combined.¹⁰¹ The intellectual milieu of Ireland in the mid- to late seventh century, infused with biblical exegesis and the works of Isidore of Seville, would have provided the perfect environment for the formulation of the conventions of Insular literary genealogy.¹⁰² Moreover, the strong Irish influence on ecclesiastical matters in Northumbria in the seventh and eighth centuries, resulting, for example, in Bede's familiarity with Irish computistical texts, might explain the emergence of the literary genre of genealogy in England in a specifically Northumbrian context.¹⁰³ Judging by the *Historia Brittonum*, the Britons soon became aware of such developments from both Irish and English sources.

⁹⁶ *HB* (Harl. 3859), §58; Dumville, 'Anglian Collection', p. 29; cf. Dumville, 'Kingship', pp. 79–81.

⁹⁷ The pedigree appears in all four copies of the early version: Meyer, 'Expulsion of the Dessi'; Meyer, 'Expulsion of the Déisi'; Pender, 'Two Unpublished Versions'. The early version agrees with the Irish genealogical doctrines of the mid-eighth century: Jaski, 'Genealogical Section', pp. 326–7; Thornton, *Kings*, pp. 128 and 141–2. The section with the pedigree is edited and translated in *EWGT* 4. For commentary, see Guy, 'Earliest Welsh Genealogies', pp. 476–85; Thornton, *Kings*, ch. 5; Ó Cathasaigh, 'Déisi'.

⁹⁸ For seventh- and eighth-century Welsh orthography, see Sims-Williams, 'Emergence'.

⁹⁹ For a discussion of the structural conventions of early Irish genealogy, see Ó Corráin, 'Book of Ballymote', pp. 10–12.

¹⁰⁰ Edmonds, 'Practicalities'; Hughes, 'Evidence'.

¹⁰¹ For a dated but still useful introduction to the published early medieval Irish corpus, see Kelleher, 'Pre-Norman Irish Genealogies'; a useful and more recent introduction is Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland*, pp. 15–23. Essential analysis is provided by Ó Corráin, 'Creating the Past'. The textual history of the Irish secular genealogies is largely unexplored, but for important preliminary discussions see MacNeill, 'Notes' and Jaski, 'Genealogical Section'. For the development of modern scholarship on the Irish genealogies, see Ó Muraile, 'Irish Genealogies' (expanded in Ó Muraile, *Irish Genealogies*). For a comprehensive bibliography of modern scholarly works on the Irish genealogies, see Ó Corráin, *Clavis* II, 989–1031. For an overview of early medieval English genealogy, see Sisam, 'Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies'.

¹⁰² Cf. Ó Corráin, 'Creating the Past', pp. 199–204.

¹⁰³ For a recent and excellent discussion, see Stancliffe, 'Irish Tradition'; an earlier overview is Campbell, 'Debt'. For the influence of Irish computistical texts on Bede, see Warntjes, *Munich Computus*, pp.

Formal and Structural Conventions of Insular Literary Genealogy

There are two primary factors to consider when assessing the literary form of a genealogical text in the Insular tradition: the chronological direction and the pattern of convergence. There are two possible chronological directions: a genealogy can either be ‘ascending’, meaning that it traces ancestors backwards in time, or ‘descending’, meaning that it traces descendants forwards in time. The commonest form in the Insular world was the ascending genealogy, since it allowed the contemporary subject of the genealogy to be foregrounded. A simple variety of ascending genealogy is the linear pedigree, which traces a single line of a subject’s ancestors backwards in time. In genealogical texts containing multiple lines of descent that are related to one another, the points at which these lines converge should also be considered. If the purpose of a genealogy is to emphasise an individual’s status, then the lines of descent will converge upon that individual. Alternatively, if the purpose of a genealogy is to illustrate the relationships between several dynasties, then the lines of descent will converge upon the common ancestor of those dynasties. Genealogies of the latter type are sometimes called ‘segmentary’ or ‘branching’ genealogies, because they can show how a dynasty divided into multiple segments or branches over time.¹⁰⁴ Segmentary genealogies are often descending, though they can be ascending if, for example, a sequence of linear pedigrees converges upon the same common ancestor.

Descending Genealogies

The example *par excellence* of a descending linear genealogy is the genealogy of Jesus at the beginning of Matthew, already mentioned above.¹⁰⁵ In Insular literary genealogy, however, this form is uncommon outside of narrative contexts. This is because the distinction between a descending genealogy and an historical or literary text with a major genealogical component is often unclear. Descending genealogies that concern only a single lineage might bear little distinction from a king-list, or, when suitably annotated, from a chronicle or dynastic history.¹⁰⁶ Some of the Carolingian genealogies mentioned above fall into these latter two categories; an example from the Insular world is the ‘West Saxon Genealogical Regnal List’, a king-list with a prominent genealogical element.¹⁰⁷ Such texts are sometimes described as ‘genealogies’ even when their content is not primarily genealogical. Although descending genealogies of this type were not regularly incorporated into Insular genealogical collections, there are no firm criteria by which to place them categorically inside or outside of the literary genealogical tradition.¹⁰⁸

In a Brittonic context, a good example of the potential ambiguity of descending genealogies is provided by the *Historia Brittonum*. As mentioned above, the *Historia Brittonum*

CVIII–CXI; for caution about earlier claims that Bede was dependent on an Irish computus, see *ibid.*, pp. XXI–XXII (esp. n. 37), XXVIII, n. 55 and CVIII, n. 318. Earlier commentators have suggested that Irish genealogy influenced Anglo-Saxon practice: Sisam, ‘Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies’, pp. 328–9; Morris, *Age of Arthur*, p. 143; Dumville, ‘Kingship’, pp. 81 and 103.

¹⁰⁴ ‘Segmentary’: Thornton, *Kings*, p. 15; ‘branching’: Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, p. 360. Biblical scholars have distinguished between ‘linear’ and ‘segmentary’ genealogies, though they have not recognised the distinction between ascending and descending genealogies: Wilson, *Genealogy*, p. 9; Aufrecht, ‘Genealogy’, pp. 211–12; Punt, ‘Politics’, pp. 377–81. For segmentary/branching genealogies from the French-speaking world in the thirteenth century, see Croenen, ‘Princely and Noble Genealogies’.

¹⁰⁵ Matthew 1.1–16.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Spiegel, ‘Genealogy’.

¹⁰⁷ Dumville, ‘The West Saxon Genealogical Regnal List: Manuscripts and Texts’; cf. Dumville, ‘The West Saxon Genealogical Regnal List and the Chronology of Early Wessex’.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Ó Corráin, ‘Irish Origin Legends’, p. 56.

drew on an early version of the Anglian collection of genealogies and regnal lists. The Anglian collection is comprised solely of ascending genealogies, but the author of the *Historia Brittonum* deliberately reversed the direction of most of them and presented them as descending genealogies, using the biblical *genuit* formula.¹⁰⁹ The descending form was more appropriate for the *Historia Brittonum*'s purpose. The Anglian collection is concerned with the royal status of past and present ruling kings, and so proceeds by listing the ancestors of those kings. The *Historia Brittonum*, on the other hand, attempts to create rudimentary historical narratives by tracing multiple lines of descent forwards in time, interspersing those lines of descent with historical notices taken from other sources. In doing so, some of the *Historia Brittonum*'s descending genealogies acquire the appearance of mini genealogical dynastic histories and sit uneasily within the genre of Insular literary genealogy. The relative distance of the *Historia Brittonum* from the literary genre of genealogy is also apparent from its reproduction of English royal genealogies, which are entirely unknown in Welsh genealogical collections proper prior to the fifteenth century.¹¹⁰

Descending Segmentary Genealogies

Following the model of the Bible, descending segmentary genealogies could perform quite a specific function within the Insular genealogical tradition.¹¹¹ They could be used to schematize the relationships between different dynasties or different branches (or 'segments') of a single dynasty. The dynasties themselves could be denoted by dynastic or territorial eponyms or some other representative figures, whose stated relationships with each other, described in a descending form, implicitly prefigured the relationships between their descendants at the time of writing. Descending genealogies are used in this way in the Bible, as seen in the following instance: 'Ruben primogenitus Israhel. Huius filius Enoch, a quo familia Enochitarum: et Phallu, a quo familia Phalluitarum' ('Ruben the firstborn of Israel. His sons were Henoch, of whom is the family of the Henochites: and Phallu, of whom is the family of the Phalluites').¹¹² As Donnchadh Ó Corráin has shown, biblical genealogies of exactly this type were a direct model for early Irish genealogists attempting to outline the relationships between different Irish dynasties.¹¹³ For example, the Irish genealogies describe the eponymous ancestors of the chief dynasties of the Laigin (Uí Dúnlainge and Uí Cheinnselaig) as brothers: 'In Bresal Bēolach-sa trā dā mac leis .i. Énna Nia 7 Labraid, de quibus Lugair [...] Énna Nia didiu is hē senathair Hūa nDūnlainge; Labraid immorro senathair Hūa Ceinselaig' ('That Bresal Béolach had two sons, namely Énna Nia and Labraid, from whom are the Lugair [...] Énna Nia, moreover, is ancestor of Uí Dúnlainge; Labraid, however, is ancestor of Uí Cheinnselaig').¹¹⁴ A more famous example of a descending segmentary genealogical text from elsewhere in the Gaelic world is *Míniugud Senchusa Fher nAlban*, which concerns the principal dynasties of the early medieval kingdom of Dál Riata.¹¹⁵ The text as it survives may have been assembled in the tenth century from diverse fragments, some of them possibly as old as the seventh

¹⁰⁹ HB (Harl. 3859), §§57–61; cf. Sisam, 'Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies', pp. 292–3; Jackson, 'On the Northern British Section', pp. 23–4; Bredehoft, *Textual Histories*, pp. 31–2.

¹¹⁰ For a fifteenth-century example, see LIIG (GO) G12.

¹¹¹ Cf. Punt, 'Politics', pp. 377–8. For an overview of the features of descending genealogies in the Bible, see Malamet, 'Tribal Societies'.

¹¹² Numbers 26.5. For comparison, see the detailed analysis of the descending genealogies in Genesis 36 in Wilson, *Genealogy*, pp. 167–83.

¹¹³ Ó Corráin, 'Creating the Past', pp. 204–6.

¹¹⁴ CGH 72–3.

¹¹⁵ Dumville, 'Ireland' (text at pp. 56–8); Bannerman, *Studies* (text and translation at pp. 41–9).

century.¹¹⁶ The many resulting internal contradictions in the text prevent one from offering any coherent explanation of its purpose or political perspective. That said, the text's branching genealogical structure should encourage the supposition that the latest dateable figures mentioned (the latest is Conall Crandomna, d. 660) were not living at the time of writing, but rather were representative of the kindred groups descended from them.

Descending segmentary genealogies could be used to schematize the relationships between different branches of important dynasties in later medieval Wales too. Several examples are found in the thirteenth-century Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. One descending segmentary genealogy in that text outlines the royal and aristocratic lineages springing from the various sons of the ninth-century Welsh king Rhodri Mawr.¹¹⁷ Other segmentary genealogies form significant components of the section of the text that I call *Bonedd y Llwythau*, the purpose of which is to schematize the relationships between the most prominent land-holding families of Gwynedd in the early thirteenth century.¹¹⁸ One segmentary genealogy in *Bonedd y Llwythau*, concerning the branches of a family holding land in the cantref of Rhufoniog, assumes an appearance very similar to that of the biblical and Irish genealogies examined above (LIIG 60.1):

Tri meib Hed ap Alunawg: Meudyr a Gwillofon a Gwrgi.
Plant Meuter ap Hed: gwyr Llanfair Dalhayarn.
Plant Gwillofon ap Hed: gwyr Dyffryn Elwy.
Plant Gwrgi ap Hed: gwyr Nanthaled.

The three sons of Hedd ab Alunog: Meudyr, Gwillofon and Gwrgi.
The children of Meudyr ap Hedd: the men of Llanfair Talhaearn.
The children of Gwillofon ap Hedd: the men of Dyffryn Elwy.
The children of Gwrgi ap Hedd: the men of Nant Aled.

Although the Bible no doubt continued to exert its influence on genealogical writing throughout the Middle Ages, there is a strong probability that the branching genealogies in the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies were modelled on earlier Insular genealogical exemplars.

Ascending Genealogies ('Pedigrees')

Across the early medieval Insular world, ascending genealogies were more common than descending genealogies. The simplest form of ascending genealogy is the linear pedigree, where a single line of ancestors is traced back in time using repeated filial terms like Latin *filius* or Old Welsh *map* (both 'son'). This is the form assumed by the pedigree of Rothari, king of the Lombards, which is prefixed to the *Edictus Rothari*. The nature of the ascending pedigree is helpfully described in the *Historia Brittonum*, when it introduces the pedigree of the kings of Buellt and Gwerthrynion, traced back to Vortigern: 'Haec est genealogia illius, quae ad initium retro recurrit' ('this is his [i.e. Vortigern's] genealogy, which runs backwards to the beginning').¹¹⁹ Even in the ninth century, therefore, ascending pedigrees were perceived to go backwards in time towards a beginning represented by some significant ancestor. As with descending genealogies, the Bible provided precedence for ascending

¹¹⁶ Dumville, 'Ireland', pp. 67–8.

¹¹⁷ LIIG 28, discussed in Charles-Edwards, 'Dynastic Succession', pp. 72–3 and Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, pp. 362–3.

¹¹⁸ See below, pp. 208–11.

¹¹⁹ *HB* (Harl. 3859), §49.

genealogies. A particularly lengthy example is found in Luke 3.23–38, where Christ's pedigree is traced backwards to Adam son of God, rather than forwards, as in Matthew.

In early medieval Insular genealogy, the primary purpose of an ascending pedigree was to demonstrate the royal status of the pedigree's subject. This could be achieved by showing that the subject descended from former kings and from one or more royal progenitors. This function of ascending pedigrees is aptly described at the beginning of the twelfth-century *Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan*. The text begins with a sequence of ascending genealogies converging upon Gruffudd, the subject. The genealogies are introduced with the following statement: 'Prosapia quidem quam nobili ac regia oriundus erat Gruffinus cum paterna tum materna quemadmodum genealogiae recto ordine a parentibus deductae monstrant' ('From how noble and regal a lineage Gruffudd stemmed, both on the paternal and maternal side, the corresponding genealogies, derived from his ancestors in direct line, demonstrate').¹²⁰ Later, the genealogies are summarised with the statement that 'Quum huc usque delibauimus generis nobilitatem' ('So far we have presented the nobility of his race').¹²¹ The text is quite clear: Gruffudd's pedigrees establish neither the descent of property through his family nor his absolute right to rule any particular kingdom. Rather, they serve to dispel any doubt about his *generis nobilitas*. Whether or not Gruffudd was a king, he was certainly of kingly stock and, according to the writer, eminently eligible to hold the kingship of Gwynedd.

The single-minded focus of early medieval ascending pedigrees on the royal status of their subjects is underscored by the role of gender in the pedigrees. Since early medieval kingship was usually reserved for men, the vast majority of individuals named in early medieval royal pedigrees are male. In other words, the default mode of the early medieval pedigree is agnatic. A comment on this circumstance is found in the *Life of St Winwaloe*, written by the Breton *Wrdisten*, abbot of Landévennec, around 870, who deliberately omitted Winwaloe's sister from his discussion of the family 'quia feminarum non est moris genealogiam in scripturis texere' ('because it is not the custom to construct the genealogy of women in writing [or perhaps 'Scripture']').¹²² Nevertheless, women were occasionally included in status genealogies if they enabled the male subjects of the pedigrees to be traced back to more prestigious ancestors.¹²³ As we have seen, Carolingian genealogists enthusiastically adopted Blithild into the Carolingian pedigree in order to portray the royal status of the Carolingians as directly continuing the royal status of the Merovingians. In the Harleian genealogies, one finds three examples of the same phenomenon in the two status pedigrees traced back from Owain ap Hywel Dda, king of Deheubarth (d. 988). In the first (HG 1), Owain's line is traced back through the two dynasties that had ruled Gwynedd in the preceding few centuries, joined together through his great-great-great-grandmother Epyllt. In the second (HG 2), Owain's line is traced back through the two dynasties which, in addition to his own, had ruled Dyfed in the preceding few centuries, joined together through his mother Helen (d. 928) and great-great-grandmother Tangwystl. These pedigrees do not prove Owain's right to rule either Gwynedd or Dyfed, but they do endeavour to show that Owain's royal status derived from his descent from former kings of Gwynedd and Dyfed. For the latter purpose, demonstrations

¹²⁰ *VGC* §2.

¹²¹ *VGC* §7.

¹²² *VS Winwaloei*, I.2 (ed. De Smedt, p. 176); cf. Fleuriot, 'Old Breton Genealogies', p. 5. For the dating of the *Life*, see Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, p. 413. Ironically, one of the few early medieval genealogies concerning a woman survives in a Breton context. Appended to a charter dated to 869 in the *Cartulary of Redon* is a nine-generation descending linear genealogy tracing a line of descent from one *Iedechael* (possibly the seventh-century king of Domnonée) to *Roiantdreah*, a widow who, through the charter, made King Salomon of Brittany her heir: *Cartulary of Redon*, no. 109 (ed. De Courson, pp. 82–3); cf. Fleuriot, 'Old Breton Genealogies', p. 5. For discussion, see Brett *apud* Brett, Edmonds and Russell, *Brittany*, ch. 6.

¹²³ Cf. Pohl, 'Genealogy', p. 248; Wood, 'Genealogy', p. 252.

of descent through key female ancestresses could be just as effective as demonstrations of purely agnatic descent.

The derivation of high status through female ancestresses seems to have been accorded especial importance in a Welsh context. Alex Woolf has commented on the way that, in the early Middle Ages, the Irish and English seem far more reluctant than the Britons to trace the lineages of their kings back through female links.¹²⁴ In later centuries, moreover, Welsh genealogists developed a specific format for organising ascending pedigrees of this kind, which became known as *achau'r mamau* ('pedigrees of the mothers').¹²⁵ Such pedigrees converge upon a specified subject, whose status is thereby emphasised. First, the agnatic pedigree of the subject is given. Next comes the agnatic pedigree of the subject's mother. Following this, other agnatic pedigrees are traced back from other notable female ancestresses of the subject, such as grandmothers and great-grandmothers. According to this format, the kindred is still defined agnatically, but female relatives, through their offspring, can provide bridges between different agnatic kindreds. *Achau'r mamau* thus not only emphasise the status of their subject, but also draw attention to the various kindreds with which the subject was affiliated through marriage.¹²⁶ This may be seen in the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies in the pedigrees traced back from Einion ap Gwalchmai, Llywelyn's poet and court official (Figure 1.1). There are seven in total: Einion's own agnatic pedigree, traced back to Cunedda Wledig; Einion's mother Genilles's pedigree, traced back to an *uchelwr* of Powys; and five other pedigrees traced back through Einion's other female ancestresses. These seven pedigrees organised by *mamau* succeed in demonstrating Einion's descent from some of the most important royal and aristocratic dynasties of Gwynedd and Powys.

Ascending Segmentary Genealogies and Insular Genealogical Collections

In the Insular tradition of literary genealogy, ascending pedigrees were often grouped together in genealogical collections. As mentioned above, genealogical collections like these are not found on the Continent in the early Middle Ages. The collections are ethnically bounded, in that they never include pedigrees concerning the kings of other ethnic groups. Within their own ethnic groups, however, the collections are generally inclusive, and might incorporate genealogical material taken from several sources concerning different kingdoms or territories. Given the rivalries between such kingdoms and territories, it was inevitable that decisions regarding the juxtaposition and relative ordering of the pedigrees should have been treated as meaningful. As much meaning could be encoded in the structure and arrangement of genealogical collections as in the individual pedigrees. This is suggested by the columnar layout employed in the manuscripts of early Irish, English and Brittonic genealogical collections, which allow the eye to view multiple pedigrees in relation to one another comparatively easily.¹²⁷ As a literary composition, the genealogical collection was intended to be encountered visually rather than aurally.

The same conventions pertaining to the arrangement of a group of pedigrees as part of a putative 'ascending segmentary genealogy', converging upon a common ancestor, may be seen operating across different Insular genealogical traditions. It was conventional to begin

¹²⁴ Woolf, 'Pictish Matriliny', pp. 150–2. For an example from a Scottish context that illustrates this reluctance, see Broun, 'Genealogy', pp. 211–12.

¹²⁵ F. Jones, 'Approach', p. 326.

¹²⁶ *EIWK* 207–9; Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, pp. 363–4.

¹²⁷ The columnar layout is represented respectively in the editions of *CGH*, Dumville, 'Anglian Collection', pp. 28–37 and Phillimore, '*Annales Cambriae*', pp. 169–82. For the significance of the visual aspect of the Anglian collection, see Sisam, 'Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies', pp. 326–8; Dumville, 'Kingship', pp. 89–90.

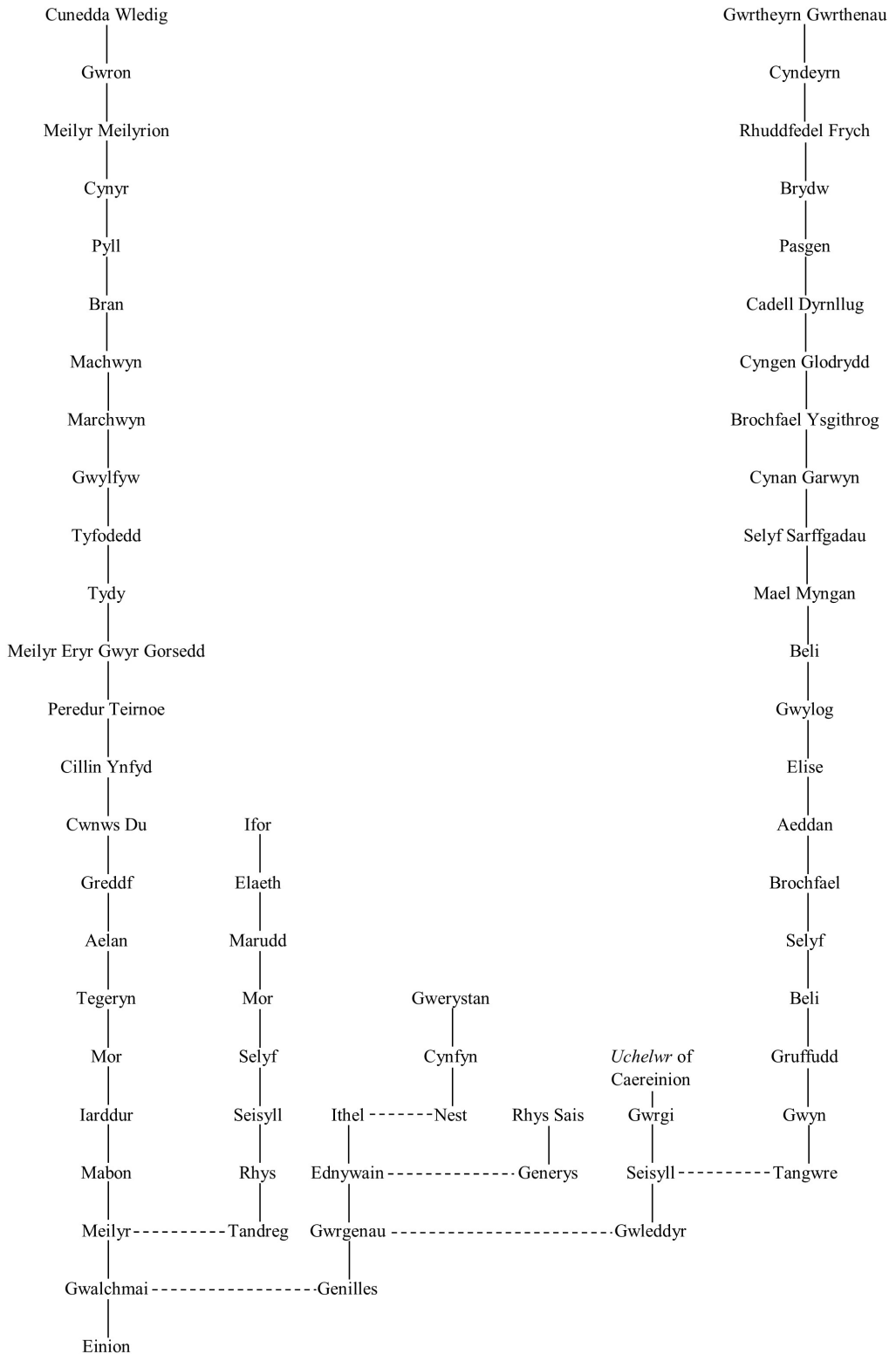


Figure 1.1: Einion ap Gwalchmai's ancestry through achau'r mamau

with the pedigree that traced back the agnatic ‘stem’ of a kingdom’s royal family through the longest possible line. Subsequent pedigrees could then be traced back only so far as they needed to go in order to join the main stem of the former pedigree, so as not to repeat names unnecessarily. The same system can be observed in different genealogical collections written in northern Britain. The Anglian collection, for example, begins with five pedigrees that are labelled as ‘Norðanhymbra’ (‘of the Northumbrians’) (Figure 1.2). The first traces the Deiran line of Edwin (r. 616–32) back to Woden; the second traces the Bernician line of Ecgfrith (r. 670–85) back to Woden; the third and fourth (under the same heading) trace the Bernician lines of Ceolwulf (r. 729–37) and his cousin Eadberht (r. 737–58) back to Ocg son of Ida, the latter of whom had already been listed in Ecgfrith’s pedigree; and the fifth traces the Bernician line of Alhred (r. 765–74) back to Eadric, another alleged son of Ida.

A genealogical collection concerning the royal lines of Alba and Dál Riata in what is now Scotland, preserved in several versions in different manuscripts, is structured in exactly the same way (Figure 1.3).¹²⁸ An early stage in the evolution of this collection may be dated to 995 × 997, during the reign of Causantín mac Cuilén, king of Alba.¹²⁹ At this stage, the text began with a long pedigree traced back from Causantín mac Cuilén through the earlier line of Cenél nGabráin. This was followed by a shorter pedigree of Cináed mac Mail Choluim (r. 971–95) and his brother Dub (r. 962–6), previous kings of Alba from another branch of the dynasty, traced back only so far as Cináed mac Alpín, the common ancestor shared with Causantín mac Cuilén.¹³⁰ These pedigrees were then followed by the tract known as *Cethri Primchenéla Dál Riata*.¹³¹ That the latter was perceived as a component of the same textual unit as the preceding pedigrees in the redaction of 995 × 997 is shown by the first pedigree in *Cethri Primchenéla Dál Riata* being a ‘branch’ pedigree of Cenél nGabráin traced back only so far as Áedán mac Gabráin, where it meets the ‘stem’ of Causantín mac Cuilén’s pedigree.¹³² After this are two pedigrees pertaining to Cenél Loairn, both, like the pedigrees of Ceolwulf and his cousin Eadberht, placed under the same heading: the first traced back to Erc mac Echach Munremair, where it meets the stem of Causantín’s pedigree, and the second traced back to Báetán, where it meets the preceding Cenél Loairn pedigree. Finally come two pedigrees tracing lines associated with Cenél Comgaill and Cenél Oengusa respectively, each of which joins the main stem with different alleged sons of Erc mac Echach Munremair. Thus, in both the Anglian collection and the Scottish collection, the redactors responsible for the structuring of the collections shaped the pedigrees according to what must have been the pre-established conventions of the genealogical genre.

The same structural pattern can be observed in the Brittonic Harleian genealogies. The first pedigree traces the lineage of Owain ap Hywel Dda through Einion Yrth ap Cunedda and on to Beli Mawr and his consort Anna (HG 1). Subsequent pedigrees concerning branches of the same macro-dynasty trace the lines only so far as Cunedda, where they join the stem of the first pedigree (HG 3, 17, 18, 26). Again, another pedigree traces the lineage of the kings of Strathclyde and Alclud back through Dyfnwal Hen to a certain *Fer map Confer* (HG 5). The following two pedigrees, however, trace the lines only so far as

¹²⁸ See especially Broun, ‘*Cethri Primchenéla*’. For convenience, I refer to this collection altogether as the ‘Scottish genealogical collection’.

¹²⁹ I follow the textual history for this tract proposed by Dauvit Broun in a forthcoming publication. I am very grateful to Dauvit Broun for sharing this work with me prior to publication. For the Irish manuscript contexts of Scottish genealogies, see Ó Muraile, ‘Irish Genealogical Collections’.

¹³⁰ The subjects of the first two pedigrees in the 995 × 997 redaction of the collection are maintained in the Book of Leinster (TCD 1339 (H.2.18)); see CGH 426. The earlier version of Causantín’s ‘long pedigree’ is preserved in TCD 1298 (H.2.7), part i (Uí Mhaine, southern Connaught, s. xiv^{med}), Bannerman’s MS ‘H’, printed in Bannerman, *Studies*, pp. 65–6.

¹³¹ *Cethri Primchenéla Dál Riata* is edited from all witnesses in Dumville, ‘*Cethri Primchenéla*’.

¹³² This important observation was first made in Broun, ‘*Cethri Primchenéla*’, pp. 66–7.

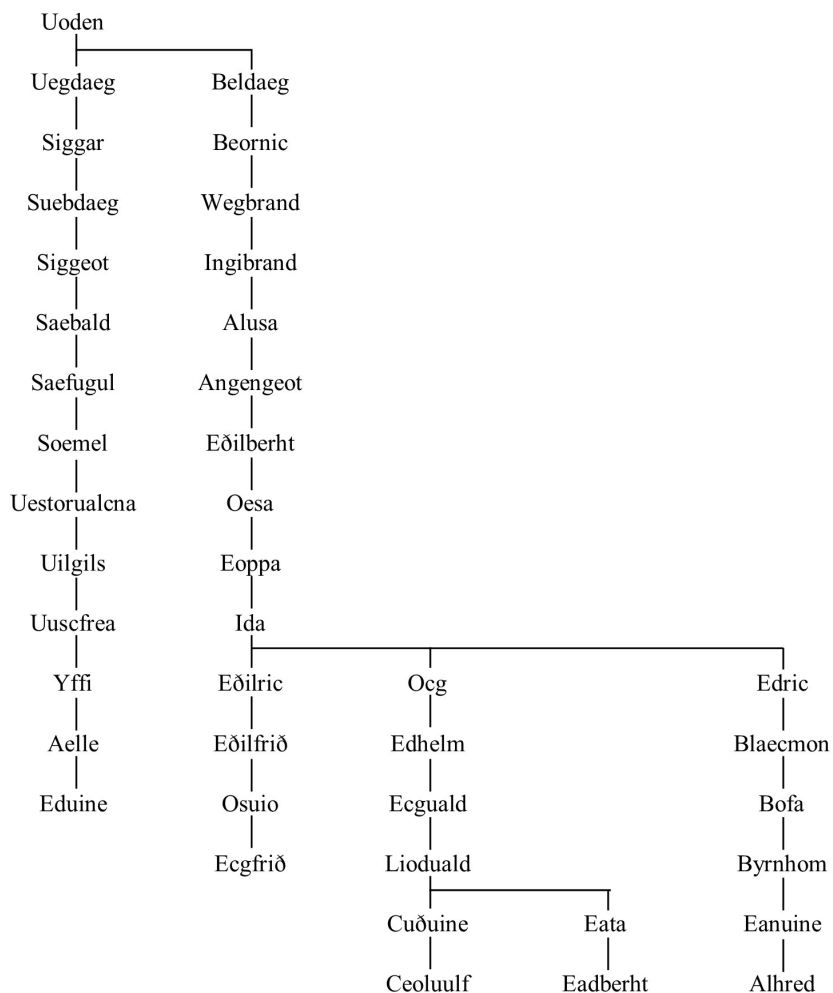


Figure 1.2: The Northumbrian pedigrees in the Anglian collection of royal genealogies and regnal lists (Cotton Vespasian B. vi)

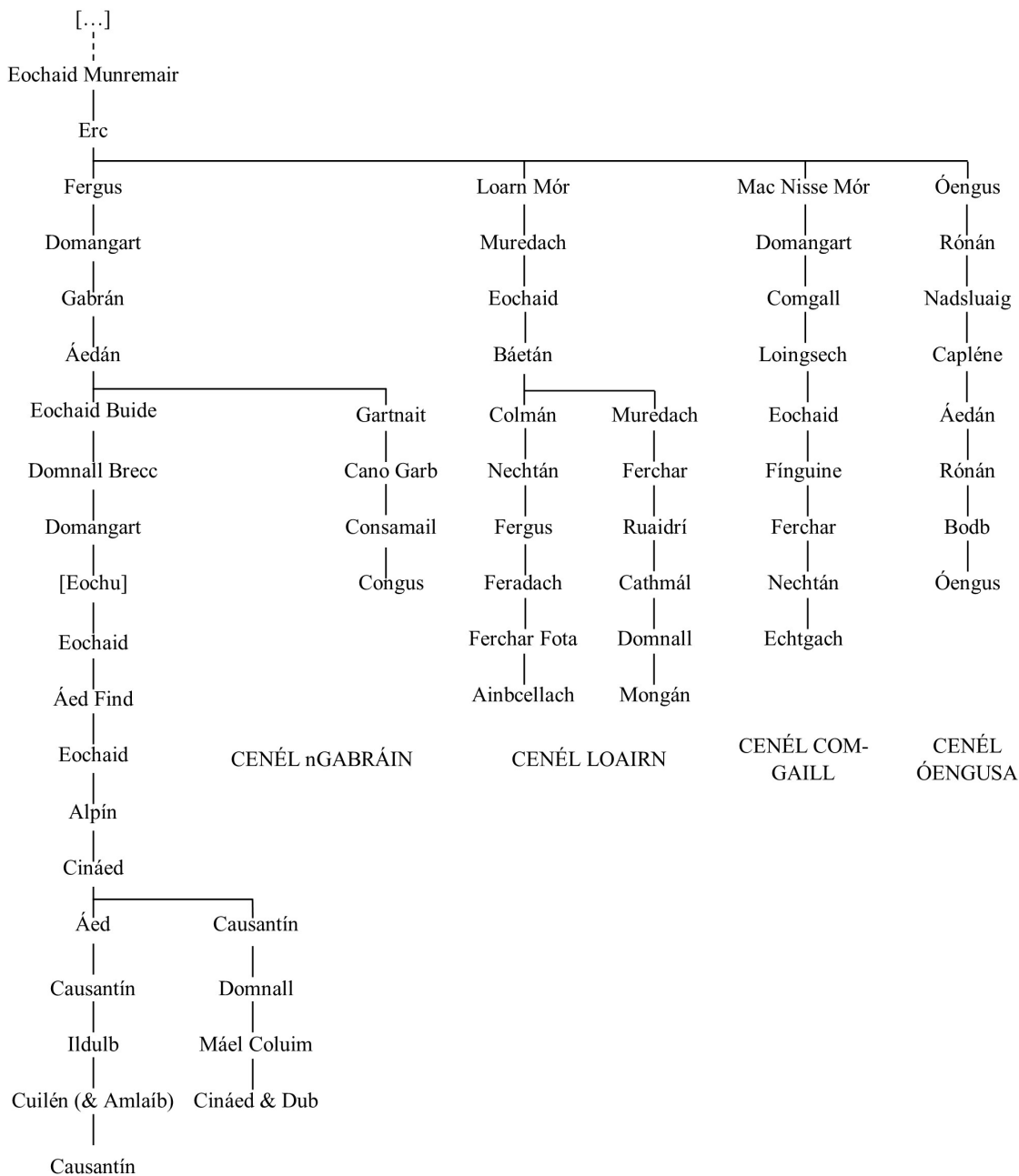


Figure 1.3: The pedigrees in the Scottish genealogical collection of 995 × 997 (TCD 1298 (H.2.7), part i and the Book of Leinster)

Dyfnwal Hen, where they join the main stem of the preceding pedigree (HG 6 and 7). Other parallels between the structuring of the Harleian genealogies and the Anglian collection are discussed in Chapter 2.¹³³

The selection and arrangement of the pedigrees' subjects within these sequences of pedigrees could imply distinct political messages. In the Anglian collection, it is clear that the first five pedigrees were intended to show the interconnected lineages of successive kings of Northumbria in the seventh and eighth centuries. The political implication is that the latest Northumbrian king mentioned, Alhred, had the appropriate royal status to rule the kingdom. The pedigrees are nevertheless selective, omitting Oswiu's son Aldfrith (r. 685–704) and Aldfrith's two sons Osred (r. 705–16) and Osric (r. 718–29), as well as Alhred's immediate predecessor Æthelwold Moll (r. 759–65). The lineage of Aldfrith and his sons may have been omitted because of a pre-existing perception that Aldfrith was illegitimate.¹³⁴ That of Æthelwold Moll, however, may have been omitted due to an active attempt by a partisan of Alhred to deny the legitimacy of his rival Æthelwold Moll as a member of the royal dynasty.¹³⁵

More complex political messages are encoded in the Scottish genealogical collection of 995 × 997. The structure of the text implies that it consists of at least two distinct chronological layers. The later layer, belonging to the 995 × 997 phase of redaction, comprises the stem pedigree of Causantín mac Cuilén and the branch pedigree of his predecessors Cináed and Dub. These two pedigrees follow the same structural principle as the Northumbrian pedigrees, though they are arranged the other way around: they show the descent of the ruling king of Alba first and the descent of the ruling king's predecessors from another line second.¹³⁶ The earlier layer of the text, probably belonging to the first half of the eighth century, comprises a collection of pedigrees illustrating the principal royal dynasties of Dál Riata.¹³⁷ Comprehension of this early stage of the text is hindered by the fact that, in its present context, the first pedigree of the eighth-century layer of the text is a branch pedigree of Cenél nGabráin that is dependent on the stem of the tenth-century pedigree of Causantín that precedes it. The original eighth-century text must have begun with a contemporary Cenél nGabráin stem pedigree, probably from the same branch of the dynasty that is represented by the extant tenth-century stem pedigree, but the eighth-century version of the pedigree was omitted from the tract of 995 × 997 so as not to repeat material incorporated into the tenth-century stem pedigree. The subject of the original eighth-century stem pedigree is uncertain. Broun has quite reasonably argued that it was Eochaid mac Echach, who ruled

¹³³ See below, pp. 62–3.

¹³⁴ Dumville suggested that Aldfrith and his sons were omitted from the Anglian collection because of ecclesiastical concern that Aldfrith was illegitimate: 'Ætheling', p. 27; 'Kingship', p. 76. Charles-Edwards postulated that Aldfrith may have been illegitimate in the sense that Oswiu had never formally acknowledged his paternity to the Northumbrian nobility: 'Anglo-Saxon Kinship', pp. 182–3. More recently, Fraser has argued that assertions of Aldfrith's illegitimacy were ultimately political in inspiration: Fraser, *From Caledonia*, pp. 217–18 and 267–9.

¹³⁵ Cf. Keynes, 'Between Bede and the Chronicle', p. 57. Since the pedigree of Æthelwold Moll is not recorded, it has been claimed that he was an aristocrat of non-royal descent: e.g. Dumville, 'Anglian Collection', p. 49; Dumville, 'Ætheling', p. 27. However, as Kirby has rightly observed, Æthelwold Moll himself may indeed have claimed royal descent, regardless of what a genealogist partisan to Alhred was willing to record: Kirby, *Earliest English Kings*, p. 126.

¹³⁶ I disagree with Broun's view that Causantín was the only living person in the text because he was head of Clann Chináeda meic Ailpín, unlike his contemporaries, the sons of Cináed and Dub: '*Cethri Primchenéla*', pp. 69–70. As in the Northumbrian example, Cináed and Dub were the subjects of the second pedigree not because their sons were not heads of the kindred, but because Cináed and Dub were themselves former kings of Alba.

¹³⁷ For differing views about the political history of Dál Riata in this period, see Dumville, 'Political Organisation'; Fraser, *From Caledonia*; Sharpe, 'Thriving'.

Dál Riata from 726 to 731 and died in 733.¹³⁸ This leaves the puzzle as to why the subject of the first Cenél Loairn pedigree is Ainbchellach mac Ferchair Fota, who ruled Dál Riata briefly from 697 to 698 and was later killed in battle by his brother Selbach in 719. The first Cenél Loairn pedigree could instead have begun with Selbach himself, who ruled after Ainbchellach, or indeed Selbach's son Dúngal, whom Eochaid mac Echach ousted from the kingship of Dál Riata in 726. Broun suggests that Ainbchellach is the subject because he would have been understood to represent his descendants, and more particularly his son Muiredach, king of Cenél Loairn, during Eochaid's reign. But it might be better to interpret Ainbchellach's pedigree as a statement not about the kingship of Cenél Loairn, but about the kingship of Dál Riata. The text's omission of Selbach and Dúngal was very probably the product of a political decision to erase the memory of Eochaid's immediate rivals from the genealogical record (just as with the omission of Æthelwold Moll, the immediate rival of Alhred, from the Anglian collection). Ignoring Selbach and Dúngal, as the text does, Ainbchellach's pedigree could be understood to represent the lineage of a former king of Dál Riata from a line other than that of Eochaid, in the same way that the tenth-century pedigree of Cináed and Dub represents the lineage of former kings of Alba from a line other than that of Causantín, and the other Northumbrian pedigrees in the Anglian collection represent the lineages of former kings of Northumbria from lines other than that of Alhred.¹³⁹

Considering the two chronological layers together, it is striking that, during the 995 × 997 phase of redaction, only the stem pedigree of Cenél nGabrain was updated; the other pedigrees seem to have been copied out exactly as they were found. The resulting impression of the arrangement is that, by the late tenth century, Cenél nGabráin was the only dynasty of Dál Riata that remained royal, even if the precise form assumed by the pedigrees of the other dynasties was the product of their original redaction early in the eighth century rather than late-tenth-century manipulation on behalf of the contemporary kings of Alba.¹⁴⁰

The political messages communicated by the Anglian collection and the Scottish collection can also be found in the Harleian genealogies. As is argued at length in Chapter 2, the text is probably comprised of at least two distinct chronological layers, the first belonging to the second half of the ninth century and the second to the mid-tenth century. As with the comparable Scottish genealogies, the pedigrees that were important to the mid-tenth century compiler were updated (namely the two pedigrees of Owain ap Hywel Dda, HG 1–2), whereas the other pedigrees were ignored. However, at the earlier stage, it seems that the first sequence of pedigrees in the collection was intended to show the interrelationships between successive kings of certain kingdoms, as in the Anglian collection. Thus, while the first pedigree probably originally traced the descent of Rhodri Mawr, king of Gwynedd and perhaps also of the Isle of Man, subsequent pedigrees (HG 3 and 4, probably the original second and third pedigrees of the collection) trace the descent of former kings of Gwynedd (Hywel ap Caradog, d. 825) and probably Man (Idwal ap Tudwal). It is likely that the ninth- and tenth-century Brittonic genealogists responsible for these arrangements were just as aware of the conventions governing the writing of literary genealogy as their counterparts

¹³⁸ Broun, 'Cethri Primchenéla', pp. 70–2.

¹³⁹ This interpretation of Ainbchellach's pedigree need not be extended to the other pedigrees in *Cethri Primchenéla Dál Riata*, whose subjects may have been contemporary subordinates of Eochaid rather than his predecessors in the kingship of Dál Riata. Perhaps the special treatment of Ainbchellach's pedigree was the reason that Cenél Loairn, unlike Cenél Comgaill and Cenél Óengusa, was given two pedigrees rather than one. The otherwise unknown subject of the second Cenél Loairn pedigree may have been a contemporary subordinate of Eochaid.

¹⁴⁰ At a slightly later stage, the royal lines of Mael Snechta, king of Moray (d. 1085) and Mac Bethad, king of Alba (r. 1040–57), were artificially derived from Cenél Loairn using the two Cenél Loairn pedigrees in *Cethri Primchenéla Dál Riata*: Chadwick, *Early Scotland*, p. 96, n. 1; Woolf, 'Moray Question', pp. 148–9; Broun, 'Genealogy', pp. 231–4. These pedigrees are printed in *CGH* 329–30 from Rawlinson B. 502, with variants from the Book of Leinster.

among the Irish and the English, especially since there was probably more literary genealogy in circulation at that time than has survived today.

If the form and structure of the genealogical collections examined above can be ascribed to literary influences, can the same be said about the content? To ask this question is to enter a broader debate about the nature and origins of early medieval literary traditions, particularly with regard to whether widespread linguistic communities could and did preserve 'native' traditions from the ancient past through oral transmission.¹⁴¹ Léopold Genicot, for instance, argued that the idea of exalting kings through genealogies derived from Celtic and Germanic traditions, even though he admitted that aspects of their presentation were affected by Roman and biblical influences.¹⁴² Others, such as David Dumville and Donnchadh Ó Corráin, have sought to emphasise the Roman and biblical elements of the genealogies and downplay the notion that they preserve Celtic and Germanic oral traditions.¹⁴³ However, it would be misleading to exaggerate the irreconcilability of these points of view. Most commentators acknowledge that, to some extent, written genealogies have been subjected to influences from multiple quarters. The formal parallels examined above strongly suggest that the Bible was the ultimate exemplar for written genealogy and may have inspired the writing of contemporary genealogies in the first place. Royal, saintly and ethnic genealogies could be connected to the universal web of kinship described in such detail in the Bible. But all of this in no way obviates the fact that early medieval genealogists, however literate and steeped in Christian learning, drew freely on culturally specific historical and literary discourses made known to them as much through oral as through written channels of transmission. This is not to say that early medieval genealogies 'accurately' reproduce timeless traditions belonging to transnational ethnolinguistic groups that some call 'Celtic' or 'Germanic'; in any case, such traditions were infinitely mutable and liable to be reinterpreted according to historical circumstances of time and place. But it was inevitable that figures linked to vernacular myths and legends which were known across widely dispersed linguistic communities would find expression in genealogies constructed from a position of ethnic awareness, especially when there existed a desire to identify the specific place of the perceived ethnic group within the broader scheme of biblical genealogical history.¹⁴⁴ Even on a local scale, although a genealogy of the ruling dynasty might be written down according to biblical precedents and established literary conventions, that genealogy would not be authoritative if certain sections of it did not accord with what was collectively understood by the political community to constitute the ruling dynasty's proper and appropriate lineage. In other words, pervasive popular knowledge of aspects of significant genealogies imposed limits on literary invention and manipulation. Such popular knowledge was by no means necessarily 'accurate', since it was a reflex of communal belief and expectation, which were mutable and open to manipulation. But its existence in one form or another should caution us from considering literary genealogy through a solely literate lens. The interaction between literary and common genealogy was ongoing and complex.

¹⁴¹ Cf. McCone, *Pagan Past* (ch. 10 for consideration of the Irish genealogies); Frank, 'Germanic Legend'; Innes, 'Teutons or Trojans?'.

¹⁴² Genicot, *Les généalogies*, pp. 14–17; the same view informs Moisl, 'Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies'.

¹⁴³ Dumville, 'Kingship', p. 96; Ó Corráin, 'Irish Origin Legends'; Ó Corráin, 'Creating the Past', esp. pp. 188 and 204–5; Thornton, 'Orality', pp. 83–4; Keynes, 'Between Bede and the Chronicle', p. 60; Pohl, 'Genealogy', p. 232; cf. Genicot's response to Dumville: *Les généalogies*, 1985 suppl., pp. 3–6.

¹⁴⁴ For recognition of this in a Germanic context, cf. Anlezark, 'Sceaf', p. 17; Frank, 'Germanic Legend', pp. 92–5; Hill, 'Myth'.

Literary Genealogy in Medieval Wales

The tradition of writing genealogy in medieval Wales emerged from the Insular tradition of literary genealogy. Many of its forms, structures and conventions are paralleled in early medieval Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England. But from shared beginnings, the tradition of literary genealogy developed in different directions within each cultural milieu, according to local political, cultural and social conditions. As elsewhere, the most significant influence on genealogical writing in medieval Wales was the nature and composition of the Welsh political community, especially when considered in relation to those responsible for the writing of genealogy.

Welsh Poets and the Performativity of Genealogy

Before outlining the chronological development of the Welsh tradition of literary genealogy over time, it is necessary to consider the relationship between genealogy and Welsh poets or bards. It has sometimes been claimed that the poets were the chief preservers of Welsh genealogical traditions.¹⁴⁵ The claim is not without some measure of evidence. Gerald of Wales commented on the interest of the Welsh bards in genealogical matters:¹⁴⁶

Hoc etiam mihi notandum videtur, quod bardi Kambrenses, et cantores, seu recitatores, genealogiam habent praedictorum principum in libris eorum antiquis et authenticis, sed tamen Kambrice scriptam; eandemque memoriter tenent, a Rotherico magno usque ad beatam Virginem, et inde usque ad Silvium, Ascanium, et Eneam; et ab Enea usque ad Adam generationem linealiter producent. Sed quoniam tam longinqua, tam remotissima generis enarratio, multis trutanica potius quam historica esse videretur, eam huic nostro compendio inserere ex industria supersedimus.

Yet it seems to me notable that Welsh bards, singers or reciters have a genealogy of the aforementioned princes in their old and authentic books, written, however, in Welsh; and they retain this in memory, from Rhodri Mawr to the blessed Virgin, and thence back to Silvius, Ascanius and Aeneas; and from Aeneas back to Adam they trace the descent linearly. But because an exposition of descent so distant and remote might seem to many to be more fictitious than historical, we have with due diligence omitted to include it here in our treatise.

In this anecdote, Gerald is commendably precise about the nature of the contact that he had observed between poets and genealogy. The passage refers to a single pedigree found in more than one manuscript, which can be identified from the details provided as the long pedigree of the princes of Gwynedd and Deheubarth developed in the twelfth century.¹⁴⁷ This particular pedigree was devised in a Latinate and ecclesiastical context, as evidenced by its inclusion of elements from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *De gestis Britonum* and from classical and biblical genealogy. One might therefore speculate that the 'old and authentic books' used by the poets had been written in ecclesiastical institutions, or at least copied from ecclesiastical exemplars. Nevertheless, the poets did not rely solely on the written record. Instead, they apparently thought it appropriate to memorise the genealogy, biblical elements and all. This passage is direct evidence for the influence of literary genealogy on bardic tradition, not vice versa. But it does suggest that genealogy was a natural subject of bardic interest.

¹⁴⁵ Especially by Rachel Bromwich: 'Character', pp. 92–8; 'Early Welsh Genealogies', p. 176.

¹⁴⁶ *Descriptio* I.3; cf. Guy, 'Gerald', pp. 51–2.

¹⁴⁷ Guy, 'Gerald', pp. 52–5; for more detail, see Chapter 5 below, pp. 235–43.

Bardic interest in genealogy is evidenced more directly by the Welsh court poetry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Court poets often invoked the prestigious ancestors of their patrons in order to personalise their eulogies and draw attention to the distinction of their patrons' lineages.¹⁴⁸ Good examples are provided by poems for Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd (d. 1170) and the Lord Rhys ap Gruffudd of Deheubarth (d. 1197) by Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr.¹⁴⁹ Hywel and Rhys were closely related in several ways, and in both poems Cynddelw mentions his patrons' descent from their common grandfather Gruffudd ap Cynan and from the eponym of their shared agnatic dynasty (the Merfynion), Merfyn Frych.¹⁵⁰ In the poem to the Lord Rhys especially, Cynddelw refers to several distant ancestors in order to praise Rhys's Merfynion heritage.¹⁵¹ Cynddelw also draws attention to the respective associations of his patrons with Gwynedd and Deheubarth by singling out ancestors who, while common to both patrons, were especially affiliated with only one of the relevant kingdoms.¹⁵² Other references, however, do not appear so calculated, as with the references to Hywel's Powysian forebearer Cyngen (probably Cyngen Glodrydd but possibly Cyngen ap Cadell) and Rhys's Powysian forebearer Cadell (probably Cadell Dyrnllug but possibly Cadell ap Brochfael); in the first case, it is not even clear whether Cynddelw envisaged Cyngen as Hywel's ancestor or merely as an apt figure for comparison.¹⁵³

Another example provides direct evidence for bardic knowledge of literary genealogy, as mentioned by Gerald. In a poem (or possibly series of poems) by Gwalchmai ap Meilyr in praise of Owain Gwynedd, no less than nine of Owain's ancestors are specifically named in reverse order: his three immediate agnatic predecessors Gruffudd, Cynan and Iago; Rhodri Mawr; the early kings of Gwynedd Rhun Hir, Maelgwn Gwynedd, Cadwallon Lawhir and Einion Yrth; and finally Aeneas.¹⁵⁴ Each chronological sequence of ancestors begins a new awdl.¹⁵⁵ The most striking feature of the poem in terms of its genealogical frame of reference is its mention of Aeneas. This can only mean that Gwalchmai was aware of exactly the pedigree found in the bardic books known to Gerald, for there was no other pedigree that traced the relevant line back to Aeneas.¹⁵⁶ Interestingly, the same pedigree is again connected to the bards in a comment embedded in one of the Mostyn genealogies (MG 1). The comment probably dates no earlier than the reign of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (d. 1282) and could even have been inserted by the scribe of the Mostyn genealogies in the first half of the fourteenth

¹⁴⁸ Owen, 'Noddwyr', pp. 75–6 and 93. For an index of the personal names found in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Welsh court poetry, see Owen, 'Mynegai', pp. 25–37.

¹⁴⁹ CBT IV, poems 6 and 9 respectively.

¹⁵⁰ CBT IV, poems 6.18 ('essillit Gruffut'), 6.132 ('kyhauwl Meruyn'), 9.181 ('Hil Gruffut'), 9.230 ('hil ma(vr)ut Meruyn').

¹⁵¹ CBT IV, poem 9.33 ('o hil Anaravd', i.e. Anarawd ap Rhodri), 9.177 ('Hil Coelig', i.e. Rhodri Mawr's agnatic ancestor Coel Hen), 9.179 ('Hil Rodri', i.e. Rhodri Mawr); cf. 9.183 ('Hil Maelgwn', i.e. Maelgwn Gwynedd).

¹⁵² For Gwynedd: CBT IV, poem 6.110 and 6.299 ('hil Run', i.e. Rhun ap Maelgwn), 6.133 ('hil Idwal', i.e. probably Idwal Foel, but possibly Idwal ap Meurig or Idwal Iwrch). For Deheubarth: CBT IV, poem 9.139 ('Aergwl gadarnwch', i.e. Aergol Lawhir). However, any perception that Hywel ab Owain, like Rhys, descended from Aergol Lawhir may have depended on whether or not Hywel's great-great-grandmother Iwerydd ferch Cynfyn was understood to be the daughter of Angharad ferch Maredudd: contrast LIIG 12.2.4 and BT (PR) 1113 [1116]. Other kingdom-specific ancestors were definitely not common ancestors of both patrons: 6.123 ('uchelwab Ywein', i.e. Hywel's father Owain Gwynedd) and 9.184 ('Hil Tevdvr', i.e. Rhys's grandfather Tewdwr Mawr).

¹⁵³ CBT IV, poems 6.45 ('kedernyd Kyngen'), 9.176 ('Hil Cadell').

¹⁵⁴ CBT I, poem 8.1, 2, 19, 27, 53–5 and 57; also Idwal at 8.65.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Owen, 'Noddwyr', p. 93.

¹⁵⁶ See below, p. 240. Did Gerald meet Gwalchmai (fl. c. 1130–c. 1180) or one of the latter's sons during his journey through North Wales in 1188? Is it relevant that, in the next generation, the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies seem to have been compiled under the aegis of Gwalchmai's son Einion, who had access to a copy of this same pedigree?

century.¹⁵⁷ It is observed that there is a difference in the pedigree of the kings of Gwynedd between Geoffrey of Monmouth's idiosyncratic version, where Maelgwn Gwynedd's son is called Einion ('herwyd yr Istoria', 'according to the History'), and the mainstream version associated with the bards, where Maelgwn Gwynedd's son is called Rhun ('herwyd dull y beird', 'according to the manner of the bards'). What is tantalisingly unclear is why the writer associated the mainstream version with the bards. Was it because the writer knew bards who owned books like those seen by Gerald, and apparently Gwalchmai too? Was the writer aware of poems like Gwalchmai's poem in praise of Owain Gwynedd, which does indeed mention Rhun ap Maelgwn? Or had the writer heard bards reciting pedigrees in some public context?

These genealogically rich poems by Cynddelw and Gwalchmai are exceptional among twelfth- and thirteenth-century court poems. In most surviving poems, although there are frequent references to ancient heroes as figures for comparison, there is little sustained attention to patrons' genealogies beyond some predictable references to the most famous and prestigious ancestors. Indeed, there are occasional genealogical references in the court poetry that may suggest that the bards did not always have a specific line of descent in mind when they invoked a patron's 'ancestor'. In one poem, composed, according to its editors, to celebrate Llywelyn ab Iorwerth's coming of age in 1187–8, Prydydd y Moch calls Llywelyn 'dreic keneu Kynlas' ('dragon descendant of Cynlas').¹⁵⁸ The reference is probably to Cynlas Goch of the Rhos line of kings of Gwynedd, who is possibly to be identified with Gildas's *Cuneglasus*.¹⁵⁹ There is no known line of descent through which Llywelyn could have claimed descent from Cynlas Goch. It is certainly possible that such a line of descent was recognised in Llywelyn's time but happens not to have survived in written form. But another possibility is that, in the context of the poem, Llywelyn's alleged descent from Cynlas Goch is evoked simply to imply that Llywelyn would be a legitimate ruler of the cantref of Rhos, and not because Prydydd y Moch was aware of a specific pedigree that could support the claim. Even if Prydydd y Moch did know such a pedigree, many members of his audience probably would not have done, but would nonetheless have believed the claim and understood its meaning.

In general, the court poems of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries suggest that the Welsh poets were familiar with the most prominent aspects of their patrons' pedigrees and were aware of the territorial associations of important ancestral figures, but did not necessarily possess a detailed and encyclopaedic knowledge of Welsh genealogy on a broader scale. They would certainly have memorised individual pedigrees, as Gerald attests, but there is no indication that they could have recited from memory all the genealogical matter found in literary genealogical collections. The latter point is supported by the nature of the extant collections, which, as demonstrated at length in the following chapters, relied in the first instance on earlier textual sources for non-contemporary genealogies. Individual pedigrees within the collections would, for the most part, have originated as 'oral' genealogies known to the relevant dynasties and their adherents, including not least their praise poets, but such pedigrees would have been context-specific and strictly contemporary in purview. Poets would have memorised and transmitted pedigrees according to need, but there was little impetus for them to memorise the pedigrees of dynasties that were not of immediate political relevance for them. Such pedigrees were only preserved for posterity if they were written down; many examples suggest that these written versions subsequently became authoritative precisely because of the absence of enduring 'oral' alternatives. We are aware of ninth- and tenth-century Welsh genealogies

¹⁵⁷ As discussed in Chapter 5, a Latin version of MG 1 is preserved in Exeter 3514, but the comment under consideration is absent from that version: see below, p. 245.

¹⁵⁸ CBT V, poem 18.10.

¹⁵⁹ Gildas, §32; for discussion, see Jackson, 'Varia: II. Gildas', pp. 33–4; Dumville, 'Gildas', pp. 57–9; Thornton, *Kings*, pp. 81–2. For Cynlas in the Rhos pedigree, see Table A.4.7.3.

because they were written down in the ninth and tenth centuries; ninth- and tenth-century poets may well have memorised some of them, but those pedigrees would not have been transmitted orally in an unchanging form to the poets of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹⁶⁰ The latter would instead have memorised genealogies relevant to their own contexts, such as the twelfth-century pedigree described by Gerald. They would only have been aware of earlier genealogies through writing. Medieval Welsh poets had greater reason than most people in society to learn royal and aristocratic pedigrees, but there is little to suggest that it was ‘the duty of the bards to preserve and to transmit them’.¹⁶¹ As discussed below, it was only in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in an entirely new social context, that Welsh poets became the primary agents of Welsh genealogy.

This conclusion begs a more profound question concerning the performativity of genealogy. Was genealogy ever ‘performed’ orally, and, if so, did the orally performed genealogies correspond with the genealogies found in literary manuscripts? An elegy to Owain Goch ap Gruffudd (d. 1282) by Bleddyn Fardd provides some impression of what a performative rendition of a genealogy might look like:¹⁶²

Hil Gruffut waew rut, rotuaŵr eurllaŵ,
Hael uab Llywelyn, llyw Aberffraŵ,
Hil Yoruerth cannerth, kein wallaŵ—reuuet,
Hil Ywein Gwynet, haelon gwynaw,
Hil gŵraŵl breinhyaŵl brenhin Manaw,
Hil Madaŵc uodaŵc, uyd eitunaŵ,
Hil Mareduŵt draŵs, haŵt drostaŵ—ledkynt,
Hil eduynt Bletynt, bleit ymŵryaw.

Lineage of Gruffudd of reddened spear, great-gifted his bountiful hand,
Generous son of Llywelyn, leader of Aberffraw,
Lineage of Iorwerth and his protection, finely distributing riches,
Lineage of Owain Gwynedd, lamenting for generous men,
Lineage valiant and royal of the king of Man,
Lineage of steadfast Madog, beseeching the world,
Lineage of mighty Maredudd, easy is the mourning for him,
Lineage of wise Bleddyn, a wolf battling.

Figure 1.4 illustrates the relationships between Owain Goch and the people mentioned in the poem. The first four lines trace Owain Goch’s agnatic pedigree back four generations to his powerful namesake Owain Gwynedd (d. 1170). The fifth line is probably a reference either to Owain Goch’s agnatic ancestor Merfyn Frych, who was probably king of Man before acquiring the kingship of Gwynedd,¹⁶³ or to the alleged descent of Gruffudd ap Cyнан’s mother Rhanillt from the same dynastic progenitor as the twelfth- and thirteenth-century kings of Man, a relationship that one section of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies was specifically designed to highlight.¹⁶⁴ The last three lines then draw attention to Owain

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Ó Corráin, ‘Creating the Past’, p. 189.

¹⁶¹ Bromwich, ‘Early Welsh Genealogies’, p. 176.

¹⁶² CBT VII, poem 48.17–24.

¹⁶³ See the discussion in Chapter 2, pp. 69–70.

¹⁶⁴ LIIG 16.1; cf. Broderick, ‘Irish and Welsh Strands’, pp. 33–6; Thornton, ‘Genealogy’, pp. 94–6. For the development of the relationship between the kings of Gwynedd and Man in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see McDonald, *Manx Kingship*, pp. 63 and 101–7; O. W. Jones, ‘O Oes Gwrtheyrn’. Might this line in the poem account for the spurious tradition, which first surfaces in the work of Gutun Owain (LIIG (GO) G40.3), that the mother of Owain Goch and his brothers was an otherwise unknown Rhanillt daughter of Rǫgnvaldr Guðrøðarson, king of Man (r. 1187–1226, k. 1229)? The tradition is rejected in Smith, *Llywelyn*, pp. 37–9.

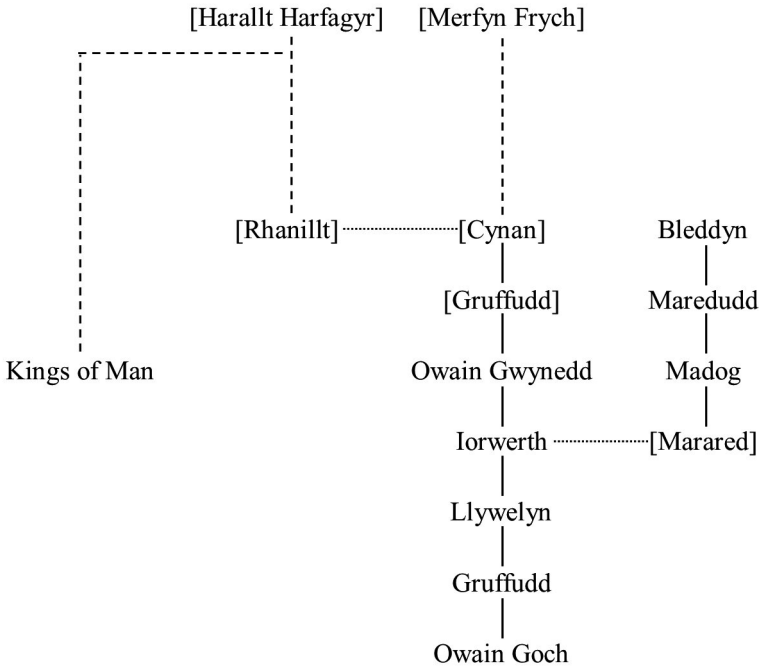


Figure 1.4: Bleddyn Fardd's poetic genealogy of Owain Goch

Goch's descent through Llywelyn ab Iorwerth's mother Marared ferch Madog from Madog ap Maredudd, king of Powys, and the latter's father Maredudd and grandfather Bleddyn ap Cynfyn. This is an excellent example of how the bare genealogies found in literary genealogical collections might be rendered in a fashion appropriate for oral performance. However, in the corpus of twelfth- and thirteenth-century court poetry, this poem is almost unique in its sustained enumeration of the generations of a patron's pedigrees.¹⁶⁵ Most contemporary praise poems are not performative genealogies.

One possible context for the performance of non-poetic pedigrees is royal inauguration. The only direct evidence for this idea comes from an account of the inauguration of Alexander III, king of Scots, on 13 July 1249, preserved in a text known as '*Gesta Annalia I*', which may have been first assembled in 1285.¹⁶⁶ It has been argued that this account reproduces a contemporary description of the ceremony.¹⁶⁷ Dauvit Broun has reconstructed the relevant part of this description as follows:¹⁶⁸

Et ecce, peractis singulis, quidam Scotus montanus, ante thronum subito genuflectens, materna lingua regem inclinato capite salutavit, dicens: *Benach De, Re Albanne, Alexander mac Alexander mac Uleyham mac Henri mac David*, et sic pronuntiando regum Scottorum genealogiam usque in finem legebatur.

¹⁶⁵ The closest analogue is perhaps another poem by Bleddyn Fardd in praise of Dafydd ap Gruffudd ab Owain Brogyntyn, which traces Dafydd's agnatic descent back four generations to Maredudd ap Bleddyn: CBT VII, poem 55.

¹⁶⁶ *Gesta Annalia*, §§47–8 (ed. Skene, *Johannis de Fordun Chronica*, pp. 293–5); cf. Broun, 'New Look'. For the same idea in seventeenth-century Scotland, see Bannerman, 'King's Poet', pp. 132 and 137, n. 6.

¹⁶⁷ Broun, *Scottish Independence*, pp. 170–9.

¹⁶⁸ Broun, *Scottish Independence*, pp. 177–8; Broun, 'Genealogy', p. 219. I follow Broun's translation.

And behold, after they one by one were finished, a certain highland Scot, kneeling suddenly before the throne, greeted the king in the mother tongue, bowing his head, saying: *Bennachd Dé, ri Albanach, Alexannar mac Alexannair meic Uilleim meic Énri meic David* [Blessings of God, king of Scots, Alexander son of Alexander son of William son of Henry son of David], and by proclaiming in this way read the genealogy of the kings of Scots to the end.

In the extant text, a long pedigree has been inserted from an external source, demonstrating Alexander's descent from none other than the Irish eponym Goidel Glas.¹⁶⁹ Presumably this was the implication of the genealogy being read 'to the end'. It is striking that, even in this context, the pedigree was allegedly read out rather than recited from memory, even though the certain 'highland Scot' has been identified as the king's poet, analogous to the bards who attended the king's court in medieval Wales.¹⁷⁰

Broun has supposed that the recitation of the king's pedigree by the royal poet was a long-established feature of royal inauguration in Scotland.¹⁷¹ Can a similar scenario be posited for medieval Wales? There is no direct evidence that this was the case. Nor is there any evidence for it in Ireland or in Germanic-speaking contexts.¹⁷² However, there is very little evidence for royal inauguration in medieval Wales at all, meaning that, in this case, absence of evidence cannot necessarily be taken as evidence of absence.¹⁷³

The only positive indication that Welsh pedigrees may have been recited orally is the presence of certain literary devices in the prehistoric sections of some significant royal pedigrees. The names in the 'invented' portions of such pedigrees sometimes form sequences of rhyming or alliterating pairs. Consider, for example, the prehistoric section of the pedigree of the kings of Gwynedd, as found in the Harleian genealogies (probably preserving the form of the ninth-century Gwynedd collection of genealogies), when alternate names are set out in two columns:

Cein	Guorcein
Doli	Guordoli
Dumn	Gurdumn
Amguoloyt	Amguerit ¹⁷⁴
Oumun ¹⁷⁵	Dubun
Brithguein	Eugein
Aballac	Amalech
Beli Magnus/Anna	

There have been few attempts to explain this phenomenon. Nicholson suggested that this section of the pedigree was originally a king-list, which used the preposition *guor* ('over,

¹⁶⁹ The pedigree is edited in Broun, *Irish Identity*, pp. 183–7.

¹⁷⁰ Bannerman, 'King's Poet'; cf. Jenkins, 'Bardd Teulu'.

¹⁷¹ Broun, 'Genealogy', pp. 221–2.

¹⁷² FitzPatrick, *Royal Inauguration*, p. 8; Sisam, 'Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies' p. 323. For an overview of royal inauguration in the early Middle Ages (with no reference to genealogy), see Nelson, 'Inauguration Rituals'.

¹⁷³ Cf. Walters, 'Comparative Aspects', pp. 386–8.

¹⁷⁴ The nasal contraction mark in this name is expanded as 'Anguerit' by Phillimore, though he expresses uncertainty as to the correct expansion: '*Annales Cambriae*', p. 170, n. 4. There is much variation between *n* and *m* in later copies of the pedigree. I prefer to expand with *m* here because of the pairing of the name with *Amguoloyt*.

¹⁷⁵ This name, abbreviated as *Oumú* in the manuscript, is perhaps better preserved in the St Cadog genealogies (*VS Cadoci*, §47) as *Oumiud*, since every other version of the pedigree ends with either *t* or *d* (except Harley 673's *Onuec*, which is clearly a miscopying of *Onuet*). A Welsh scribe of one of Harley 3859's exemplars may have been encouraged to abbreviate *Oumiud* as *Oumú* (implying *Oumun*) precisely because of the resulting rhyme with *Dubun*.

above') to express 'before'.¹⁷⁶ For instance, he understood the successive names *Cein*, *Guorcein*, *Doli* to mean 'Cein; before Cein, Doli'. He pointed out that the Pictish cognate of *guor*, namely *ur* or *uur*, was used to construct just such a table of succession in the Pictish king-list.¹⁷⁷ Rather dubiously, some subsequent commentators have seen in this phenomenon evidence for a Pictish section of the Gwynedd pedigree.¹⁷⁸

Significantly, the same phenomenon may be observed in a ninth-century West Saxon context. In the pedigree of the West Saxon king Æthelwulf in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, R. W. Chambers noticed that the names between Cerdic, the progenitor of the West Saxon dynasty, and Woden, the common ancestor of most Anglo-Saxon dynasties, form perfectly alliterating verse, achieved through the pairing of alliterating names in the pedigree.¹⁷⁹ In his view, this showed that the pedigree of Cerdic derived from pre-literate times. However, Kenneth Sisam and, more recently, Thomas Bredehoft have shown that the alliterating sequence of names is more likely to be an innovation of the ninth century than an archaism preserved from an earlier period.¹⁸⁰ An earlier form of the Cerdic to Woden pedigree is probably preserved in the genealogical collection in CCC 183 and in Asser's *Life of King Alfred*, both of which contain fewer names and do not display the same alliterative pattern.¹⁸¹

This may suggest that prehistoric pedigrees formed from pairs of alliterating and rhyming names were deliberate innovations that were characteristic of Insular literary genealogy in the early Middle Ages. This can be understood as a local manifestation of the much broader phenomenon whereby pedigrees can be lengthened, and thus made more culturally prestigious, by inserting duplicated names into them.¹⁸² The Insular practice of doubling names through alliterating or rhyming pairs can also be observed in prehistoric sections of Irish pedigrees.¹⁸³ Other early Welsh pedigrees preserve the same feature. Pairs of alliterating and rhyming names are found in the prehistoric sections of those versions of the pedigree of the kings of Dyfed that are specifically dateable to the ninth or tenth centuries (HG 2; LIIG 38.1),¹⁸⁴ as well as in ninth- and tenth-century pedigrees associated with the royal dynasties of Powys and Brycheiniog.¹⁸⁵ There is therefore no need to appeal to a lost king-list to explain artificial pairs of names like *Cein/Guorcein* in the Gwynedd pedigree; the *Guor*- forms could have been adduced as a means of doubling the names either through analogy with names like

¹⁷⁶ Nicholson, 'Dynasty', pp. 65–7.

¹⁷⁷ Nicholson, 'Dynasty', p. 66, n. 1; Nicholson, *Keltic Researches*, pp. 49–50 and 50, n. 1.

¹⁷⁸ Chadwick, *Early Scotland*, p. 149; Jackson, 'Britons', p. 79; Alcock, *Arthur's Britain*, p. 128; Koch, 'Loss', pp. 219–20; Koch, *Gododdin*, p. xcvi; Koch, *Cunedda*, p. 74.

¹⁷⁹ ASC (AD) 855; (BC) 856; Chambers, *Beowulf*, pp. 316–17; cf. Hill, 'Woden'.

¹⁸⁰ Sisam, 'Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies', pp. 300–7; Bredehoft, *Textual Histories*, pp. 20–3. Bredehoft also argued that, compared with the earlier Anglo-Saxon genealogies found in Cotton Vespasian B. vi, which he believes to be written in metrical verse, the Cerdic–Woden section of the West Saxon pedigree contains metrical innovations that may be found in other pedigrees composed in the milieu of the West Saxon court in the late ninth century.

¹⁸¹ Dumville, 'Anglian Collection', p. 34; Asser, §1. Bredehoft concluded, against Sisam and Dumville, that even this earlier form of the Cerdic–Woden pedigree was the work of the late-ninth-century chronicler of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: *Textual Histories*, pp. 34–5; cf. Sisam, 'Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies', pp. 291 and 305 (who argues that the earlier version of Cerdic's ancestry was concocted in Egbert's reign, 802–39); Dumville, 'Anglian Collection', pp. 39–40 (who argues that the earlier version was part of the archetype of the Anglian collection, supposedly written in 796).

¹⁸² Henige, *Oral Historiography*, p. 99.

¹⁸³ Consider the following pairs of names in Goidel Glas's pedigree, as reported, for instance, by the expanded text of *Auraicept na nÉces*, ll. 181–6 (ed. Calder, p. 14): *Ethecht/Aurtecht*, *Abodh/Aoi*, *Ara/Iara*, *Sru/Esru*, *Boath/Riafath* (elsewhere *Ibath*).

¹⁸⁴ In HG 2, note *Clotri/Gloitguin*, *Nimet/Dimet*, *Protec/Protector*, *Ebiud/Eliud*. For the dating of these versions, see Guy, 'Earliest Welsh Genealogies', pp. 477–85.

¹⁸⁵ For Powys, see *ibid.*, p. 473; for Brycheiniog, note the pairs *Ruallawn/Idwallawn* and *Rigeneu/Rein* (OW *Regin*) in the invented portion of the tenth-century genealogy preserved in JC 8: *ibid.*, pp. 475–6.

Guorthigirn (i.e. Vortigern) or indeed through knowledge of king-lists like those surviving from Pictland. Another method seems to have been to alternate between spellings for the fricatives /β/ (spelled *b*) and /μ/ (spelled *m*), as in *Oumun/Dubun*, *Aballac/Amalech*.¹⁸⁶ Is it possible that the deliberately literary approach to the invention of prehistoric pedigrees for royal dynasties was stimulated by the need to recite those pedigrees, conceivably at events like royal inaugurations? Or was it merely a device to lengthen the pedigrees in such a way as to make them more memorable? It may be significant in this respect that the practice is most noticeable in the pedigrees of the Merfynion kings of Gwynedd and Dyfed, who may have had a heightened awareness of the need to legitimise their power in public contexts.

Even if certain pedigrees were recited in public contexts like royal inauguration ceremonies, it is important to recognise that only a small proportion of the literary genealogy surviving from medieval Wales would have been appropriate for this purpose. In the massive thirteenth-century genealogical collection that I term the 'Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies', only the long pedigree of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth (LIIG 11.1), perhaps in addition to some of the royal pedigrees in the section called *Bonedd Gwehelaethau Cymru* (LIIG 29–46), would have sufficed for inauguration ceremonies. By contrast, the sections of the text that follow Llywelyn's pedigree, which describe in convoluted detail the many children of Llywelyn's grandfather, great-uncles and great-grandfather (LIIG 12–15), would have been singularly unsuited to recitation, let alone in the context of a royal inauguration.¹⁸⁷ It is essential to recognise that most of the components of major genealogical texts like the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies were intended to be read, not heard; indeed, structural factors lent meaning to the genealogies that would have been more apparent to the reader than the listener. Such written genealogies should be contrasted with Bleddyn Fardd's poem for Owain Goch, or indeed with the early Irish Leinster genealogical poems, probably composed no later than the early seventh century; though genealogical in content, these were performative by virtue of being poems, not by being genealogy.¹⁸⁸ Certain individual pedigrees might, like poems, have been constructed for oral performance, but the majority of written genealogies were not.

Chronological Development

Literary genealogy in medieval Wales surfaces in the extant record in the eighth and ninth centuries. In the middle of the eighth century, a written copy of the pedigree of the kings of Dyfed, tracing their line back around two centuries, was taken to Ireland and incorporated into the Old Irish prose text *Indarba na nDéisi*.¹⁸⁹ Other isolated examples emerge in the early decades of the ninth century. The inscription on the Pillar of Eliseg begins with a five-generation pedigree of Cyngen ap Cadell, king of Powys (d. 856).¹⁹⁰ In the *Historia Brittonum* there is a pedigree of the kings of Buellt and Gwerthrynion traced back to Vortigern, which may have been copied from an earlier written source.¹⁹¹ Two small groups of genealogies incor-

¹⁸⁶ Though note that *Amalech* is a biblical name: it is the Latin Vulgate spelling of Amalek, grandson of Esau and progenitor of the Amalekites (Genesis 36.12).

¹⁸⁷ The same is true of Irish genealogical texts composed as early as the seventh century: Ó Corráin, 'Creating the Past', p. 196.

¹⁸⁸ Ó Corráin would date the Leinster poems to the early seventh century, whereas Carney favoured the mid-fifth century: Ó Corráin, 'Irish Origin Legends', pp. 56–63; Carney, 'Three Old Irish Accentual Poems', pp. 65–73; Carney, 'Dating', pp. 48–50. For criticism of Carney's argument, see Breatnach, 'Poets', pp. 75–6. For some translations, see Koch, with Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age*, pp. 53–7 (§67 'Nídu dir dermait' and §68 'Núadu Necht').

¹⁸⁹ See above, p. 19, n. 97.

¹⁹⁰ *Corpus* III, 322–6; Edwards, 'Rethinking'; Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, pp. 414–19.

¹⁹¹ *HB* (Harl. 3859), §49. See below, p. 154.

porated into the Harleian genealogies probably originated as discrete genealogical tracts concerning the royal dynasties of Dyfed (HG 13–15) and Powys (HG 30–31) in the early ninth century.¹⁹² Neither tract extends over more than five generations. This is exactly what one would expect from the earliest stages of a written genealogical tradition. Comparative evidence suggests that early medieval knowledge of ancestry unsupported by writing rarely extended over about four generations.¹⁹³ As seen above, Gerald of Wales found it remarkable that many Welshmen in the twelfth century knew their pedigrees as far back as the seventh generation. The much longer pedigrees found in texts from medieval Wales, just like those in texts written elsewhere, are the result of multiple stages of augmentation in writing.¹⁹⁴ I have termed this process ‘pedigree growth’.¹⁹⁵ Pedigrees grew in length for two reasons. Firstly, it was desirable to base a new ruler’s written pedigree on an earlier ruler’s written pedigree, thereby causing the old pedigree to be ‘updated’.¹⁹⁶ Secondly, the chronologically remoter sections of pedigrees were extended backwards in time to accommodate developing pseudo-historical fictions, which could be used to connect the pedigrees’ subjects to broader cultural discourses of kingship and ethnicity. The detailed and lengthy pedigrees that resulted from this dual process were highly prestigious, just as they were in other cultural contexts.¹⁹⁷

Between the ninth and thirteenth centuries, there were three chief phases for the writing of extant secular literary genealogy in medieval Wales. Each phase was stimulated by a major change in the political landscape. The first change was the rise of the Merfynion between the early ninth and mid-tenth centuries.¹⁹⁸ This process was marked especially by Merfyn’s succession to the kingship of Gwynedd in or shortly after 825 and by the final conquest of Dyfed by the sons of Rhodri Mawr in or shortly after 904. The common source of the Harleian and Jesus 20 genealogies, which I call the ‘Gwynedd collection of genealogies’, was probably created in the context of claims by Rhodri Mawr to be overlord of various smaller kingdoms in northern and western Wales, while the Harleian genealogies themselves reflect the hegemonic assumptions that Owain, Rhodri’s great-grandson, had inherited upon the death of his father, Hywel Dda, in 950.¹⁹⁹

The second major change was the consolidation of power by the sons of Gruffudd ap Cynan in Gwynedd and the sons of Gruffudd ap Rhys in Deheubarth in the decades following the death of Henry I in 1135.²⁰⁰ For the remaining period of Welsh political independence in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, their dynasties were two of the three most powerful Welsh dynasties in Wales, the other being the dynasty of Bleddyn ap Cynfyn in Powys.²⁰¹ However, unlike the dynasty of Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, the dynasties of Gruffudd ap Cynan and Gruffudd ap Rhys shared a common ancestor in the agnatic line: Rhodri Mawr. This circumstance stimulated a reorganisation of written genealogical records so as to channel several sources of legitimacy through the figure of Rhodri Mawr. In addition, an agnatic pedigree was created for Rhodri, tracing his lineage in the male line back through Coel Hen to Beli Mawr.²⁰² The earlier ninth- and tenth-century genealogical

¹⁹² Guy, ‘Earliest Welsh Genealogies’.

¹⁹³ Sisam, ‘Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies’, pp. 322–3; Thornton, ‘Orality’, p. 89; Pohl, ‘Genealogy’, p. 232.

¹⁹⁴ Sisam, ‘Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies’, p. 321; Meaney, ‘Scyld Scefing’, p. 13; Thornton, ‘Orality’, pp. 87 and 89–90; Ó Murchadha, ‘Rawlinson B. 502’, p. 325.

¹⁹⁵ Guy, ‘Earliest Welsh Genealogies’, p. 463.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Ó Corráin, ‘Historical Need’, p. 143: ‘Originality is, after all, a scarce commodity and it is easier to recycle old material, put it to new uses and new purposes, than to invent afresh’.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Henige, *Oral Historiography*, p. 99.

¹⁹⁸ See, most importantly, Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, chs 15–16.

¹⁹⁹ See Chapter 2.

²⁰⁰ *HW* II, chs 13–15; R. R. Davies, *Age of Conquest*, pp. 45–55.

²⁰¹ On the latter, see now Stephenson, *Medieval Powys*; cf. my review in *Speculum* 93 (2018), 915–17.

²⁰² Guy, ‘Gerald’, pp. 53–4; see Chapter 3, pp. 116–18, and Chapter 5, pp. 234–5.

records of the Merfynion formed the natural starting point for such rewriting. The results of this process can be observed most clearly in the genealogical exposition at the beginning of the twelfth-century Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan and in the sections of the Jesus 20 genealogies focussed on Rhodri Mawr.²⁰³

The third major change was the rise of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth to a position of hegemony over other native Welsh princes in the early decades of the thirteenth century.²⁰⁴ An unprecedented outcome of Llywelyn's newly won position was his ability to redistribute the lands of Deheubarth among the descendants of the Lord Rhys at a meeting at Aberdyfi in 1216, where the true extent of Llywelyn's superiority over representatives of another major princely dynasty was made plain.²⁰⁵ Llywelyn did not go so far as to deny the royal status of other Welsh princes completely, but he had clearly established himself at the pinnacle of a hierarchy of Welsh royalty.²⁰⁶ Such a scenario demanded genealogical rationalisation, and indeed, from Llywelyn's point of view, legitimisation. In the Jesus 20 genealogies (JC 24–29), one can see a genealogist rationalising the relationship between Llywelyn and Rhys Gryg from the latter's point of view, emphasising that, despite Rhys's subjection to Llywelyn, Rhys remained royal in status and was, like Llywelyn, descended from the royal progenitor Rhodri Mawr. By contrast, in the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies one finds a thorough-going attempt to justify Llywelyn's hegemony in genealogical terms following the events of 1216.²⁰⁷

There was a fourth major change in the political landscape of medieval Wales that is not amply evidenced in surviving literary genealogy. This was the acquisition of hegemony across most of Wales during the eleventh century by a series of related rulers whose dynasties do not seem to have exercised royal authority beforehand. All of them were rulers of Gwynedd in the broader eleventh-century sense, wielding power across much of eastern and central Wales in addition to the heartland of Gwynedd in the north-west.²⁰⁸ These were Llywelyn ap Seisyll (r. 1018–23), Llywelyn's famous son Gruffudd (r. 1039–64), Gruffudd's half-brothers Rhiwallon (r. 1064–9) and Bleddyn (r. 1064–75), sons of Cynfyn, and lastly Bleddyn and Rhiwallon's cousin Trahaearn ap Caradog (r. 1075–81). It is likely that the political power of these rulers was rationalised in genealogical terms, but no such written genealogy survives from the period. This is probably because it would not have been deemed worthy of preservation under the Merfynion rulers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, who preferred to hearken back to the genealogical precepts of the ninth and tenth centuries, which better suited their claims to legitimacy.²⁰⁹ Nevertheless, some aspects of the genealogical perspective of the eleventh century may survive in later texts. Characteristic of this perspective seems to have been the portrayal of Angharad, daughter of Maredudd ab Owain (d. 998/9) and mother, by different fathers, of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn and Rhiwallon and Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, as a conduit of genealogical legitimacy in Gwynedd and Deheubarth.²¹⁰ With such an emphasis, Gruffudd ap Llywelyn could have cast his hegemony over both Gwynedd and Deheubarth as a continuation of the power exercised by his maternal grandfather Maredudd ab Owain and the latter's paternal grandfather Hywel Dda. This emphasis on Angharad as a conduit of genealogical legitimacy is noticeable in the early twelfth-century portion of *Brut y Tywysogyon* and is reflected in the thirteenth-century genealogies of

²⁰³ *VGC* §3; JC 17–23.

²⁰⁴ *HW* II, chs 17–18; R. R. Davies, *Age of Conquest*, ch. 8; Smith, *Llywelyn*, pp. 14–20.

²⁰⁵ *HW* II, 649; R. R. Davies, *Age of Conquest*, pp. 227–8 and 243; Smith, *Llywelyn*, pp. 18–19.

²⁰⁶ See especially R. R. Davies, *Age of Conquest*, pp. 245–7.

²⁰⁷ Compare Gough-Cooper's findings about the restructuring of the Cottonian chronicle in 1216 in order to draw attention to Llywelyn's importance: 'Decennovenal Reason'.

²⁰⁸ W. Davies, *Patterns*, pp. 41–2.

²⁰⁹ Cf. Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, p. 332.

²¹⁰ For some thoughtful consideration of Angharad, see Sean Davies, *First Prince*, pp. 10–12 and 20–1.

Llywelyn ab Iorwerth and Rhys Gryg.²¹¹ In a confused but no less indicative passage, the genealogies on the front flyleaf of the Red Book of Talgarth (Llanstephan 27, c. 1400), written by a hand roughly contemporary with the main hands of the manuscript, seem to refer to Angharad as *Angharat Benng[w]raic*, ‘Angharad Chief-Wife’, reflecting the same notion at an even later stage.²¹² The notion may have once formed the basis of a now-lost literary genealogy composed during the reign of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn.

In the ecclesiastical sphere, major changes in the late-eleventh and twelfth centuries stimulated the production of Welsh saints’ genealogies. This period saw the regularisation of the Welsh dioceses, the establishment and endowment of the new monastic orders, often at the expense of earlier ecclesiastical institutions, and attempts by Anglo-Norman kings, lords and clerics to impose their authority over Welsh churches.²¹³ One literary response to these pressures was Latin hagiography, which flourished in this period.²¹⁴ Another was literary genealogy about saints. It is probable that, in some instances, details about the immediate familial relations of a church’s patron saint were successfully transmitted over time because they were embedded in the liturgy used to commemorate the saint. It was through precisely such means that names of the immediate family members of the sixth-century St Samson were transmitted to the author of the First Life of St Samson, working some century or more later.²¹⁵ On the other hand, accurate details about a saint’s extended family were much less likely to be preserved. For those interested in promoting an ecclesiastical centre associated with a saint, the accurate transmission of such details may not have been an overriding concern, since it was often more useful to claim, rightly or wrongly, that a saint had been a member of a local royal dynasty. That dynasty’s own secular genealogy could then form the basis for a lengthier saint’s genealogy. Sometimes these saints’ genealogies were associated with hagiography, as witnessed by the pedigree of St David appended to Rhygyfarch’s Life of St David, and by the collection of genealogies concerning St Cadog appended to Llifris’s Life of St Cadog in Cotton Vespasian A. xiv, part i.²¹⁶ Sometimes saints’ genealogies could be grouped together in distinct genealogical tracts, as seen in the Ceredig and Brychan Tracts.²¹⁷ This process culminated in the production of *Bonedd y Saint*, a large and diverse collection of saints’ genealogies probably assembled in the old *clas* church of Clynnog Fawr sometime between the mid-twelfth and late-thirteenth century.²¹⁸

Who was responsible for writing literary genealogy in medieval Wales? Between the ninth and thirteenth centuries, Welsh literary genealogy did not break its contact with literate, and usually Latinate, textual culture, suggesting that the writing of literary genealogy should

²¹¹ BT (P) 1106 [1109] and (twice) 1113 [1116]; BT (R) 1105 [1109] and (twice) 1113 [1116]; BT (S) 1113 [1116]; JC 27; LIIG 11.1.4, 12.2.4 and 28.2.3. For the early twelfth-century portion of *Brut y Tywysogion*, see the essential work of O. W. Jones, ‘*Brut y Tywysogion*’. For Angharad in later genealogical writing, see Chapter 4 below, p. 202.

²¹² My thanks to Myriah Williams for bringing these genealogies to my attention.

²¹³ For an overview, see J. R. Davies, ‘Aspects’. Recently, scholars have cautioned against over-emphasising the responsibility of Anglo-Norman aggressors for ecclesiastical change: Golding, ‘Trans-Border Transactions’; J. R. Davies, ‘Cult’.

²¹⁴ For the role of hagiography in the promotion of the bishopric of Llandaf in the twelfth century, see J. R. Davies, *Book of Llandaf*, ch. 7. Many eleventh- and twelfth-century Welsh saints’ Lives are concerned to defend the rights (especially property rights) and privileges of ecclesiastical institutions against secular encroachment, both native and foreign: W. Davies, ‘Property Rights’, pp. 527–8; J. R. Davies, ‘Cult’, pp. 47–51. For signs of hagiography in Wales before the eleventh century, see Guy, ‘*Life*’, pp. 2–4.

²¹⁵ *VS Samsonis I*, I.1 (ed. and transl. Flobert, pp. 146–9); Poulin, ‘La circulation’, p. 49. For the portrayal of Samson’s family in the First Life, see Sowerby, ‘Family’.

²¹⁶ *VS David*, §68; *VS Cadoci*, §§45–7.

²¹⁷ These are discussed in Chapter 3 below, pp. 130–42.

²¹⁸ See Barry Lewis’s forthcoming edition of *Bonedd y Saint*.

be associated in the first instance with clerical personnel.²¹⁹ Literary genealogy often accompanied Latin works about the past, such as *Historia Brittonum*, the Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan and the Life of St Cadog. Major Latin texts can also be seen to influence literary genealogy directly, as shown by the twelfth-century pedigree tracing Rhodri Mawr's line back to Adam, which drew on Geoffrey of Monmouth's *De gestis Britonum*.

In the earlier period, it was the members of major *clas* churches who wrote down literary genealogy.²²⁰ These *clas* churches included St Davids, where the St Davids recension was redacted in the tenth century; Llanccarfan, where a tenth-century genealogical tract concerning Morgan ap Owain, king of Morgannwg, seems to have been preserved; and Abergele, where the ninth-century Gwynedd collection of genealogies may have been composed.²²¹ Some of these communities maintained close relationships with local rulers, as shown by the commemoration of eighth- and ninth-century kings of Glywysing on stone monuments erected at the important church of Llanilltud Fawr (Llantwit Major).²²² Individual pedigrees would have been communicated orally to churchmen via rulers' trusted representatives, such as poets, or indeed by members of the relevant dynasties. In some cases, the churchmen themselves would have belonged to the ruling dynasty, like Gruffudd ap Cynan's son Idwal (abbot of Penmon) and Owain Gwynedd's son Cadwallon (abbot of Bardsey), and would accordingly have already known the dynasty's pedigree.²²³ Such pedigrees would then have been recorded according to the forms and conventions learned from the wider tradition of Insular literary genealogy.

As is evident from other types of writing, the circumstances pertaining to the writing of literary genealogy underwent major changes during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. During this period, in many (though not all) localities in Wales, the earlier *clas* churches gradually ceased to be the primary centres of written literary activity. In their stead, newly founded Cistercian monasteries emerged as important new centres of native learning.²²⁴ Just as early centres of Welsh chronicling like St Davids and Llanbadarn Fawr were replaced by Cistercian monasteries like Strata Florida and Valle Crucis, so the recording of genealogy was increasingly undertaken in the new Cistercian foundations too.²²⁵ When Gutun Owain rediscovered the riches of medieval Welsh literary genealogy in the fifteenth century, he did so in the vernacular manuscripts of Valle Crucis Abbey.²²⁶ By the late thirteenth century, and probably from as early as the reign of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth (c. 1200–40), Cistercian monasteries had become the foremost centres for the production of Welsh vernacular manuscripts.²²⁷ In some cases, these manuscripts included literary genealogy, as in the lost manuscript Hengwrt 33, probably written in Valle Crucis.²²⁸

Perhaps from no earlier than the latter half of the twelfth century, it seems to have become gradually more common for Welsh secular professionals, such as lawyers, to own and even create their own books.²²⁹ The testimony of Gerald of Wales shows that poets should be counted among such book-owning professionals. However, in native Wales, the literary activity of secular professionals did not necessarily take place primarily in secular environments. In the

²¹⁹ Just as in early medieval Ireland: Ó Corráin, 'Creating the Past', pp. 188–9.

²²⁰ For *clas* churches, see Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, pp. 602–14; Evans, 'Survival'.

²²¹ For a map of major *clas* churches, see Rees, *Historical Atlas*, pl. 27. For St Davids and Llanccarfan, see below, pp. 59 and 85; for Abergele, see Guy, 'Origins'.

²²² *Corpus* I, 369–73 (G63) and 377–82 (G65).

²²³ LIIG 15.3 and 12.2.

²²⁴ R. R. Davies, *Age of Conquest*, pp. 194–201.

²²⁵ For this transition in chronicling, see Pryce, 'Chronicling'.

²²⁶ Guy, 'Writing Genealogy'; see too Chapter 4 below, p. 217.

²²⁷ *MWM* 14–15 and 52–3.

²²⁸ Guy, 'Lost Medieval Manuscript', pp. 84–91.

²²⁹ For the literacy of medieval Welsh lawyers, see Pryce, 'Lawbooks', esp. pp. 41–3; cf. Guy, 'Gerald', p. 55; *MWM* 15 and 52–4.

thirteenth century, the great lawyer family of Iorwerth ap Madog of Arfon Uwch Gwyrfa, which included at least two professional poets, seems to have been closely involved, not unnaturally, with the old but still flourishing *clas* church of Clynog Fawr on their doorstep.²³⁰ The Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies imply a similar relationship in a genealogical context. In one section of this text, special interest is shown in the family of Einion ap Gwalchmai (see Figure 1.1). Einion was a professional poet, and, between 1217 and 1223, he was one of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth's leading officials.²³¹ He also seems to have been expert in the law, and may have functioned as Llywelyn's court judge.²³² He was well-placed to learn the genealogical doctrines of Llywelyn's dynasty. Einion, or a close member of his family, may have been responsible for the creation of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. Yet the manuscript transmission of the text indicates that it entered a Cistercian milieu at an early stage, and there are other indications that its composition might be associated with Aberconwy Abbey, a Cistercian foundation patronised by Llywelyn (and where Llywelyn was buried).²³³ These various indications are not mutually exclusive; Einion could have composed the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies using the literary resources of Aberconwy Abbey.

With the destruction of the native dynasty of Gwynedd in 1282–3 and the consequent annexation of native Wales by the English king Edward I, the medieval Welsh tradition of literary genealogy effectively ceased. The natural royal subjects of literary genealogy had either been destroyed or reduced to baronial status.²³⁴ Genealogical texts concerning earlier rulers continued to be reproduced, as shown by the Mostyn genealogies, copied into NLW 3036B (Mostyn 117) by the same scribe who wrote the Book of Taliesin (Peniarth 2) in the first half of the fourteenth century, and by the Jesus 20 genealogies, probably copied in Glamorgan or Gower around 1400.²³⁵ But very few new secular literary genealogies entered writing. In order to continue, literary genealogy needed to undergo the same transition as formal praise poetry. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the chief patrons of professional poets were the native princes, but after 1282–3 it was necessary for professional poets to seek patronage from the emerging class of native Welsh gentry.²³⁶ Literary genealogy was slower to transition. There are only a few sporadic examples of genealogy being written about the Welsh gentry in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The lost Llanforda manuscript of Welsh law, written around 1325 for one Iorwerth ap Llywelyn ap Tudur, contained a pedigree of the manuscript's patron traced back as far as *Espwys vap Espwch*.²³⁷ Around 1400, a confused genealogical text concerning the ancestry of Dafydd ap Hopcyn, a local gentleman of Ynysdawy, was written onto the front flyleaf of the Red Book of Talgarth (Llanstephan 27).²³⁸ The inaccuracy and chaotic structuring of this short text suggest that it was a one-off production rather than a unique survival from a widespread tradition of contemporary genealogical writing. It is possible that a written genealogy about Owain Glyndŵr informed Iolo Goch's poem *Achau Owain Glyndŵr* (composed 1385 × c. 1397), which displays far more detailed genealogical knowledge than most poems composed in the

²³⁰ Sims-Williams, 'Clas Beuno', pp. 118–19 and 121–2. For the family, see Jenkins, 'Iorwerth'; Jenkins, 'Ynad Coch'; Jenkins, 'Family'. Their genealogy is described in LIIG 55 in a section entitled 'Gwyr Arfon'.

²³¹ Stephenson, *Political Power*, pp. 14, 98 and 210; *AWR* nos 239, 242 and 250. See Chapter 4 below, p. 215.

²³² Stephenson, *Political Power*, p. 14; Pryce, 'Lawbooks', pp. 44–5.

²³³ Cf. Stephenson, 'Rulers', p. 91. See Chapter 4 below, p. 223.

²³⁴ Carr, 'Aristocracy'.

²³⁵ For the Mostyn genealogies, see Chapter 5 below, pp. 243–5. For Jesus 20, see Chapter 3 below, pp. 102–6.

²³⁶ Guy, 'Literature'; Carr, *Gentry*, pp. 204–7; Lewis, 'Content', pp. 88–9.

²³⁷ Bartrum, 'Maelda Hynaf'. For the lost Llanforda manuscript, see Jenkins, 'Llawysgrif'.

²³⁸ For Dafydd ap Hopcyn's family, see Morgan, 'Glamorgan', p. 46; *WG I* III, s. 'Gruffudd Gethin 1' and 'Gruffudd Gethin 2'.

period.²³⁹ However, Owain Glyndŵr is unrepresentative of contemporary *uchelwyr*, since he had the status of a Welsh baron and was a direct male-line descendant of the princes of northern Powys.²⁴⁰ Overall, it may be indicative that when Guto'r Glyn, in the 1430s, speaks of reading genealogy with his patron Rhys ap Siancyn, it is *Bonedd Owain Gwynedd* that is read, rather than *achau yr uchelwyr*.²⁴¹

Literary genealogy in medieval Wales had to wait until the second half of the fifteenth century for a full revival. This was the period when the pedigrees of the Welsh gentry were first recorded systematically. To a far greater extent than earlier in the medieval period, it was now that the bards assumed the pivotal role in the collection and recording of pedigrees. Some early examples may be seen in Peniarth 51, written by the Glamorgan poet Gwilym Tew (fl. c. 1460–80).²⁴² But it was Gwilym Tew's northern contemporary, the poet and scholar Gutun Owain (fl. c. 1451–c. 1500), who refashioned the literary genre of Welsh genealogy in the form in which it would become so popular in sixteenth-century Wales.²⁴³ Gutun Owain's contribution to literary genealogy was twofold. Firstly, he sought out and copied as many versions of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies as he could find, especially in the Cistercian libraries at Valle Crucis and perhaps Strata Marcella.²⁴⁴ He developed a deep familiarity with the medieval material, leading to his redaction of a new recension of the corpus.²⁴⁵ Secondly, he set about recording the pedigrees of the contemporary Welsh gentry (especially those of north-eastern Wales) on a large scale.²⁴⁶ He did so partly out of deep antiquarian interest, and partly out of a practical need to access genealogical information about his patrons, which he could incorporate into his poetry.²⁴⁷ Much of his information derived from contemporary oral sources, yet the resulting written pedigrees are generally reliable for the preceding two centuries or so.²⁴⁸ Some of this accuracy was the product of Gutun Owain's deep personal acquaintance with the material, which he had accumulated

²³⁹ Iolo Goch, *Achau Owain Glyndŵr* (ed. Johnston, pp. 36–42); Johnston, 'Iolo Goch', pp. 90–3. It would be profitable to examine the genealogies of Owain Glyndŵr found in sixteenth-century manuscripts to determine whether they could have been composed during his lifetime. Versions of a text designed to show that Owain Glyndŵr was, through his mother, descended from Llywelyn ab Iorwerth and King John are found in Llanstephan 12, pp. 18–19 and 65–6 (s. xvi^{med}) and Brogyntyn I. 15, pp. 382 and 391 (1593–6); these must derive from the common exemplar of those manuscripts, probably written by Ieuan Brechfa (cf. Table A.4.1.1). The constituent components of the same text are also, interestingly, found among the few genealogical fragments in Peniarth 51, on pp. 186 and 209 (written by Gwilym Tew in the 1460s and 1470s). Immediately following the text in Llanstephan 12, p. 19 and Brogyntyn I. 15, p. 382 is a pedigree of Phylip ap Madog ab Ieuan, whose pedigree also occurs in Peniarth 51, p. 143. Phylip ap Madog was an early patron of Gutun Owain, and his pedigree is recorded in two of Gutun Owain's own genealogical manuscripts: see Guy, 'Writing Genealogy', pp. 109–11. Perhaps Ieuan Brechfa and Gwilym Tew both used a manuscript by Gutun Owain that included this genealogy of Owain Glyndŵr (cf. LIIG (GO) G40.2.1–2). Might Iolo Goch be alluding to this same written genealogy when he claims that Owain was 'Aur burffrwyth iôr Aberffraw' ('fine pure fruit of the lord of Aberffraw', l. 96)?

²⁴⁰ Carr, 'Aristocracy', pp. 121, 124 and 127.

²⁴¹ Guto'r Glyn, *Moliant i Rys ap Siancyn o Lyn-nedd*, l. 44 (ed. and transl. Barry Lewis, <<http://gutorglyn.net>> [accessed 12 April 2019]). This may be a reference to the *Plant Owain Gwynedd* section of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies (see Table 4.1).

²⁴² E.g. Peniarth 51, pp. 114–19, 143 and 209. See above, n. 239. For Gwilym Tew, see G. J. Williams, *Traddodiad*, pp. 43–8.

²⁴³ I have explored Gutun Owain's contribution to literary genealogy in more detail elsewhere: see Guy, 'Writing Genealogy', pp. 105–12. See too the discussion in Chapter 4 below, pp. 170–80. For previous examinations of Gutun Owain's genealogical work, see Bartrum, 'Notes', pt 1, 71–2; pt 2, 104–6; F. Jones, 'Approach', pp. 352–6.

²⁴⁴ See below, pp. 217–20.

²⁴⁵ Gutun Owain's recension is edited in Appendix B.5.

²⁴⁶ See especially Peniarth 131iii, pp. 92–107 and 125–38, and Rylands Welsh 1, f. 10v onwards.

²⁴⁷ Guy, 'Writing Genealogy', pp. 108–11.

²⁴⁸ For the reliability of the pedigrees, see Bartrum, 'Notes', pt 1, 68–71; pt 2, 102–4.

from many separate oral sources. The genealogical information acquired from these sources was recorded using literary genealogical forms like *achau'r mamau* that Gutun Owain had inherited from the medieval collections, even though Gutun Owain himself tended to implement a more systematic approach than is found in the earlier material.

In south-western Wales, Gutun Owain's younger contemporary, Ieuan Brechfa (fl. c. 1490–c. 1520), another professional poet, was probably the first to record the pedigrees of the gentry systematically.²⁴⁹ He made several copies of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, which seem to have been the original exemplars for the southern branch of the textual tradition. Ieuan Brechfa also created new genealogical texts focussed on historical subjects. The texts edited by Bartrum as 'Plant yr Arglwydd Rhys' and 'Bonedd Henrri Saithved' are both first found in Ieuan Brechfa's manuscripts, and were probably his work.²⁵⁰ In this respect, Ieuan Brechfa was again following Gutun Owain, since the latter was almost certainly responsible for composing the text edited by Bartrum as 'Rhandiroedd Powys', two different drafts of which are found in manuscripts in Gutun Owain's hand.²⁵¹

Following the pioneering work of Gutun Owain and Ieuan Brechfa, literary genealogy became something of a cottage industry in sixteenth-century Wales. By the second half of the sixteenth century, most gentlemen and professional poets probably owned genealogical manuscripts, very many of which survive. This is the period to which the various versions of the triad of *Y Tri Chof* pertain, which list genealogy as one of the three subjects that bards ought to keep in memory.²⁵² The genealogical collections compiled by Gutun Owain and Ieuan Brechfa were recopied and augmented, and over time came to include a higher proportion of the contemporary gentry from across Wales. As the genealogical collections became more comprehensive, they assumed a cultural importance greater than the sum of their individual pedigrees. Just as the original purpose of early medieval literary genealogical collections had been to represent the ethnic group through the lineages forming its body politic, so too did sixteenth-century Welsh genealogical collections come to embody and define the Welsh nation through the lineages of the native Welsh political class of that time.

Modern Approaches to Medieval Welsh Genealogy

Serious scholarly engagement with medieval Welsh genealogy began with Egerton Phillimore's editions of the Jesus 20 genealogies and Harleian genealogies, published in 1887 and 1888 respectively.²⁵³ Phillimore's observations about the genealogies were usually

²⁴⁹ As found in Peniarth 131viii. For Ieuan Brechfa, see Guy, 'Brut Ieuan Brechfa'; Bartrum, 'Notes', pt 1, 72–3; pt 2, 103; F. Jones, 'Approach', p. 356.

²⁵⁰ Bartrum, 'Plant'; Bartrum, 'Bonedd Henrri'. For the former, see below, p. 181, n. 121.

²⁵¹ The earlier draft is in BL Add. 14919iii, frag. 2, ff. 129r–131v, and the later draft is in BL Add. 14919iii, frag. 1, ff. 118r–121v. For an edition of the text, see Bartrum, 'Rhandiroedd Powys'. Note too that a different version of 'Plant yr Arglwydd Rhys' appears in Gutun Owain's hand in Rylands Welsh 1, ff. 62–63 (cf. Daniel Huws *apud* *MMBL* III, 469), but the relationship between this text and Ieuan Brechfa's text has yet to be worked out.

²⁵² One version is recorded by the poet Simwnt Fychan in the *Pum Llyfr Cerddwriaeth*: 'Tri chof yssydd: iachav, arvav, a ranndiroedd' ('three things to remember: genealogies, arms, and divisions of land'): *GP* 134, l. 27. Another, lengthier version was recorded in English by the copyist John Jones of Gellilyfdy: G. J. Williams, 'Tri Chof', pp. 234–5; cf. Bromwich, 'Traddodiad', pp. 51–2. Note the absence of genealogy from the similar listing of three things that poets should know in the Red Book of Hergest version of the Welsh bardic grammar: 'Tri pheth a beir y gerdawr uot yn amyl: kyfarwydyt ystoriae, a bardoniaeth, a hengerd' ('Three things that give amplitude to a poet: knowledge of histories, the poetic art, and old verse'): *GP* 18, ll. 13–14; cf. *GP* 37, ll. 20–1 (Llanstephan 3); translation from *TYP* lix–lx.

²⁵³ Phillimore, 'Pedigrees'; Phillimore, 'Annales Cambriae'. For Phillimore's approach to medieval Welsh genealogy, see Guy, 'Egerton Phillimore', pp. 44–5.

perspicacious but he unfortunately distributed them among a variety of publications.²⁵⁴ Other still useful editions of genealogical texts were published by Phillimore's friend and younger contemporary Arthur Wade-Evans.²⁵⁵ Wade-Evans published most early versions of *Bonedd y Saint*, in addition to *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd*, the St Cadog genealogies, *Progenies Keredic*, and several versions of the Brychan Tract and *Achau'r Saint*.²⁵⁶ However, the most significant and enduring editions of medieval Welsh genealogical texts were published by Peter Bartrum in 1966 in his *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts (EWGT)*, which includes detailed commentary on the texts in the form of endnotes.²⁵⁷ In addition to revising texts that had already been edited by others, Bartrum published a new series of genealogical texts preserved in late medieval and early modern manuscripts that had previously been little known to scholarship. He labelled these texts 'Plant Brychan', 'Bonedd yr Arwyr', 'Achau Brenhinoedd a Thywysogion Cymru' and 'Hen Lwythau Gwynedd a'r Mars', though only the first of these titles is attested in the manuscripts. Bartrum had initially published editions of the latter three texts in individual articles; by comparison with *EWGT*, these articles contain more detailed annotation, but their texts have undergone less revision.²⁵⁸ In the present volume, Bartrum's four texts are treated together as a single composition, which I call the 'Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies'.

Several surveys of medieval Welsh genealogy have been attempted, beginning with Phillimore's 1887 list of medieval Welsh genealogical manuscripts.²⁵⁹ Most important of these is Francis Jones's monograph-length article of 1948, which, while certainly dated, maintains great value, especially for the late medieval and early modern periods.²⁶⁰ In the 1970s, Welsh genealogy assumed a significant place within broader surveys of medieval genealogy by Léopold Genicot and David Dumville.²⁶¹ More specific accounts of medieval Welsh genealogy were written by Molly Miller in 1977 and 1980 and, later, by David Thornton in 1998; these, like Dumville's account, were informed to a significant extent by modern anthropological literature on oral genealogy in non-literate societies.²⁶² David Thornton has also discussed the practical use of medieval Welsh and Irish genealogies as a

²⁵⁴ See especially his notes to Owen, *Description*. Phillimore's most substantial contributions to the latter are listed in Guy, 'Egerton Phillimore', pp. 47–50.

²⁵⁵ For the relationship between Phillimore and Wade-Evans, see Guy, 'Egerton Phillimore', pp. 41–2 and 46.

²⁵⁶ The individual versions of *Bonedd y Saint* are published in the following locations. A: *LBS* IV, 369–81; B: *LBS* IV, 371–3; C: Phillimore, 'Fragment', pp. 133–4; D: Wade-Evans, 'Bonedd y Saint, D'; Dd: Wade-Evans, *VSBG*, 320–3; E: Wade-Evans, 'Bonedd y Saint, E'; F, G, H: Wade-Evans, 'Bonedd y Saint, F'; cf. Bartrum, 'Late Additions'; *EWGT* 51–67. A new edition of *Bonedd y Saint* is being prepared by Barry Lewis. Wade-Evans's editions of the other genealogical texts may be found in the following locations. *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd*: Wade-Evans, 'Beuno Sant', pp. 339–40; cf. *EWGT* 72–4. The St Cadog genealogies: *VSBG* 116–19; cf. *EWGT* 24–5. *Progenies Keredic*: Wade-Evans, 'Brychan Documents', pp. 27 and 34; Wade-Evans, 'Essay', pp. 131–2; *VSBG*, 319–20; cf. *EWGT* 20. Versions of the Brychan Tract: Wade-Evans, 'Brychan Documents', pp. 24–37; Wade-Evans, 'Brychan Brycheiniog', pp. 13–23; Wade-Evans, 'Bonedd y Saint, E', p. 174; Wade-Evans, 'Bonedd y Saint, F', pp. 374–8; *VSBG* 313–19; cf. *EWGT* 14–19, 42–4 and 81–4. *Achau'r Saint*: Wade-Evans, 'Achau'r Saint'; cf. *EWGT* 68–71.

²⁵⁷ Bartrum produced a list of corrections to *EWGT* in 'Corrections'. *EWGT* was reviewed by Melville Richards in *EHR* 83 (1968), 592–3, Patrick Ford in *Speculum* 44 (1969), 440–2, and Rachel Bromwich in 'Early Welsh Genealogies'. Much knowledgeable commentary on the genealogies is found in another major book by Bartrum: *WCD*. For an overview of Bartrum's work, see Siddons, 'Peter Bartrum'.

²⁵⁸ Bartrum, 'Bonedd yr Arwyr'; Bartrum, 'Achau'; Bartrum, 'Hen Lwythau'.

²⁵⁹ Phillimore, 'Welsh Pedigrees'.

²⁶⁰ F. Jones, 'Approach'; see too his shorter 'Welsh Pedigrees'.

²⁶¹ Genicot, *Les généalogies*, with an important 1985 supplement; Dumville, 'Kingship'.

²⁶² Miller, 'Forms'; Miller, 'Royal Pedigrees'; Thornton, 'Orality'; cf. Ó Corráin, 'Irish Origin Legends', p. 83.

source for prosopography.²⁶³ In 2008, Nia Powell summarised some of the major features of medieval Welsh genealogy.²⁶⁴

Outside of the editorial process, most work on medieval Welsh genealogy has taken one of two forms. Firstly, and not unreasonably, there have been attempts to extract from medieval Welsh genealogies information about inter-personal relationships. This approach is epitomised by Peter Bartrum's magnificent synthesis of all Welsh genealogical records written prior to c. 1580, which resulted in twenty-six volumes of indexed diagrammatic family trees depicting every person mentioned in the texts born before c. 1500: eight volumes for the period 300–1400 and a further eighteen volumes for the period 1400–1500.²⁶⁵ Following the original publications, Bartrum produced a further eight lists of additions and corrections for the first series and four for the second series. Altogether, Bartrum's *Welsh Genealogies* is an invaluable and unparalleled prosopographical resource for historians of medieval Wales, despite its comparative lack of explicit engagement with the medieval material on its own terms. Bartrum's researches enabled him to become the foremost authority on late medieval and early modern Welsh genealogical manuscripts, which he discussed with admirable precision and detail in three successive articles; these articles were an essential starting point for Chapter 4 of the present volume.²⁶⁶ More recently, Bartrum's synthesising approach has been continued by Michael Siddons, who has created an additional corpus of indexed diagrammatic family trees for every person mentioned in Welsh genealogical records who was born in the sixteenth century.²⁶⁷ Siddons's work is deliberately designed as a sequel to Bartrum's, with the added distinction that it compares the genealogical material more systematically with contemporary record evidence. Siddons is also the only scholar to date who has attempted to survey the late medieval and early modern Welsh pedigree rolls, which can throw valuable light on the literary genealogies surviving in codices.²⁶⁸

The second major approach to medieval Welsh genealogy has involved historians of the earlier Middle Ages attempting to use genealogies to write the dynastic histories of particular kingdoms, owing to the lack of alternative source material. Such studies have tended to take the individual pedigree as the unit of analysis, paying less attention to the genealogical collections in which the pedigrees are often found.²⁶⁹ There is certainly merit to

²⁶³ Thornton, 'Kings'; Thornton, *Kings*, chs 1–2.

²⁶⁴ Powell, 'Genealogical Narratives'.

²⁶⁵ *WG 1*; *WG 2*; cf. Siddons, 'Using Peter Bartrum's *Welsh Genealogies*'.

²⁶⁶ Bartrum, 'Notes', pts 1–3.

²⁶⁷ *WG 3*; see my review in *WHR* 29 (2019), 480–2.

²⁶⁸ Siddons, *Welsh Pedigree Rolls*; Siddons, 'Welsh Pedigree Rolls — Additions'; Siddons, 'Welsh Pedigree Rolls: Further Additions'.

²⁶⁹ See especially Kirby, 'British Dynastic History'. For studies of the genealogical records of particular kingdoms, see the following. For Dyfed: Rhys, 'Irish Invasions' (1892); James, 'Harleian Ms. 3859 Genealogy II' (1969); Pringle, 'Kings' (1970–1); Miller, 'Date-Guessing and Dyfed' (1977/8); Thornton, *Kings*, pp. 142–55 (2003); Sims-Williams, *Irish Influence*, pp. 180–2 (2011); Guy, 'Earliest Welsh Genealogies' (2018). For Glywysing/Morgannwg: Anscombe, 'Some Old Welsh Pedigrees' (1913); Bartrum, 'Some Studies' (1948); Guy, 'Did the Harleian Genealogies Draw on Archival Sources?' (2012); Sims-Williams, 'Kings' (2017); Sims-Williams, *Book of Llandaf*, ch. 13 (2019; my thanks to Patrick Sims-Williams for allowing me to view this prior to publication). For Gwynedd: Miller, 'Date-Guessing and Pedigrees' (1975/6); Thornton, 'Neglected Genealogy' (1992); Sims-Williams, 'Historical Need' (1994); Thornton, *Kings*, pp. 75–120 (2003); Guy, 'Gerald' (2018). For Powys: G. P. Jones, 'Notes' (1930); Dumville, 'Sub-Roman Britain' (1977); Sims-Williams, 'Historical Need' (1994); O. W. Jones, 'Hereditas Pouoisi' (2009); Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, pp. 449–51 (2013); Guy, 'Earliest Welsh Genealogies' (2018). For the Isle of Man: G. E. Jones, 'Idic uab Anarawt' (1972–4); B. L. Jones, 'Gwriad's Heritage' (1990); Sims-Williams, 'Historical Need' (1994); Thornton, *Kings*, pp. 88–96 (2003); Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, 467–79 (2013). For the Men of the North: G. P. Jones, 'Scandinavian Settlement' (1925); Loth, 'Une généalogie' (1930); Miller, 'Historicity' (1974–6); Chadwick, *British Heroic Age*, Part II, Chapter III (1976). For Cornwall: Pearce, 'Traditions' (1971–2).

this approach, because on one level the pedigrees surviving in early medieval genealogical collections have indeed been shaped by the political circumstances and preoccupations of the dynasties that they concern. Modern understanding of the pedigrees in these terms was revolutionised in the 1970s and 1980s, with the realisation that early medieval pedigrees were not simply records of biological claims that could be proved either true or false; rather, as Donnchadh Ó Corráin has put it, “descent” and “kinship” can be metaphors for other processes: subjugation of one dynasty by another, dynastic replacement, contiguity, establishment of hierarchy or an order of precedence.²⁷⁰ In other words, early medieval genealogy could bear an ‘aetiological’ function by representing past relationships in such a way as to deliberately foreshadow present political and social circumstances.²⁷¹ Such a practice could easily be turned to propagandistic purposes if the foreshadowing was designed to alter the audience’s perception of present reality rather than merely represent it. Interpretations of early medieval genealogies undertaken from this point of view have enriched our understanding of early medieval political and intellectual culture more generally.²⁷²

Relatively few studies of medieval Welsh genealogy have taken the genealogical collection as the basic unit of analysis, despite such collections being the primary textual context in which the majority of pedigrees survive. Notable exceptions include detailed studies of the Harleian genealogies and the genealogies at the beginning of the *Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan*, though such studies are sometimes hindered by a lack of appreciation of the Welsh tradition of literary genealogy as a whole.²⁷³ Without an inclusive understanding of the genealogical collections and their relative positions within the wider textual tradition of medieval Welsh genealogy, one overlooks crucial contextual information that is essential for critical understanding of individual genealogies.

It is a central tenet of the present work that proper appreciation of surviving genealogies can only progress from a sound understanding of the circumstances surrounding the production and transmission of the genealogical *texts* in which the genealogies are found. This is the crucial step that must be taken between the edition of the texts and their use as historical sources, as was recognised by Molly Miller over forty years ago:²⁷⁴

The question brings us to tradition in the proper sense of that much-abused word: the *traditio* or transmission of a body of knowledge and method. With certain knowledge and certain methods only certain confusions are likely or even possible: so every confusion or error that we think we see has certain implications for the body of work from which it arose, and helps to define and characterize that body of work. The members of a kinship group will be careful about their own pedigree, careless about their neighbours’, and derogatory about their enemies’: only if we know which were which shall we avoid confusion. The carefulness of a kindred about its own pedigree does not exclude legal fictions or claims to heroic ancestry or collateral saints: we need to know also whether the *traditio* is of lawyers, poets, churchmen, or folklore. From the nature of our materials, we need detailed work to establish the character of our sources, the centres of *traditio*, the character, subject-matter, and intellectual quality of the *traditiones*. When these preliminaries are settled, then detailed criticism of a new kind can begin.

²⁷⁰ Ó Corráin, ‘Creating the Past’, p. 183 (1998); cf. Ó Corráin, ‘Irish Origin Legends’, p. 74 (1985); Ó Corráin, ‘Historical Need’, p. 144 (1986); Dumville, ‘Sub-Roman Britain’, p. 178 (1977); Dumville, ‘Kingship’, pp. 85–8 (1977); Miller, ‘Forms’, pp. 205–6 (1977); *EIWK* 112–16 (1993).

²⁷¹ For ‘aetiology’, see Ó Corráin, ‘Irish Origin Legends’, pp. 74–83.

²⁷² This approach to genealogy has been informed to a significant extent by anthropological research: see, for example, Bohanan, ‘Genealogical Charter’, and the summary in Wilson, *Genealogy*, pp. 27–36. Since the 1970s, the same understanding has been applied to biblical genealogies: Malamet, ‘Tribal Societies’; Wilson, *Genealogy*, ch. 3; Aufrecht, ‘Genealogy’, pp. 215–18.

²⁷³ For the Harleian genealogies: Nicholson, ‘Dynasty’ (1908); Thornton, ‘Power’, ch. 3 (1991); Guy, ‘Textual History’ (2016; this is superseded by Chapter 2 below). For the genealogies in the *Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan*: A. Jones, *History*, pp. 30–50 (1910); *HGK* cci–ccxix (1977); Thornton, ‘Genealogy’ (1996).

²⁷⁴ Miller, ‘Forms’, p. 206.

The objective of the remainder of this book is to explore some of these preliminaries. An attempt has been made to analyse the textual histories of the three major collections of secular genealogy produced in Wales between the beginning of the extant written tradition around 800 and the destruction of native political power towards the end of the thirteenth century. In addition, it has been necessary to go much beyond 1300 in order to trace the transmission of the earlier texts in later manuscripts, as may be seen particularly in Chapters 4 and 5. Most other minor genealogical texts surviving from medieval Wales enter the discussion to illustrate and complicate the analysis of the major collections. Some of these minor genealogical texts, including the Mostyn genealogies and the genealogies in Exeter 3514, receive more sustained attention in Chapter 5. Overall, the studies in the remainder of this volume argue that most of the secular genealogical texts surviving from medieval Wales transmit manifestations of a single, overarching *traditio*, which grew out of the Insular tradition of literary genealogy of the early Middle Ages. Insofar as it is now visible, that *traditio* began in the second half of the ninth century with the production of what I term the ‘Gwynedd collection of genealogies’, even though that collection itself probably drew on earlier sources of diverse origin. Once established, this body of material continued to evolve into the thirteenth century and beyond. Two recensions of the Gwynedd collection arguably underlie almost all surviving medieval Welsh secular genealogies: the tenth-century ‘St Davids recension’ and the twelfth-century ‘pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension’.

Each of the following three chapters takes a major Welsh genealogical collection as its subject: the Gwynedd collection, best represented by the Harleian genealogies, in Chapter 2; the Jesus 20 genealogies in Chapter 3; and the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies in Chapter 4. In each case, the manuscripts, structure and sources of the relevant text are analysed, and suggestions are made as to the dates, locations and circumstances of the text’s evolution. Drawing on the conclusions of these studies, Chapter 5 focusses on the diachronic development of the pedigrees of the kings of Gwynedd between the ninth and fifteenth centuries, and examines their influence outside of Wales.

THE EARLIEST WELSH GENEALOGICAL COLLECTIONS:
THE ST DAVIDS RECENSION AND THE GWYNEDD
COLLECTION OF GENEALOGIES

Harley 3859 contains not only the earliest but also the best-known medieval collection of Welsh genealogies. Its fame stems from the rare light that it casts upon the early medieval period in Wales. It is written in a combination of Old Welsh and Latin and concerns itself with the Brittonic dynasties that held power in Wales and northern Britain up to the middle of the tenth century. The text is one of the few direct historical sources for Welsh dynastic history in the early Middle Ages and for Welsh views of the northern Brittonic past during the crucial years of the sixth century. In many ways, the ‘Harleian genealogies’ provide the touchstone for the study of all later Welsh genealogical texts, because they show the form that such texts would have taken during the earliest discernible period of their production, during the ninth and tenth centuries.

The importance of the Harleian genealogies as a historical source has motivated some close studies of the text. The groundwork was laid in 1888 by Egerton Phillimore, who appended his pioneering discussion with an outstanding diplomatic edition.¹ Another edition, with accompanying notes, was provided by Peter Bartrum in 1966.² Major studies were undertaken by E. W. B. Nicholson in 1908 and David Thornton in his 1991 PhD thesis.³ Shorter considerations have been included in general histories of the period, such as J. E. Lloyd’s *History of Wales*, Wendy Davies’s *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* and T. M. Charles-Edwards’s *Wales and the Britons*.⁴ These contributions, alongside many other more limited studies noticed elsewhere in this volume, have significantly enhanced our understanding of the extant text. The more recent work has generally focussed on the political implications of the genealogical collection in its mid-tenth-century context, when it was redacted during the reign of Owain ap Hywel Dda, king of Deheubarth (c. 950–88).⁵ This mid-tenth-century level of redaction is called here the ‘St Davids recension’, on account of the probable location where the redactor worked. The ‘Harleian genealogies’ in Harley 3859 are effectively the only full and direct witness to this St Davids recension, even though there is a considerable body of evidence to suggest that other copies of the St Davids recension circulated in Wales and beyond during the following centuries.⁶

By contrast, relatively little has been done to elucidate the textual pre-history of the St Davids recension, despite the shape of the extant Harleian genealogies suggesting that the collection is the product of several stages of intervention. An understanding of the deducible parameters of the genealogical collection’s diachronic development is essential for deploying the collection as an historical source. Already in 1906, Egerton Phillimore suggested that the

¹ Phillimore, ‘*Annales Cambriae*’, with *errata* and additional notes in Cy 10 (1889), 248 and 11 (1890–1), 102.

² *EWGT* 9–13 and 125–9.

³ Nicholson, ‘Dynasty’; Thornton, ‘Power’, pp. 50–117.

⁴ *HW* I, 159; W. Davies, *Wales*, pp. 202–3; Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, pp. 359–64.

⁵ Especially Thornton, ‘Power’, pp. 50–117.

⁶ As is discussed later in this chapter and in Chapters 3 and 4.

main body of the Harleian genealogies should be dated to the ninth century, while in 1932 (and again in more detail in 1958) the Chadwicks argued that this source was created during the reign of Rhodri Mawr, king of Gwynedd (844–78).⁷ Such ideas are important and inform the direction of discussion below.

The first half of this chapter offers a close study of the St Davids recension, as preserved in the Harleian genealogies in Harley 3859. The contents and palaeography of the manuscript are analysed, leading to the suggestion that the manuscript was written sometime around 1100, possibly in St Augustine's, Canterbury or an associated centre. Such an attribution can help to explain how an important and rare compilation of Welsh historical texts came to be transmitted to the extant manuscript. Attention then turns to the genealogical collection itself, and to its rather puzzling structuring principles. Following the Chadwicks' lead, it is suggested that a comparison between the structuring of the Harleian genealogies and the Jesus 20 genealogies can help one to discern at least two chronological layers in the text, belonging to the ninth and tenth centuries respectively. The ensuing discussion of the relationship between the genealogies and Welsh dynastic history attempts to clarify the implications of the textual argument by considering the political standpoints implied by the different chronological layers within the text. It is argued that the genealogical collection underlying the St Davids recension was assembled during the ninth century to reflect the supremacy of Rhodri Mawr across northern and western Wales as well as the Isle of Man. This earlier ninth-century collection is termed the 'Gwynedd collection of genealogies'.

The second half of this chapter examines evidence for another copy of the St Davids recension having been available in the *clas* church of Llanccarfan during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Although this copy has not survived in full, parts of it were transcribed into documents redacted at Llanccarfan, such as the 'St Cadog genealogies' appended to the Life of St Cadog. The same copy seems to have provided genealogical material for other texts linked to literary activity at Llanccarfan, including the Life of St Carannog, the Life of St Gurthiern, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *De gestis Britonum*, the Book of Llandaf, the genealogy of St Petroc and William of Malmesbury's *De antiquitate Glastonie ecclesie*. It is suggested that the use of the St Davids recension in texts associated with Llanccarfan in the twelfth century is linked with the activity of the famous hagiographer Caradog of Llanccarfan.

The partial witnesses to the St Davids recension discussed in the second half of the chapter are used in Appendix B.1 to supplement and correct the Harleian genealogies in order to create a critical edition of the tenth-century St Davids recension of genealogies. The reconstruction relies in part on the arguments advanced below as to the relationships between the witnesses. The edition acts as a convenient summary of the textual criticism of the Harleian genealogies.

⁷ Phillimore *apud* Owen, *Description* III, 209; Chadwick and Chadwick, *Growth* I, 149–50; Chadwick, 'Early Culture', pp. 74–6. Others have since agreed with the Chadwicks: Jackson, 'Britons', p. 85; Bromwich, 'Early Welsh Genealogies', p. 176; Kirby, 'British Dynastic History', p. 82; B. L. Jones, 'Gwriad's Heritage', p. 41; Sims-Williams, 'Kings', p. 68. In 2016, I published an article in support of the Chadwicks' case: Guy, 'Textual History'. That article is superseded by the present chapter.

The Harleian Genealogies

Harley 3859

Although Harley 3859 is frequently cited in scholarship on medieval Welsh history, the manuscript itself has received relatively little critical attention.⁸ What follows is therefore an attempt to describe the essential characteristics of the manuscript and to postulate its place of origin. Attention then turns to quires XIX–XXI, which contain the *Historia Brittonum* and the accompanying chronicle and genealogies, in order to determine the relationship between Harley 3859 and the Welsh exemplar that transmitted those texts.⁹

It is generally agreed, on the basis of the palaeography, that Harley 3859 was written around the year 1100, probably somewhere in southern England, Normandy or the Low Countries.¹⁰ That the manuscript was not written much later than this is suggested by its employment of single rather than double columns and by its use (for the most part) of a hard point rather than plummet (i.e. lead) for ruling.¹¹ The first four quires of the manuscript, at least, containing a copy of Vegetius's *Epitome rei militaris*, were written before 1125; this may be deduced from the fact that Oxford, Lincoln College, Latin 100, whose copy of Vegetius derives from Harley 3859, had seemingly been written for (and partially by) William of Malmesbury by that date.¹²

Harley 3859 later travelled to Italy, where it was corrected by a late fourteenth-century hand.¹³ It probably resided in Venice, where, as Michael Reeve has shown, a manuscript descending from Harley 3859 was copied by Petrus Anzotus in 1396, and where the Venetian Hermolao Barbaro (d. 1493) annotated it late in the fifteenth century.¹⁴ Frank Granger, on the other hand, once suggested that Harley 3859 was in St Peter's Abbey in Ghent by the late fifteenth century.¹⁵ According to Granger, the same annotator annotated the text of Vitruvius in both Harley 3859 and another manuscript, Madrid, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, O II 5. Granger identified this annotator as Friar Giovanni Giocondo (d. 1515), who produced an edition of Vitruvius that was printed in Venice in 1511. In El Escorial O II 5, the annotator compared two passages to the readings of a certain *Blandinianus* (i.e. a manuscript of St Peter's). Since the readings attributed to the *Blandinianus* correspond with the readings of Harley 3859, Granger supposed that the *Blandinianus* was Harley 3859. Reeve, however, has more recently affirmed that the two manuscripts do not, after all, share a common annotator; furthermore, since the readings attributed to the *Blandinianus* in El Escorial O II 5 are by no means exclusive to Harley 3859, there remains no basis for identifying the *Blandinianus* with the latter.¹⁶ In fact, after the fifteenth century Harley 3859 continued to reside in Italy, where it eventually came into the ownership of Ovidius Montalbani (1601–71), professor of mathematics, physics and moral philosophy at the University of Bologna.¹⁷ How the

⁸ Note that the manuscript has been digitized and is available on the British Library's website: <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=harley_ms_3859_fs001r> [accessed 10 August 2019].

⁹ The following discussion of Harley 3859 has been revised from Guy, 'Second Witness', pp. 72–8.

¹⁰ Dumville, *Annales Cambriae*, p. vii; Reeve, 'Transmission of Vegetius's *Epitoma rei militaris*', p. 319.

¹¹ Cf. Gameson, 'English Manuscript Art', pp. 114–15; McKee, 'St. Augustine's Abbey', pp. 234–5.

¹² Reeve, 'Transmission of Vegetius's *Epitoma rei militaris*', p. 319 and n. 140; Thomson, *William*, p. 86.

¹³ Reeve, 'Two Manuscripts', p. 836.

¹⁴ Reeve, 'Two Manuscripts', pp. 833–4; Reeve, 'Editorial Opportunities', p. 485; Reeve, 'Transmission of Vegetius's *Epitoma rei militaris*', p. 320; cf. Kaster, *Studies*, pp. 92–3.

¹⁵ Granger, *Vitruvius* I, xxi–xxiv.

¹⁶ Reeve, 'Two Manuscripts', pp. 829–30 and 833–6.

¹⁷ Wright, *Fontes Harleiani*, pp. 242 and 436.

manuscript eventually travelled from Italy to England and entered the Harleian collection is unfortunately unknown. It was catalogued as part of the collection in 1808.¹⁸

Harley 3859's exact place of origin might be indicated by the textual traditions of two texts found in the manuscript.¹⁹ The first and last texts of Harley 3859 are Vegetius's *Epitome rei militaris* and Vitruvius's *De architectura* respectively, both written by the manuscript's main scribe. It has been independently demonstrated that each of these texts derives from one of the three manuscripts now bound together as Cotton Cleopatra D. i: the Vegetius from the second manuscript and the Vitruvius from the first.²⁰ Though the two latter manuscripts probably originated separately, having been written by different continental hands around the late tenth or early eleventh centuries, they had been bound together by no later than the last decade of the fifteenth century, when they were listed as components of the same book in a library catalogue of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury.²¹ The third manuscript now bound into Cleopatra D. i, an early twelfth-century copy of Solinus, was probably not associated with the Vegetius and Vitruvius until after the medieval period.²² It too, though, may have been in St Augustine's much earlier, if Richard Gameson is correct to suggest that the embellished initial on folio 130r, written in the distinctive bunting style, was a product of the St Augustine's scriptorium.²³ It is possible that St Augustine's was where the Vegetius and Vitruvius of Cleopatra D. i were first united. Further evidence suggests that they may have been present there together already around the time that Harley 3859 was written: their coloured initials have been variously identified as the product of St Augustine's in either the late eleventh or mid-twelfth century.²⁴ If so, the relevant sections of Harley 3859 may well have been copied from them in St Augustine's.

¹⁸ *Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts* III, 87–8.

¹⁹ For the texts contained in the manuscript, see Table 2.1 below and Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, pp. 360–1, no. 439; Gameson, *Manuscripts*, p. 108, no. 450.

²⁰ Reeve, 'Transmission of Vegetius's *Epitoma rei militaris*', pp. 318–19; Ruffel and Soubiran, 'Recherches', pp. 6 and 139–43 (who postulate an intermediary copy of Vitruvius between Cleopatra D. i and Harley 3859); Weiskittel and Reynolds, 'Vitruvius', p. 443. For the relevant parts of Cleopatra D. i, see Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, pp. 250–1, nos 325–325.1.

²¹ Barker-Benfield, *St Augustine's Abbey* II, 1117–18 (no. 1123); Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 43; James, *Ancient Libraries*, pp. 320 and 519 (no. 1123). The catalogue was first compiled between 1375 and 1420 and transcribed in its extant form between 1474 and 1497: Barker-Benfield, *St Augustine's Abbey* I, 3. For the dating of Cleopatra D. i's Vegetius, see Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, p. 251, no. 325.1 ('s. xi', Continent?); Gameson, 'Circulation', p. 361, n. 68 ('a late tenth-century Essen type of script'); David Ganz and David Dumville *apud* Reeve, 'Transmission of Vegetius's *Epitoma rei militaris*', p. 319 and n. 136 ('a German hand in the early 11th century'). For the dating of its Vitruvius, see Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, p. 250, no. 325 ('s. xi'); Gameson, 'Anglo-Saxon Scribes', p. 101 ('An early eleventh-century [...] product of close collaboration between an English scribe and French or Flemish ones'); Michael Gullick *apud* Reeve, 'Transmission of Vegetius's *Epitoma rei militaris*', p. 319, n. 136 ('s. x', 'continental').

²² Barker-Benfield, *St Augustine's Abbey* II, 1118 and III, 1828.

²³ Gameson, 'English Manuscript Art', pp. 123–4 and n. 102; cf. Gameson, *Manuscripts*, p. 98, no. 375. Barker-Benfield is doubtful of Gameson's suggestion: *St Augustine's Abbey* II, 1118.

²⁴ Heslop and Mitchell suggested that both the Vegetius and Vitruvius of Cleopatra D. i 'were probably together at St Augustine's by the late eleventh century, when several initials that had not been supplied by the original scriptoria were added in what looks like a Canterbury hand': 'The Arts and Learning', p. 87. Michael Gullick, apparently independently, judged their coloured initials to have been 'supplied in England s. xii med., almost certainly from their form and their details at St Augustine's': Gullick *apud* Reeve, 'Transmission of Vegetius's *Epitoma rei militaris*', p. 319, n. 138. Barker-Benfield has expressed doubt about Heslop and Mitchell's opinion, stating that 'the initials of the two parts show some differences and are not necessarily additions, whilst their style is simple by St A[ugustine's] standards': *St Augustine's Abbey* II, 1118. However, Barker-Benfield goes on to notice that thirteenth-century crayon notes in both parts may have been added by the same hand. Cleopatra D. i's Vitruvius, at least, may have been in St Augustine's by no later than 1316, if it was the exemplar for the related copy of Vitruvius (now Oxford,

Table 2.1: *Harley 3859: contents and collation*

Text	Scribe	Fols	Quires	Quire nos?	Lines p/p	Ruling	Rubrication
Vegetius, <i>Epitome rei militaris</i>	A	1–38	I–III ¹² , IV ²	No	42	Dry point	Red/green
Computistica	B	39–41	V ² (2 cancelled), VI ²	No	N/A	Dry point	N/A
Macrobius, <i>Saturnalia</i> , books 1–6	A	42–146a	VII–XV ¹²	No	38	Dry point	Red/green
Macrobius, <i>Saturnalia</i> , book 7	A	147–168	XVI ¹² , XVII ¹⁰	No	39	Dry point	Red/green
Sallust (attrib.), <i>Inuectiua in Ciceronem</i>	A (169r–v) C (169v–173)	169–173	XVIII ⁶ (6 cancelled)	No	27	Dry point	Red
<i>Historia Brittonum</i> , interpolated with the Harleian chronicle and Harleian genealogies	D (174–97) E (198)	174–198	XIX ¹² , XX ¹⁰ , XXI ⁶ (4–6 cancelled)	No	39	Dry point	Red (incomp.)
Augustine, <i>De diuersibus haeresibus</i>	A	199–204	XXII ⁸ (3 and 5 cancelled)	No	42	Plummet	Green/Red
Solinus, <i>Collectanea rerum memorabilium</i> , appended with Ovid (attrib.), <i>Cantus avium</i> , and <i>Quadrupedum</i> .	A	205–252	XXIII–XXVIII ⁸	No	42	Dry point	Red/green
Aethicus Ister (Virgil of Salzburg), <i>Cosmographia</i>	F	253–285	XXIX–XXX ¹⁰ , XXXI ¹⁴ (2 cancelled)	No	41–2	Dry point	Red/green
Vitruvius, <i>De architectura</i>	A	286–365	XXXII–XXXVII ¹² , XXXVIII ⁸	Yes	42	Dry point	Red/green

This scenario is generally supported by the textual traditions of two other texts in Harley 3859. Firstly, Harley 3859's *Inuectiua in Ciceronem* is most closely related to the copies found in three other roughly contemporary manuscripts from south-eastern England or northern France, the oldest of which is Edinburgh Adv. 18.7.8, a manuscript from Thorney Abbey.²⁵ More significantly, Harley 3859's *Historia Brittonum* is a version of the eponymous Harleian recension, and all other witnesses to this recension, according to David Dumville, derive from a lost exemplar that was present in Kent by some date between c. 1040 and c. 1100.²⁶ The only other complete witness to the Harleian recension of the *Historia Brittonum* is Cotton Vespasian D. xxi, part i, a removed part of Royal 15. A. xxii, written in the cathedral priory of St Andrew at Rochester, another Kentish centre, in the first half of the twelfth century.²⁷ There is also a series of related partial witnesses that all seem to derive from the same hyparchetype, possibly written at Christ Church, Canterbury no later than the end of the eleventh century.²⁸ Overall, therefore, all indications point to Harley 3859 having been written either in St Augustine's, Canterbury, or in some other closely related centre sometime around 1100.

The quiring of Harley 3859 and the apportionment of the texts between its scribes present some complexities. I have provided a collation of the manuscript in Table 2.1.²⁹ The manuscript appears to be the product of a collaborative effort coordinated only in the loosest sense. The texts in the manuscript are mostly written on discrete sets of quires, and each set of quires displays certain idiosyncratic features in its production. As may be seen from Table 2.1, there is rarely complete agreement between the quires of one text and the quires of another with regard to matters such as the number of folios per quire, quire numbering, ruling and rubrication. Even the quires that I have attributed to the main hand, scribe A, differ from text to text: for example, only the Vitruvius quires have quire numbers, while only the Augustine quires are ruled in plummet. Nevertheless, there are certain aspects of the manuscript that suggest that its components were deliberately written for eventual assembly in a compendium such as the one now extant.

St John's College, 66b) written in 1316 by Thomas of Willeborough (de Wyvelsbergh), a monk of the abbey: Granger, *Vitruvius* I, xix; cf. Emden, *Donors*, pp. 19 and 46; Hanna, *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 88–9; Barker-Benfield, *St Augustine's Abbey* II, 1118–19.

²⁵ Novokhatko, *Invectives*, pp. 65–75; cf. the stemma on p. 29. This supersedes the stemma in Reynolds, 'Appendix Sallustiana', p. 350.

²⁶ Dumville, 'Textual History' I, 151–5. Note that Dumville considered the common archetype of Harley 3859 and the Kentish witnesses to belong to a Welsh stage of the transmission, meaning that the latter would have no bearing upon the origin of the former. The primary reason was that both Harley 3859 and the fullest Kentish witness preserve spellings for Old Welsh names that differ slightly from one another and yet remain acceptable. Although this phenomenon could be understood to indicate that Harley 3859's exemplar and the Kentish exemplar left Wales through different routes of transmission, it could also be explained in ways compatible with the view that it was the common exemplar that left Wales. There may have been a Welsh scribe present in Kent who could have altered the spellings, or the spellings in the common exemplar may already have been subjected to alteration in Wales, which was subsequently interpreted in different ways by copyists. In Harley 3859's copy of the Welsh annals, for example, there are several instances where the letters *h* or *th* have been inserted interlineally to alter spellings of /θ/ from *t* to *th*; but since Harley 3859's scribe did not know Welsh, these spelling alterations must have been copied from the exemplar (see below, pp. 59–60). Cf. Guy, 'Origins', pp. 53–4.

²⁷ Gameson, *Manuscripts*, p. 120, no. 560; Dumville, 'Textual History' I, 130–4; Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, pp. 161 and 163.

²⁸ Dumville, 'Textual History' I, 140–50; Dumville, 'Liber Floridus', pp. 105–6; Dumville, 'Paraphrase', p. 102.

²⁹ Many thanks to Teresa Webber for her advice concerning the palaeography of this manuscript. According to Michael Gullick, Harley 3859's 'main scribe' (i.e. my scribe A) wrote six of the eight main texts in the manuscript, including the Vegetius and Vitruvius, rather than the five attributed to the scribe here: Reeve, 'Transmission of Vegetius's *Epitoma rei militaris*', p. 319, n. 141. The disagreement probably concerns the pseudo-Sallust, which scribe A began but which a different scribe completed.

All of Harley 3859's scribes wrote a roughly contemporary Caroline script.³⁰ Michael Gullick has suggested that scribe A was of continental origin, as many of the scribes resident at St Augustine's undoubtedly were after the influx of Norman monks in 1089.³¹ Scribe C wrote a similar script with more carefully spaced letters, while scribe F tended to exaggerate the feet of his minims. The script of scribe D, who wrote the majority of the Welsh texts, is the most distinctive, bearing a rather non-standard aspect.³² The work of all these scribes is united by their insistence on keeping their texts on discrete quires. All the texts are followed by blank spaces, which sometimes extend to multiple folios if the text in question had not been finished at the end of the quire. There is a tendency for shorter quires to be used for the final portions of the texts, so as to avoid excessive blank spaces following the ends of the texts. Thus, Vegetius is written mostly on three quires of six bifolia and then finished on a single bifolium, Macrobius is written mostly on ten quires of six bifolia and then finished on a quire of five bifolia, and so on. Each text was evidently intended in the first instance to occupy a discrete booklet.³³ This may, nevertheless, be a function of the method of production, and need not imply that the booklets were intended to be read as discrete codicological units. More than one of the booklets in Harley 3859 were written by the same scribe and they were perhaps always intended to be bound into the same volume. That they did not exist as individual booklets for any great length of time is suggested by the lack of noticeable soiling on the outer leaves of any of the quires. The formation of the manuscript from several discrete booklets might then be explained as the product of the texts having been copied and eventually bound together over the course of many years, perhaps reflecting inconsistent and staggered access to the texts' exemplars.³⁴

Just such a scenario is suggested by the state of the manuscript's Macrobius. Both the blank pages at the end of quire XV and the slight increase in the number of lines per page in quires XVI and XVII suggest that book 7 of Macrobius was not copied in the same scribal stint as books 1–6.³⁵ The same is implied by certain textual readings, which indicate that the beginning of book 7 was copied from a different exemplar from books 1–6 and the rest of book 7.³⁶ The main scribe evidently recognised that there was a lacuna in the primary exemplar at the beginning of book 7. A second exemplar came to hand that could be used to fill the lacuna, but, considering that it was copied into a second 'booklet', it seems that the scribe did not turn to the second exemplar immediately or seamlessly. This was probably either because the second exemplar was found at a later time, or because it was copied concurrently by a second scribe (albeit one with a very similar hand).³⁷ Either way, the booklet containing book 7 was ultimately intended to complement the booklet

³⁰ Dumville calls the manuscript a 'palaeographical unity': Dumville, review of Hughes, *Welsh Latin Chronicles*, p. 461. Reeve remarks that the manuscript 'was largely written by the same hand, or at least very similar hands, and has presumably been in one piece since the time of writing': 'Two Manuscripts', p. 834.

³¹ Michael Gullick *apud* Reeve, 'Transmission of Vegetius's *Epitoma rei militaris*', p. 319, n. 141. For the influx of Norman monks from Christ Church into St Augustine's in 1089, see Sharpe, 'Setting', p. 5; McKee, 'St. Augustine's Abbey', pp. 183–4; Cowrie, *Religious Patronage*, pp. 103–5 and 132.

³² My thanks to Julia Crick for discussion on this point. Nöl Denholm-Young compared scribe D with the hand of a manuscript produced in Flanders between 1101 and 1106, an autograph copy of the chronicle of Siebert of Gembloux. An example of the latter can be seen in plate XXIV (not plate XXVI as Denholm-Young states) opposite p. 201 in Reusens, *Éléments de paléographie*. See Denholm-Young, *Handwriting*, p. 41.

³³ For 'booklets' in the Middle Ages, see Robinson, "'Booklet'", with the important qualifications of Hanna, 'Booklets'.

³⁴ Cf. Hanna, 'Booklets', p. 108.

³⁵ Cf. Guy, 'Second Witness', p. 75, n. 14.

³⁶ Kaster, *Studies*, pp. 91–2.

³⁷ According to Kaster, a different, 'contemporary but slightly smaller hand' copied the portion of book 7 taken from the second exemplar (ff. 147r–153r), while a further scribe copied the remainder of book 7 from the original exemplar (from the words 'illi soli non adsentior' on f. 153r): *Studies*, pp. 91–2. I remain uncertain about these apparent additional hands (cf. Guy, 'Second Witness', p. 75, n. 14); the variability might be explained instead by a single scribe working in stints across a long period.

with books 1–6. The same may have been true for all the ‘booklets’ forming Harley 3859, suggesting that the quires containing the Welsh texts were indeed conceived as part of the same scribal project as the quires with which they are bound, and which have been linked to St Augustine’s.

A St Augustine’s origin for Harley 3859 would have interesting implications for the transmission of the interrelated group of Welsh texts copied out by scribes D and E on quires XIX–XXI. It is fairly well known that early medieval manuscripts from the Brittonic-speaking regions of western Britain tended to survive only if they were imported into England at an early date.³⁸ Such manuscripts may have exerted a significant influence on the development of English Square minuscule script during the first half of the tenth century.³⁹ St Augustine’s in particular became home to numerous manuscripts from the Brittonic-speaking regions, including Wales, during this period.⁴⁰ For example, the late ninth- or early tenth-century Welsh copy of Martianus Capella’s *De nuptiis* (now CCC 153) had travelled to St Augustine’s by c. 930, where it was supplied with additional leaves written in English Square minuscule.⁴¹ These links between St Augustine’s and Wales during the tenth century could have provided a line of transmission through which the mid-tenth-century collection of Welsh historical texts under consideration came to be incorporated into a late eleventh- or early twelfth-century manuscript written in St Augustine’s or somewhere nearby.

The nature of the Welsh texts copied into Harley 3859 supports the notion that the exemplar for the texts left Wales in the middle of the tenth century.⁴² The primary Welsh text found in the manuscript is the *Historia Brittonum* in its Harleian recension, the version most likely to approximate to the original text. The *Historia Brittonum*, a synthetic history of the Britons concerning the period from Creation to the late seventh century, was composed in North Wales in 829 or 830, possibly in the significant *clas* church of Abergele.⁴³ The version in Harley 3859, however, has been interpolated with two additional texts, positioned after the chronological calculations in §66 but before the list of the cities of Britain in §66a.⁴⁴ These two texts are the ‘Harleian chronicle’ (i.e. the ‘A-text’ of *Annales Cambriae*) and the ‘Harleian genealogies’.⁴⁵ Although these texts do not form integral parts of the *Historia Brittonum*, in this context they are intended to supplement that text, as is argued below in relation to the genealogies. There is little doubt that the scribe of Harley 3859 inherited all these texts from a single exemplar of Welsh origin.

³⁸ Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, pp. 635–6; McKee, ‘Circulation’, p. 339; *MWM* 7.

³⁹ Dumville, ‘English Square Minuscule Script: The Background’, pp. 159–61; Dumville, ‘English Script’, pp. 306–7; contrast Ganz, ‘Square Minuscule’, p. 188, n. 3. For the influence of manuscripts from the Celtic-speaking world on tenth-century England in general, see Dumville, *Liturgy*, pp. 111–19.

⁴⁰ Bishop, ‘Corpus Martinianus Capella’, pp. 259–61; Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, p. 97 and n. 74; Dumville, ‘English Square Minuscule Script: The Mid-Century Phases’, p. 140, n. 38; McKee, ‘St Augustine’s Abbey’, pp. 67–72 and 244–6; McKee, ‘Circulation’, pp. 340–1; Voth, ‘Analysis’, pp. 96–7.

⁴¹ Dumville, ‘English Square Minuscule Script: The Mid-Century Phases’, pp. 139–40; cf. Bishop, ‘Corpus Martinianus Capella’, pp. 265–6. Barker-Benfield notes that there are no later signs of St Augustine’s ownership: *St Augustine’s Abbey* III, 1822–3. For the makeup of the manuscript, see Bishop, ‘Corpus Martinianus Capella’, pp. 262–5 and 272–5. In 1912, it was proposed by M. R. James that this manuscript originated in St Davids, on the basis that it might have been donated to Archbishop Matthew Parker by Richard Davies, bishop of St Davids, with whom Parker corresponded. However, since the manuscript was probably at St Augustine’s already by the 930s, this is impossible: James, *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 346; cf. Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 169.

⁴² For more details about the remainder of this section, see Guy, ‘Origins’.

⁴³ For an introduction to the *Historia Brittonum*, see Dumville, ‘*Historia Brittonum*’. For Abergele, see Guy, ‘Origins’, p. 53.

⁴⁴ The arrangement may be observed in Faral’s edition of Harley 3859’s *Historia Brittonum*, which includes the interpolated annals and genealogies: *HB* (Harl. 3859).

⁴⁵ Abbreviated here as Harl. and HG.

There is evidence that earlier redactions of the chronicle and genealogies had accompanied this version of the *Historia Brittonum* since the middle of the ninth century, possibly since a dating colophon indicating a year between 857 and 859 was inserted into a copy of the *Historia Brittonum* ancestral to the Harleian recension.⁴⁶ But the versions of the chronicle and genealogies copied into Harley 3859 had been updated beyond the ninth century as far as the mid-tenth century. The Harleian chronicle has regular substantive annals up to the year 954, though the annalistic framework of the chronicle extends to 977. The more recent annals, moreover, seem to represent the chronicling tradition of the church of St Davids in the south-western extremity of Wales, as indicated, for instance, by the obituaries of bishops of St Davids.⁴⁷ Similarly, the first two pedigrees in the Harleian genealogies have been updated so as to begin with Owain ap Hywel Dda, who assumed power in south-western Wales following the death of his father Hywel Dda in 950 (and possibly following the death of his brother Rhodri ap Hywel Dda in 954).⁴⁸ The implication is that both the chronicle and the genealogies were updated in or shortly after 954, almost certainly in St Davids. They did not continue to be updated thereafter.

That the Welsh exemplar of Harley 3589 was written not much later than the time when the annals and genealogies were last updated in *c.* 954, rather than, say, shortly before the writing of Harley 3859, is implied by the Welsh orthography of the texts. It was Egerton Phillimore who first observed that the scribe of Harley 3859 was unfamiliar with Welsh and with Welsh orthographic conventions, as is implied by the occasional false division of Welsh names and by certain persistent types of copying error.⁴⁹ With due allowance made for such ignorance, the state of the orthography used for Welsh names and words in the relevant section of Harley 3859 should therefore be explained as the product of the last occasion on which the texts were redacted by someone literate in Welsh, rather than as the product of the scribe of Harley 3859. This is indeed exactly what one finds, for the orthography agrees much more closely with the practices of the mid-tenth century, when the annals and genealogies were last updated, than with the practices of *c.* 1100, when Harley 3859 was written.⁵⁰ Had this mid-tenth-century compilation of texts been copied out in Wales in the intervening period before being exported to England, one would have expected the orthography (and indeed the content) to have been updated. There is thus every reason to think that the Welsh exemplar of the compilation was removed from Wales not long after *c.* 954, perhaps being taken directly to St Augustine's in Canterbury.

There is further evidence to suggest that Harley 3859 was copied directly from this mid-tenth-century Welsh exemplar, rather than from any intervening copies made in England (where the orthography and content of the texts may have remained constant). This can be deduced from the care taken by the scribe of Harley 3859 to preserve aspects of the texts that must have been present already in the Welsh exemplar. For example, the scribe, owing to his ignorance of Welsh, was unable to supply the missing initial letters of the Welsh names heading the pedigrees. The scribe acknowledged his ignorance by beginning the relevant names with minuscule rather than majuscule letters, without leaving any space for the initial letters to be added later. One is struck by the care taken to preserve the exemplar, even if that exemplar was not understood at every point. Another example of the same attitude may be observed among the annals. There, the letters *h* or *th* have occasionally been inserted interlineally in order to alter Welsh spellings of /θ/ from *t* to *th*. Again, since the scribe of Harley 3859 did not know Welsh, these interlinear insertions must have been present already in the Welsh exemplar, from where they were

⁴⁶ See my proposed summary of developments in Guy, 'Origins', p. 55.

⁴⁷ Hughes, 'Welsh Latin Chronicles', pp. 68–9; Hughes, 'A-text', pp. 86–7.

⁴⁸ *AC* (ABC) [950] and [954]; cf. Thornton, 'Power', p. 50.

⁴⁹ Phillimore, '*Annales Cambriae*', p. 146 and n. 2.

⁵⁰ *LHEB* 56.

simply copied as they appeared into Harley 3859.⁵¹ The preservation of such detail causes one to doubt that there were any intermediate English copies between the mid-tenth-century Welsh exemplar and Harley 3859; such copies would have considerably lessened the likelihood of these details being retained. One is therefore tempted to conclude that the scribe of Harley 3859 directly used an exemplar that had been written in Wales, probably in St Davids, in the mid-tenth century.

The Structure of the Genealogies

The Harleian genealogies may be divided into thirty-three sections.⁵² The first thirty-one sections comprise ascending pedigrees traced back in time from various male dynastic figures. The final two sections describe the journey of Cunedda and his sons from Manaw Gododdin to Gwynedd, and the division of the land there between them. Most of the ascending pedigrees are linear in the sense that they relate a single line of descent with only one ancestor named per generation. The named ancestors are overwhelmingly male, though some females were included when their presence in the pedigree enabled the pedigree's subject to claim higher status, for example by connecting the subject to an earlier dynasty of recognised regality.⁵³ The linear pedigrees describe familial relationships using Old Welsh terminology (*map* 'son', *merch* 'daughter', *braut* 'brother'), whereas some of the non-linear pedigrees describe more complex relationships using Latin.⁵⁴ Some pedigrees include short statements in Latin describing the deeds of important ancestors.⁵⁵

The pedigrees feature royal dynasties from across the Brittonic-speaking regions of Wales and northern Britain. They are not, however, comprehensive. Certain known royal dynasties do not feature at all, such as the royal dynasty of Buellet and Gwerthrynion (whose pedigree was recorded in 829/30 in the *Historia Brittonum*).⁵⁶ By contrast, there seems to be abundant information about the minor dynasties of northern and western Wales. Curiously, the text does not seem to offer an overview of dynastic history from the vantage point of any single moment in time. The latest dateable pedigrees in the collection are the first two, which take Owain ap Hywel Dda, king of Deheubarth (c. 950–88), as their subject. The first traces Owain's descent through his father Hywel Dda and the early kings of Gwynedd (HG 1), while the second traces Owain's descent from his mother Helen and the early kings of Dyfed (HG 2). Together, these two pedigrees demonstrate Owain's high royal status and ancestral connections to the kingdoms of Gwynedd and Dyfed.⁵⁷ By comparison, most other pedigrees in the collection seem to reflect the political circumstances of earlier periods, having very little direct relevance for Owain's position in c. 954. For instance, the subjects of HG 28–29, which concern dynasties associated with Glywysing and Gwent, flourished in the ninth century, rather than the mid-tenth.⁵⁸ There is no sign of the kings of Glywysing and Gwent who were Owain ap Hywel Dda's contemporaries, such as the powerful Morgan ab Owain (ruled c. 930–74), who witnessed a charter of King Eadred alongside Owain ap Hywel Dda in 955, no more than a year

⁵¹ Guy, 'Second Witness', pp. 88–9.

⁵² This is reflected in the edition of the St Davids recension in Appendix B.1.

⁵³ E.g. HG 1, 2 and 15.

⁵⁴ HG 14–15 and 30–31. These sections all use Latin to describe fraternal relationships. Contrast HG 10 and 12, where Welsh is used for the same purpose.

⁵⁵ HG 1, 2, 4, 5, 16 and 25.

⁵⁶ *HB* (Harl. 3859), §49.

⁵⁷ Cf. Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, p. 474.

⁵⁸ The subject of HG 29 is Brochfael ap Meurig, who was king of Gwent in the 880s: Asser, §80. The subject of HG 28 is one Ithel ab Athrwys, whose grandfather Ffernfael ab Ithel is probably the man of that name who died in 775: *AC* (ABC) [775]. Despite having doubts, Sims-Williams is inclined to accept the latter identification: *Book of Llandaf*, pp. 56, 137, 141, 144 (n. 141) and 153–5; 'Kings', pp. 73–4.

after the redaction of the exemplar of the Harleian genealogies.⁵⁹ Such incongruity causes one to doubt that the pedigrees in the collection assumed written form at the same time, or were redacted together for a single purpose. Rather, it seems that the collection evolved haphazardly in several stages, having drawn on pre-existing written sources in an un-systematic manner.

Table 2.2: The structure of the Harleian genealogies

HG §	Subject(s)		Parent		Territorial association
	Name	Date	Name	Date	
1	[O]uen	d. 988	[H]iguel	d. 950	Deheubarth/Gwynedd (Môn)
2	[O]uein	d. 988	[H]elen	d. 928	Deheubarth/Dyfed
3	[H]iguel	d. 825	Caratauc	d. 798	Gwynedd (Rhos)
4	[I]udgual		Tutagual		Man
5	[R]un		Arthgal	d. 872	Strathclyde/Alclud
6	[R]iderch Hen	fl. s. vi ²	Tutagual		Old North/Alclud
7	[C]linog Eitin		Cinbelim		Old North
8	[U]rbgen	?fl. s. vi ²	Cinmarc		Old North
9	[G]uallauc	?fl. s. vi ²	Laenauc		Old North
10	[M]orcant	?fl. s. vi ²	Coledauc		Old North
11	[D]unaut	?d. 594	Pappo		Old North
12	[G]urci, Peretur	?both d. 579	Eleuther Cascord Maur		Old North
13	[T]riphun	d. 814/15	Regin	d. 808	Dyfed
14	[R]egin, Iudon, iOuem	iOuem d. 811	Morgetiud	d. 796	Dyfed
15	[G]ripiud, Teudos, Caten		Nougoy		Dyfed/Brycheiniog
16	[R]un		Neithon		Gododdin? ⁶⁰
17	[C]uhelm		Bleydiud		Dunoding
18	[C]inan		Brochmail		Meirionydd
19	[C]atguallaun Liu		Guitcun		Old North
20	[?A]mor		Moriud		Rhufoniog
21	[M]eriaun		Loudogu		Penllyn
22	[S]elim	d. c. 615	Cinan		Powys
23	[?]esselis		Gurhaiernu		?Powys
24	[S]elim		Iouab		?Caereinion ⁶¹
25	[I]udnerth		Morgen		?Clud (Radnor Forest) ⁶²
26	[G]uocaun	d. 872	Mouric		Ceredigion
27	[C]incen	d. 854	Catel	d. 808	Powys
28	[I]udhail		Atroys		Glywysing/Gwent
29	[B]rocmall	fl. 880s	Mouric	?d. 874	Gwent
30	[M]aun, Artan, Iouab, Meic		Grippi[?ud]	d. 815	Powys
31	[E]lized, Ioab, Ædan		Cincen		Powys
32–3	Cunedda origin legend				Gwynedd

⁵⁹ For the charter of Eadred, see Keynes, ‘Welsh Kings’, pp. 103–4.

⁶⁰ I discuss this possible attribution in a forthcoming monograph.

⁶¹ Cf. Rowland, ‘Family’; Sims-Williams, ‘Powys’, pp. 45–9; *ByS* 36.

⁶² I discuss this possible attribution in a forthcoming monograph.

A similar conclusion is implied by the organisation of the collection. Although structuring principles can be discerned for parts of the text, it is difficult to explain the overall layout. This may be observed in the summarized list of contents provided in Table 2.2. This table gives the names of the pedigrees' subjects and the subjects' named parents, along with any associated dates found in well-known sources like the Welsh annals. The final column suggests a territorial association for the pedigree: namely, the kingdoms or territories that a contemporary reader might have associated with the subjects and their pedigrees.

It should be clear from Table 2.2 that, in some instances, the contiguity of pedigrees in the collection is determined either by the territorial associations of the pedigrees' subjects or by the descent of the subjects from a common progenitor. HG 5–12, for instance, all concern historical or legendary figures from northern Britain. The sequence begins with the pedigree of Rhun and his father Arthial (HG 5), who represent a dynasty that ruled in Alclud (until 870) and Strathclyde (thereafter) in the second half of the ninth century.⁶³ The following two pedigrees concern early offshoots of the same dynasty, descended from the common progenitor Dyfnwal Hen (HG 6–7). The subjects of these pedigrees flourished in the sixth century rather than the ninth. After these come a further five pedigrees that similarly concern northern Britain in the sixth century, but which trace lineages associated with a different family, the descendants of Coel Hen (HG 8–12). The pedigrees of HG 5–12 are thus structured according to geography and common descent. The resulting effect is to demonstrate how two families which allegedly flourished in sixth-century northern Britain (those of Dyfnwal Hen and Coel Hen) stood in genealogical and chronological relationship to the dynasty of ninth-century Alclud/Strathclyde. The impetus behind this design accords with other evidence from medieval Wales suggesting that the exploits of northern British rulers during the sixth-century 'heroic age' formed an important aspect of Brittonic identity in later times.⁶⁴

The contiguity of the first two pedigrees is determined not by geography or common descent, but by their sharing of a single subject: Owain ap Hywel Dda. As was discussed in the previous section, both the chronicle and the genealogies in Harley 3859 seem to have been updated around 954, probably in St Davids, during Owain's reign in Deheubarth. The placement of Owain's two pedigrees at the beginning of the collection was no doubt a device designed to honour the king in power at the time of redaction. This prompts the question of why the third and fourth pedigrees, placed after Owain's two lines of descent but before the pedigrees concerning northern Britain, have been placed in a position of comparable esteem.⁶⁵ HG 3 concerns a dynasty which ruled Gwynedd in the late eighth and early ninth centuries, apparently from a base in Rhos on the coast of North Wales. The subject of HG 3, Hywel ap Caradog (d. 825), was the king of Gwynedd who immediately preceded Owain's ancestor Merfyn Frych (d. 844). From Merfyn's time up to the mid-tenth century, the kingship of Gwynedd was held continuously by Owain's family; Hywel ap Caradog was therefore the last ruler from a different line to hold the kingship. The controlling factor in the placement of HG 3 may therefore be the kingship of Gwynedd: HG 1 and HG 3 record, in turn, the pedigrees of the two most recent dynasties to have held the kingship. This interpretation receives support from the Anglo-Saxon genealogical collection known as the 'Anglian collection of royal genealogies and regnal lists', in which the pedigrees of the kings of Northumbria and Mercia are organised in a similar way.⁶⁶ For example, the version of the Anglian collection in Cotton Vespasian B. vi, an early ninth-century manuscript, has four Mercian genealogies, whose subjects are Æthelred (d. after 704), Æthelbald (d. 757),

⁶³ For Alclud and Strathclyde at this time, see Edmonds, 'Emergence', pp. 200–1.

⁶⁴ Cf. Haycock, 'Early Welsh Poets'; Thomas, 'Remembering the "Old North"'.

⁶⁵ A point noted by Phillimore in relation to HG 4: Phillimore *apud* Owen, *Description* III, 209.

⁶⁶ Sisam, 'Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies', pp. 292–3. See the discussion in Chapter 1 above, pp. 24–31.

Ecgfrith (d. 796) and Coenwulf (d. 821), the last of whom was ruling when the text in *Vespasian B. vi* was redacted.⁶⁷ Of these four pedigrees, only the fourth took a contemporary king as its subject; the others traced the lines of former kings of Mercia, in chronological order. The chief organising principle was the kingship of Mercia. It did not matter whether the earlier Mercian kings had any surviving descendants; the genealogist, in this instance, was concerned only to record the descent of past and present ruling kings of a single kingdom. So it may have been with HG 3; Hywel ap Caradog could well have had living descendants, but the genealogist was interested in Hywel's dynasty only because Hywel and his father had held the kingship of Gwynedd prior to Owain ap Hywel Dda's dynasty.

The prominent positioning of HG 4 can be explained in the same way. HG 4 almost certainly concerns a dynasty that ruled in the Isle of Man.⁶⁸ The subject of the pedigree, Idwal ap Tudwal, may have flourished roughly in the second half of the eighth century. It is widely recognised that Owain ap Hywel Dda's ancestor, Merfyn Frych, probably hailed from Man, and may have ruled there before he acquired the kingship of Gwynedd in c. 826.⁶⁹ According to later genealogies, Merfyn himself descended from a great-grandson of the sister of Idwal ap Tudwal.⁷⁰ It has been proposed by Thomas Charles-Edwards that Merfyn and his son Rhodri continued to rule Man, alongside Gwynedd, directly during the ninth century.⁷¹ If so, the purpose of HG 4 could have been much the same as HG 3: to trace the descent of the last king to rule Man from a dynasty other than that of Merfyn Frych.

Unfortunately, the principles of geographical association, common descent and royal succession cannot be invoked so readily to explain the ordering of the other pedigrees in the collection. For example, pedigrees whose subjects are said to descend from Cunedda are dispersed throughout the collection (HG 1, 3, 17, 18, 26); pedigrees whose subjects are said to descend from Cadell Dyrnllug are similarly dispersed, and include a significant element of repetition (HG 22, 23, 27, 30, 31); and, while the main line of descent for the early kings of Dyfed is given in the second pedigree (HG 2), information about other branches of the ruling family of Dyfed does not appear until later (HG 13–15). Overall, such factors imply that there was only a relatively limited intervention in the text at the latest stage of redaction in the mid-tenth century, rather than a deliberate and wholesale revision. The resultant haphazard organisation of the collection contrasts strongly, for example, with the thirteenth-century Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies examined in Chapter 4, which were assembled according to a single, coherent vision of Welsh dynastic history. The comparable lack of unitary vision in the Harleian genealogies renders problematic the various assertions by some scholars to the effect that the Harleian genealogies, as a whole, were compiled in the mid-tenth century in support of Owain ap Hywel Dda's regime.⁷² This notion is true of the first two pedigrees but lacks credibility for the collection at large.

⁶⁷ For the text, see Dumville, 'Anglian Collection', pp. 30–1. For the date of the redaction, see *ibid.*, pp. 39–40. For the manuscript, see Keynes, 'Between Bede and the Chronicle'.

⁶⁸ Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, pp. 470–1; Sims-Williams, 'Historical Need', pp. 15–16; G. E. Jones, 'Idic uab Anarawt'; Phillimore *apud* Owen, *Description* III, 208–10. For additional supporting evidence, see Chapter 5 below, pp. 238–9. For doubts, see Thornton, *Kings*, pp. 92–3; B. L. Jones, 'Gwriad's Heritage', pp. 41–4.

⁶⁹ Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, pp. 467–79; Sims-Williams, 'Historical Need', pp. 11–20. Thornton is sceptical about the connection: *Kings*, pp. 88–96.

⁷⁰ JC 19; LIIG 20. Although this pedigree, in its extant *written form*, was probably the product of twelfth-century invention (see below, pp. 115–16), it is likely that Merfyn's family either descended from or succeeded the earlier Manx dynasty in some way.

⁷¹ Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, p. 472.

⁷² For example, with varying degrees of conviction: Bromwich, 'Character', p. 93 and n. 1 ('all the collateral lines cease before Owain's time, so that the inclusion of these is no doubt intended to emphasise Owain's claim to rule all Wales'); Miller, 'Foundation-Legend', p. 517 ('their chief concern is for Owain of Deheubarth'); Dumville, 'Sub-Roman Britain', p. 178 ('The Harleian collection, taken as a body,

Relationships with the Jesus 20 Genealogies and the Historia Brittonum

Some purchase on the textual pre-history of the Harleian genealogies can be gained by comparing the text with the Jesus 20 genealogies, on the one hand, and with the *Historia Brittonum* (which the Harleian genealogies accompany in Harley 3859), on the other. It was Egerton Phillimore who first noticed the connection between the Harleian genealogies and the Jesus 20 genealogies, and the link was explored further by Nora Chadwick.⁷³ The Jesus 20 genealogies survive in a vernacular manuscript of c. 1400 and, as is discussed in detail in Chapter 3, that collection drew on many different genealogical sources. One of these sources was a text very similar to the extant Harleian genealogies. This is shown not only by the recurrence of the same figures as the subjects of the pedigrees, but also, more importantly, by similarities in the ordering of the pedigrees. Those sections of the two genealogical collections that follow an almost identical order are listed in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3: *A comparison between the Jesus 20 genealogies and the Harleian genealogies*

§	JC Subject	§	HG Subject	Territorial Association
34	Keneu Menrud m. Pascen (grandson of Vrien Reget m. Kynuarch)	8	[U]rbgen map Cinmarc	Old North
35	Rvn m. Einyaŵn			Old North
36	Gwallaŵc m. Llyennaŵc	9	[G]uallauc map Laenauc	Old North
37	Morgant m. Cledaŵc	10	[M]orcant map Coledauc	Old North
38	Dunaŵt m. Pabo Post Prydein	11	[D]unaut map Pappo	Old North
39	Howel m. Cradaŵc	(3)	[H]iguel map Caratauc	Rhos
40	Bleidut m. Cradaŵc	17	[C]uhelm map Bleydiud map Caratauc	Dunoding
41	Kynan m. Brochuael	18	[C]inan map Brochmail	Meirionydd
42	Howel Da m. Kadell (through Agharat merch Veuruc)	26	[G]uocaun map Mouric	Ceredigion

It cannot be a coincidence that these nine pedigrees appear in almost exactly the same order in both texts, and for the most part take the same subjects. Since there is no evidence that Harley 3859 itself or any derivative copies were ever available in Wales, one must posit a common source. This source included at least the genealogies concerning the northern family of Coel Hen and some of the pedigrees traced back to Cunedda. The source also included the pedigree of Hywel ap Caradog, which, as discussed, appears in third position in the Harleian genealogies because Hywel was a former king of Gwynedd. For the compiler of the Jesus 20 genealogies, however, Hywel ap Caradog had assumed a different significance. Rather than being counted as a ruling dynasty of Gwynedd, Hywel ap Caradog's dynasty was reckoned among the minor dynasties descended from Cunedda, and repositioned accordingly.⁷⁴

exists to document the position of Owain'); *EWSP* 73 ('... believed to be copied from a compilation made c.955 to support the claim of Owain m. Hywel Dda to the greater part of Wales'); Thornton, 'Orality', p. 88 ('the overall scheme of the Harleian genealogies was to prove that the Second Dynasty, and especially Owain, was the legitimate successor of pre-Roman, Roman and post-Roman rule over the Britons'); cf. Thornton, 'Power', pp. 53–7; Thornton, *Kings*, pp. 23 and 95; Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, p. 474 ('the collection as a whole probably belongs to his reign').

⁷³ Phillimore, *Annales Cambriae*, p. 142, n. 1; Chadwick, 'Early Culture', pp. 75–6.

⁷⁴ Cf. Charles-Edwards, 'Dynastic Succession', p. 72.

It will be noticed that, whereas the pedigrees in Table 2.3 from Jesus 20 are listed in order without anything having been omitted, the pedigrees from the Harleian genealogies are discontinuous: there is a leap from HG 11 to HG 17, and another leap from HG 18 to HG 26. It is of vital importance for understanding the common source of the Harleian genealogies and the Jesus 20 genealogies to examine the reason for these leaps. The repositioning of Hywel ap Caradog's pedigree (HG 3 ~ JC 39) shows that the compiler of the Jesus 20 genealogies was liable to rearrange material according to his own understanding of political history; it is therefore possible that some of the intervening material in the Harleian genealogies (HG 12–16 and HG 19–25) was present in the source used by the Jesus 20 compiler but was either ignored or, in some cases, incorporated into other parts of the Jesus 20 collection. However, a consideration of the nature of the intervening material in the Harleian genealogies suggests another possibility: that some, at least, of the intervening material was not present in the common source of the Harleian and Jesus 20 genealogies, but was rather added to the common source at some point during its transmission to Harley 3859.

The intervening material comprising HG 12–16 consists of the pedigree of the legendary brothers Gwrgi and Peredur (HG 12), a short, interconnected tract concerning the dynasty of Dyfed in the early ninth century (HG 13–15), and the pedigree of an otherwise unknown Rhun ap Neithon, which has been conflated, deliberately or otherwise, with a list of Roman emperors converted into an ascending pedigree.⁷⁵ Of this material, only a version of HG 15, concerning members of the dynasty of Dyfed, may be found in the Jesus 20 genealogies (JC 8).⁷⁶ But it is argued in Chapter 3 that JC 8 entered the Jesus 20 collection through a rather different textual route to the material listed in Table 2.3, and its relevance to the present question is therefore limited. Given the interconnectedness of the Dyfed tract of HG 13–15, and its lack of association with the pedigrees placed either side of it, one could believe that the Dyfed tract was inserted into an exemplar of the Harleian genealogies that post-dated the common source shared with Jesus 20. The other two pedigrees are more difficult to judge. The pedigree of Gwrgi and Peredur (HG 12) was clearly intended to continue the sequence of 'Old North' pedigrees traced back to Coel Hen (HG 8–12), but its absence from the Jesus 20 genealogies might imply that it was an addition to the common source. The same is implied by the fact that Coel Hen's own extended ancestry is appended to HG 10, the third 'Coel Hen' pedigree, rather than HG 12, the fifth and final such pedigree, causing HG 11 and 12 to look like later additions to the sequence. This idea is explored further below. Unfortunately, our ignorance about the identity of the subject of HG 16, Rhun ap Neithon, prevents anything more being said of that pedigree in this context.

The intervening material comprising HG 19–25 consists mostly of pedigrees of the dynasties of Powys and the eastern midlands. Two are 'Cadelling' pedigrees (HG 22, 23), including the pedigree of Selyf ap Cynan, who died at the battle of Chester in c. 615 (HG 22); two are pedigrees attributed respectively to Rhufoniog and Penllyn in the thirteenth-century Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies (HG 20, 21; cf. LIIG 45, 41); one concerns an obscure dynasty that may descend from the family of the literary hero Cynddylan ap Cyndrwyn, and which may therefore be associated with Caereinion (HG 24);⁷⁷ and another features the 'Glastening', who might have been associated with the area of Clud in Radnorshire (HG 25).⁷⁸ The first pedigree in the sequence, curiously, is another pedigree traced to Coel Hen (HG 19), which is isolated from the other Coel Hen pedigrees discussed above (HG 8–12); given the geographical purview of the pedigrees that follow, one wonders if this Coel Hen pedigree is placed in this position because it concerns a branch of the family reputed to have

⁷⁵ This list was later incorporated into the St Cadog genealogies: see below, pp. 81–2, and Appendix A.2.2.

⁷⁶ See below, pp. 146 and 153.

⁷⁷ See above, n. 61 to Table 2.2.

⁷⁸ See above, n. 62 to Table 2.2.

included St Asaph, who was later the patron of the diocese of north-east Wales.⁷⁹ Several of these pedigrees are either otherwise unknown (HG 23, 24) or else paralleled only in the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies in a section that draws on the St Davids recension (HG 21 ~ LIIG 41, HG 25 ~ LIIG 39). Only one of these pedigrees is found in the Jesus 20 genealogies: the Rhufoniog pedigree (JC 46 ~ HG 20), which is placed in that collection among pedigrees deriving from the 'Ceredig Tract' (JC 43–45 and 47–49), out of sequence with the material listed in Table 2.3.⁸⁰ In sum, therefore, the geographical connections of the pedigrees forming HG 19–25, and the lack of relation that they bear to the pedigrees placed either side of them, encourages one to suppose that some or all of these pedigrees could have been interpolated into an exemplar of the Harleian genealogies that post-dated the common source of the Harleian and Jesus 20 genealogies.

The predilection of the compiler of the Jesus 20 genealogies for rearranging the genealogical material inherited from his sources should encourage caution when making deductions based on what that compiler chose *not* to include. In order to argue that some or all of the material forming HG 12–16 and HG 19–25 could have been interpolated into an exemplar of the Harleian genealogies, one must produce positive arguments as to why the material that certainly was present in the common source of the Harleian and Jesus 20 genealogies (i.e. the pedigrees listed in Table 2.3) was included in that source in the first place; that is, one must identify a credible rationale for the original collection, explaining why certain pedigrees were included or excluded.

A comparison between the pedigrees listed in Table 2.3 and the *Historia Brittonum* might provide just such a rationale. The nine pedigrees in Table 2.3 concern only two families: those of Coel Hen and Cunedda. This may be no more than a product of the organising principles of the Jesus 20 compiler. However, it is significant that these two families have a special interest in the context of the *Historia Brittonum*, into which, one should not forget, the Harleian genealogies are inserted. Although Coel Hen himself is not named in the *Historia Brittonum*, three of his descendants (Urien, Gwallog and Morgan) are listed in the *Historia* among the four kings who fought against the Bernicians: Urien, Rhydderch Hen, Gwallog and Morgan.⁸¹ Notably, all four of the *Historia*'s kings (and not only the three descended from Coel Hen) are specifically named as the subjects of pedigrees in the Harleian genealogies: Rhydderch Hen (HG 6), Urien (HG 8), Gwallog (HG 9) and Morgan (HG 10).⁸² The three descended from Coel Hen appear again, in the same order, in the Jesus 20 genealogies. Thus, while the compiler of the Jesus 20 genealogies may have chosen to exclude Rhydderch's pedigree because Rhydderch did not descend from Coel Hen, the compiler nevertheless inherited the grouping of the pedigrees of Urien, Gwallog and Morgan from an earlier source. It seems likely that these four pedigrees were grouped together in the common source of the Harleian and Jesus 20 genealogies in order to explain the interrelationships of the four kings listed in the *Historia Brittonum*. That this was the initial objective of the pedigrees is implied by the placement of Coel Hen's extended ancestry as an extension of the pedigree of Morgan (HG 10), the last of the *Historia Brittonum*'s kings listed in the Harleian genealogies.⁸³ As

⁷⁹ Compare *ByS* 13. The subject of HG 19, Cadwallon Lyw, would be St Asaph's nephew.

⁸⁰ See the discussion in Chapter 3, p. 139.

⁸¹ *HB* (Harl. 3859), §63.

⁸² As noted in Chadwick and Chadwick, *Growth* I, 150–1; *CLIH* xxii; Bromwich, 'Character', p. 93, n. 1; Miller, 'Historicity', p. 258. Miller (pp. 265–6) would identify the Morgan of the *Historia Brittonum* with HG 10's *Morcant Bulc*, grandfather of the *Morcant* who is the pedigree's subject, since *Morcant Bulc* descended from Coel Hen through the same number of generations as Urien and Gwallog; cf. Koch, *Gododdin*, p. xxv and Woolf, 'Caedwalla', pp. 22–3 for similar views. It is difficult to know whether the compiler of the pedigree would have followed the same logic.

⁸³ It is not really credible that Coel Hen's extended ancestry was appended to Morgan's pedigree because 'Morgan was the king, or the senior king, of Gododdin', as Miller suggests: 'Historicity', p. 265.

mentioned above, this might imply that HG 11 and 12, concerning Dunod and Gwrgi/Peredur, who do not appear in the *Historia Brittonum*, were later additions to the scheme. Perhaps they were added because they, alone among the Men of the North in the Harleian genealogies, are noticed specifically in the chronicle that immediately precedes the genealogies.⁸⁴

The other group of pedigrees listed in Table 2.3 concerns the various dynasties traced back to Cunedda. Again, these pedigrees have a clear relevance to the *Historia Brittonum*. A famous passage in the *Historia Brittonum* relates that Maelgwn Gwynedd's 'atavus' ('great-grandfather' in this context),⁸⁵ Cunedda, with his eight sons, travelled from Manaw Gododdin in northern Britain and expelled the Irish 'ab istis regionibus' ('from these regions'), probably meaning Gwynedd and various adjacent territories.⁸⁶ A more developed version of the same story is appended to the Harleian genealogies, where nine sons, in addition to one grandson, are specifically named (HG 32–33).⁸⁷ The pedigrees traced back to various sons of Cunedda that appeared in the common source of the Harleian and Jesus 20 genealogies serve to illustrate the point further, by showing which dynasties surviving into later times were implicated by the story. Again, one could posit that these pedigrees, alongside the Cunedda story in HG 32–33, were included in the common source for the purpose of illustrating this important passage in the *Historia Brittonum*.

In conclusion, the common source of the Harleian genealogies and the Jesus 20 genealogies, so far as the pedigrees listed in Table 2.3 are concerned, seems to have borne a purposeful relationship to the *Historia Brittonum*. The common source may have originated as a collection of genealogies designed to explicate aspects of the *Historia Brittonum*, particularly with regard to the relationship between the events described in the *Historia* and the known dynasties of northern and western Wales and northern Britain.⁸⁸ As has already been discussed, these same interests also govern the first seven pedigrees of the Harleian genealogies, even though those pedigrees do not appear in the same order in the Jesus 20 genealogies. The governing interest at the beginning of the Harleian genealogies is the relationship between Merfyn Frych's dynasty, the Merfynion, and the kingdoms of Gwynedd and Man. Following this, interest turns to northern Britain, and the relationship between the ninth-century dynasty of Strathclyde and the sixth-century heroes of northern Britain. These opening pedigrees, including those not found in the same order in the Jesus 20 genealogies, could have belonged comfortably in a collection of genealogies designed to explicate the *Historia Brittonum*, which was itself, by its own admittance, written during the reign of Merfyn Frych, no doubt in Gwynedd.⁸⁹

The evidence seems to warrant hypothesising the existence of an early genealogical collection appended to the *Historia Brittonum*. I call this hypothetical text the 'Gwynedd collection of genealogies'. The 'Gwynedd collection' informed both the Harleian genealogies and the Jesus 20 genealogies through separate lines of transmission (see Figure 2.1). Although the extant Harleian genealogies probably resemble this 'Gwynedd collection' more closely than other surviving sources, the Harleian genealogies nevertheless underwent a certain amount of development during their subsequent transmission, as shown by the mid-tenth-century stratum of material. The question is what proportion of the Harleian genealogies reflects the original Gwynedd collection, and what was added or altered later. As has been discussed, some or all of the pedigrees comprising HG 12–16 and HG 19–25 may

⁸⁴ Harl. [580] and [595]; cf. Chadwick and Chadwick, *Growth* I, 151; *CLIH* xxvii; Miller, 'Historicity', pp. 258–9.

⁸⁵ Three possible meanings, with attestations, are listed in *DMLBS* s.v. atavus: 'great-great-great-grandfather', 'great-grandfather', 'ancestor (unspecified)'.

⁸⁶ *HB* (Harl. 3859), §62.

⁸⁷ This story is considered in greater detail below, pp. 72–6.

⁸⁸ Cf. F. Jones, 'Approach', p. 325.

⁸⁹ *HB* (Harl. 3859), §16.

Medieval Welsh Genealogy

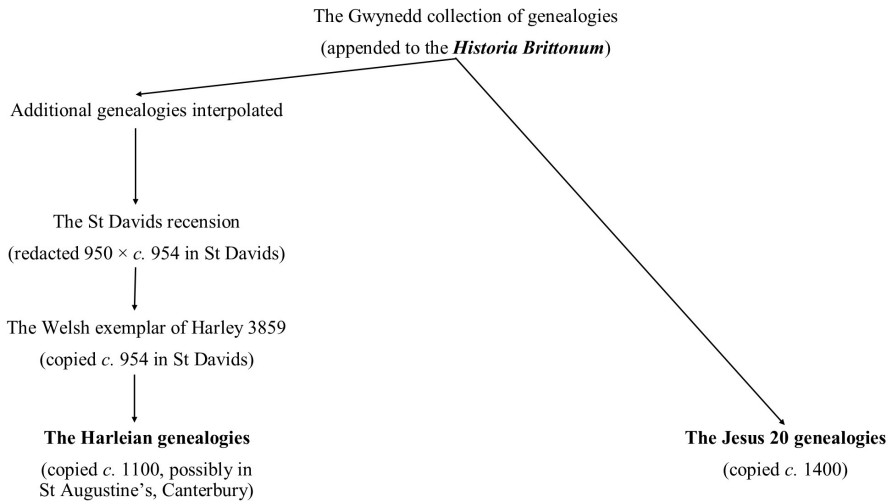


Figure 2.1: *The proposed relationships between the Harleian genealogies, the Jesus 20 genealogies and the Historia Brittonum*

have been inserted into the collection after its initial compilation. The same might apply to the pedigrees of Powys, Gwent and Glywysing appearing towards the end of the text, though these are more difficult to judge. There is good reason, at least, to suppose that HG 27, tracing the descent of Cyngen, king of Powys (d. 854), back to Cadell Dyrnllug, was included in the original Gwynedd collection, since it illustrates the claim in the *Historia Brittonum* that Powys was governed ‘usque in hodiernum diem’ (‘up to this day’) by the descendants of Cadell’s sons.⁹⁰ The other pedigrees of Powys, Gwent and Glywysing (HG 28–31) might have been part of the Gwynedd collection too, but they might equally have been added to the collection at a later stage.

The form and shape of the postulated Gwynedd collection, with its focus on the Merfynion, the kingship of Gwynedd, the Cunedda origin story and northern Britain, makes it difficult to accept that the collection was composed in St Davids during the reign of Owain ap Hywel Dda. As noted above, there is no reason to suppose that anything more than the first two pedigrees in the collection was updated in Owain’s lifetime. As a whole, the postulated Gwynedd collection would make better sense as a text assembled in Gwynedd during the reign of a Merfynion king. In order to identify the most likely time period for the compilation of such a text, attention now turns to the dynastic history of Gwynedd in the ninth and tenth centuries.

Welsh Dynastic History and the Political Context of the Gwynedd Collection of Genealogies

The ninth and tenth centuries were a period of momentous dynastic change in Wales.⁹¹ At the beginning of the ninth century, Wales was a land of many small kingdoms. The annals mention kingdoms of Dyfed (796, 808), Gwynedd (798), Ceredigion (807, 872), Powys (808, 854), Rhufoniog (816) and Gwent (848).⁹² The *Historia Brittonum*, written in 829/30,

⁹⁰ *HB* (Harl. 3859), §35.

⁹¹ The following summary of Welsh dynastic history draws especially on Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, chs 15–16.

⁹² See *AC*.

adds the east-midland kingdom of Buellt and Gwerthrynion.⁹³ During the first half of the century, there is no clear evidence that any one kingdom was dominant over another. Even the kingdom of Gwynedd, whose kings in the seventh century had been powerful enough to challenge the Anglian kings of Northumbria with some success, no doubt with the aid of various subordinate kings from Wales, had reduced in strength. Between 812 and 816, rival claimants to the kingship of Gwynedd fought over possession of Anglesey, showing little sign of ambition further afield. The kings of neighbouring Mercia raided deep into Wales, especially during the reigns of the powerful kings Offa (757–96) and Coenwulf (796–821). The Mercian kings probably exercised regular overlordship over the Welsh kingdoms, especially those located farther east.⁹⁴ In 822, the Mercians, presumably led by Coenwulf's successor Ceolwulf (821–3), drew the kingdom of Powys into their control; it may have been in reaction to this event that Cyngen ap Cadell, perhaps having subsequently regained control of all or parts of Powys, erected the Pillar of Eliseg to commemorate his and his great-grandfather's achievements.⁹⁵ On the western side of Offa's dyke, there seems to have been no Welsh king capable of exercising sustained overlordship over his neighbours and consequently forming a counter-balance to the power of the Mercians.

All this had changed by about the 870s, if not before. Some of the independent minor Welsh kingdoms, including Rhufoniog, Powys and eventually Ceredigion, disappeared, or at least became less worthy of record.⁹⁶ In some cases, they may have become subordinate to more powerful neighbouring kingdoms. The Mercian kingdom to the east underwent a substantial decline in its power and capability, following its capitulation firstly to Ecgbert, king of the West Saxons, in 829, and then, much more seriously, to the viking 'Great Army' in 874. Although Mercian power was never extinguished completely in this period, these military defeats no doubt compromised the ability of the Mercian kings to intervene effectively in Welsh politics on a large scale.

Within Wales itself, a new dynasty emerged, based at first in Anglesey and Gwynedd. This dynasty soon rose to a position of dominance in Welsh politics, a position that it would retain for the remainder of the ninth and tenth centuries. The first member of the dynasty to hold power in Wales was Merfyn Frych, who took the kingship of Gwynedd in c. 826, following the death of the previous king, Hywel ap Caradog, in 825.⁹⁷ Merfyn was later remembered as the founder of the dynasty's political fortunes, to the extent that his dynasty became known as the 'Merfynion'.⁹⁸ Merfyn's family probably originated in the Isle of Man, where there stands an eighth- or ninth-century stone inscribed with the name 'GURIAT', perhaps commemorating his father, Gwriad.⁹⁹ It is likely that Merfyn took control of Gwynedd from a position of strength at home, and there is little reason to doubt that he, if not also his son Rhodri, maintained control of Man as well as Gwynedd after c. 826.¹⁰⁰ That this was the case is implied by a quatrain preserved in the *Annals of Ulster*, which refers to Merfyn's son Rhodri as 'Rhuaidri Manaan' ('Rhodri of Man').¹⁰¹

⁹³ *HB* (Harl. 3859), §49.

⁹⁴ Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, pp. 424–8; Charles-Edwards, 'Wales', pp. 94–100.

⁹⁵ Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, pp. 418–19.

⁹⁶ W. Davies, *Patterns*, pp. 41–2.

⁹⁷ *HB* (Harl. 3859), §16; *AC* (ABC) [825]; cf. Thornton, *Kings*, p. 88.

⁹⁸ This term is often found in the court poetry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: cf. CBT I, poem 7.102 and note.

⁹⁹ The identification was first suggested in Kermode, 'Welsh Inscription', p. 51 and Rhŷs, 'Note'. For the stone, see Kermode, *Manx Crosses*, pp. 121–3 (no. 48); Macalister, *Corpus* II, 190 (no. 1066); Megaw, 'Monastery', p. 171; Cubbon, 'Early Church', p. 262; Wilson, *Manx Crosses*, pp. 25–8 and 42.

¹⁰⁰ Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, pp. 472–8; cf. Sims-Williams, 'Historical Need', p. 18.

¹⁰¹ AU 878. The poem was added to the text by an annotator of manuscript H: see Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill, *Annals of Ulster*, pp. viii and 332, n. 'd-d'. Charles-Edwards comments that 'the marginal verse in the *Annals of Ulster* could well have been composed close to the events it records, namely

It was presumably due to the thalassocratic nature of his kingdom, spanning the two chief islands of the Irish Sea (Anglesey and Man), that Merfyn's court became well-known to travellers in the Insular world. This is shown by the Irish scholars who passed through his court while journeying to or from the Continent, who wrote a letter to their teacher Colgu warning him of the intellectual challenge (involving a cryptogram in Greek letters) that would be put to any Irishmen travelling through Merfyn's court: 'suppliciter poscimus ut istam explanationem ignorantibus et simplicioribus nostris Scottigenis fratribus trans britannicum mare nauigare uolentibus per tuam beniuolam caritatem insinues, ne forte in presentia Mermin gloriosi Britonum regis illam scriptionem non intelligentes erubescant' ('we humbly ask that in your benevolent love you [Colgu] relate this explanation [of the cryptogram] to the unlearned and more naïve of our Irish brethren wishing to sail across the British sea, lest perhaps they should be made to blush in the presence of Merfyn, the glorious king of the Britons, not being able to understand that writing').¹⁰² One would dearly like to know whether the 'arx Mermin Brittannorum regis' ('fortress of Merfyn, king of the Britons') mentioned in the text, apparently encountered by Irishmen sailing across the 'British sea', was in Man, Anglesey or mainland Gwynedd.¹⁰³

Merfyn died in 844, and it seems to have been his son Rhodri, known by the late twelfth century as 'Rhodri Mawr' ('Rhodri the Great'), who first expanded the power of the dynasty outside of Gwynedd's boundaries.¹⁰⁴ Although the evidence for this is flimsier than one might wish, Rhodri was certainly seen as a powerful king by observers outside Wales, and it is likely that such views were predicated on the breadth of his territorial base within Wales (and probably also Man). In 856, Rhodri defeated and killed Ormr, leader of the so-called 'Dark Heathens', a viking group which first became active in the Irish Sea region in 851.¹⁰⁵ The event was recorded in the Irish annals, and may perhaps be the victory over the Northmen celebrated in a poem by the continental Irish scholar Sedulius Scottus, if the King *Roricus* of an adjacent poem in the collection has been correctly identified as Rhodri.¹⁰⁶ Twenty years later, in 877, the Dark Heathens gained the upper hand over Rhodri, and he was forced to flee to Ireland for safety.¹⁰⁷ On his return to Britain the following year, Rhodri was required to counter aggression on another front, from a Mercian army probably led by King Ceolwulf (874–9), who killed Rhodri and his son Gwriad.¹⁰⁸

the deaths of four kings or princes in the years 877–878': *Wales*, p. 468 (and n. 10). Cf. Woolf, *From Pictland*, pp. 116–17; Charles-Edwards, 'Picts', pp. 171–2 and n. 10.

¹⁰² For the text, see Derolez, 'Dubthach's Cryptogram', pp. 368–9; for a translation, see Kenney, *Sources*, p. 556, no. 363. For commentary, see too Chadwick, 'Early Culture', pp. 94–103; Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland*, pp. 236 and 238; Howlett, 'Two Irish Jokes', pp. 233–48 (who includes a text and translation on pp. 236–40); Colin Ireland *apud* Howlett, 'Two Irish Jokes', pp. 256–9. Ó Cróinín has argued that Suadbar, who wrote the letter, should be identified with Sedulius Scottus: 'Irish as Mediators', pp. 47–52.

¹⁰³ Chadwick understood the *Britannicum mare* as the English Channel, but in context the Irish Sea seems like another plausible interpretation: 'Early Culture', p. 101.

¹⁰⁴ AC (ABC) [844]. Rhodri's epithet *mawr* is first securely attested in poems addressed to Rhodri ab Owain Gwynedd (d. 1195) by Gwalchmai ap Meilyr and Prydydd y Moch, both composed sometime between 1175 and 1190 (and probably early in that timeframe): CBT I, poem 11.16 and CBT V, poem 5.65. Due to their common name, the poets could usefully compare Rhodri ab Owain Gwynedd with his ancestor and namesake. In the first recension of his *Descriptio Kambriae*, I.2, completed in 1194, Gerald of Wales calls the earlier Rhodri 'Rothericus magnus, qui Britannice Rotheri Maur dicebatur' ('Rothericus the Great, who was called in British Rhodri Mawr').

¹⁰⁵ AU 856.6; 851.3; Downham, *Viking Kings*, pp. 202–3; Etchingham, 'North Wales', p. 163.

¹⁰⁶ Sedulius Scottus, *Carmina*, 45 (ed. Meyers, pp. 80–2). *Roricus* is named in Sedulius Scottus, *Carmina*, 47.11 (ed. Meyers, p. 85). See Chadwick, 'Early Culture', p. 103. On Meyers's edition, see Shanzer, 'New Edition'. If Ó Cróinín is correct to identify the Suadbar who wrote the letter about the Bamberg cryptogram with Sedulius Scottus, it may be significant that Sedulius mentions both Rhodri and his father Merfyn in his writings. See above, n. 102.

¹⁰⁷ AU 877.3.

¹⁰⁸ AC (ABC) [878]; AU 878.1.

Although Rhodri was an important player on an international stage, the extent of his power within Wales is deeply uncertain. One can only consider Rhodri's position with reference to his sons. In his *Life of King Alfred*, written in 893, the Welshman Asser provides a detailed outline of Welsh politics between 881 and 886.¹⁰⁹ Asser describes a political situation that might otherwise be deduced only in bare outline from the annals. By the 880s, the number of noteworthy kings in Wales seems to have decreased. Kings of the smaller kingdoms of Brycheiniog, Glywysing and Gwent remained prevalent in the south-east, and the larger kingdom of Dyfed in the south-west was ruled by a certain Hyfaidd.¹¹⁰ But elsewhere, across north and probably much of central Wales, the sons of Rhodri, led by Anarawd, reigned supreme. Moreover, in contrast to the situation pertaining earlier in the ninth century, Wales was now divided into two broad spheres of power. Asser relates how the kings of Glywysing and Gwent in the far south-east lived in fear of the Mercians, while the kings of Dyfed and Brycheiniog lived in fear of the sons of Rhodri. The sons of Rhodri had thus formed a counterbalance to Mercian power in Wales, and the two blocks vied for influence over the minor kings of the south. Alfred intervened in the situation firstly by obtaining the submission of the southern kings, drawing the kings of Glywysing and Gwent out of the sway of the Mercians in the process, and only then by obtaining the submission, on less humbling terms, of Rhodri's sons themselves.¹¹¹

The situation recorded by Asser probably arose following the battle of the Conwy, which the sons of Rhodri fought against Æthelred, ealdorman of the Mercians, in 881.¹¹² The St Davids annalist, in unusually emotive terms, termed this battle 'digaŵl Rodri a Deo' ('the avenging of Rhodri by God').¹¹³ It is likely that Rhodri's successors in Gwynedd had been obliged to submit to the Mercians in consequence of Rhodri's defeat and death at their hands in 878. The victory at the Conwy in 881 signalled the end of this period, allowing Rhodri's sons to recreate their father's power. It seems unlikely that the sons of Rhodri could have established the dominant position recorded by Asser so soon after a period of subjection by the Mercians had there been no immediate precedent for it. Although it cannot be proven, it is likely that the position of the sons of Rhodri recorded by Asser approximates to Rhodri's own position in the last years of his life. Perhaps Rhodri, like his sons, had established his dominance across north and central Wales, subjecting various minor kings to him and causing the kings of the south (and indeed those abroad) to fear his strength.

Despite the 'Alfredian settlement' in Wales, the Merfynion continued to pursue their expansionist policy in the 890s. From 892 Alfred was distracted by a new viking threat and was in no position to intervene, as he had done a decade earlier. Around 894, Anarawd, supported now by Mercian allies, led an army south to attack Ceredigion and Ystrad Tywi; this occurred in the wake of the death of Hyfaidd, king of Dyfed, implying that it was Hyfaidd who had ruled these territories immediately prior to that.¹¹⁴ Warfare probably continued for a further decade before Hyfaidd's son, Rhodri, was beheaded in Arwystli in 904, no doubt at the instigation of the Merfynion, possibly following his defeat in battle.¹¹⁵ That Rhodri ap Hyfaidd was active as far north as Arwystli again implies that he, like his father, ruled Ceredigion, which shares a border with Arwystli in the north-east.¹¹⁶ Rhodri ap Hyfaidd's execution marks a major turning point,

¹⁰⁹ Asser, §80.

¹¹⁰ For the extent of early medieval Dyfed, see Phillimore *apud* Owen, *Description* I, 199, n. 2 and IV, 402–4; Woolf, 'Expulsion'; Guy, 'Rheinwg'.

¹¹¹ For different gradients of overlordship in this period, see Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, pp. 326–7.

¹¹² Cf. LIIG 28.5.

¹¹³ AC (A) [881].

¹¹⁴ AC (AC) [891] and (ABC) [893]. For the uncertainty of the absolute chronology, see Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, p. 507.

¹¹⁵ AC (AB) [904].

¹¹⁶ Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, p. 495.

for after this time Ceredigion and Dyfed were drawn firmly under the authority of the Merfynion. Anarawd's brother Cadell may have been the first member of the Merfynion to obtain rule in the south; following his death in 909, the kingship of Dyfed seems to have been inherited by his son Hywel, while Ceredigion may have been inherited by another son, Clydog.¹¹⁷

From 904, the Merfynion directly ruled the majority of Wales outside the south-eastern kingdoms of Brycheiniog, Glywysing and Gwent. Overlordship of Merfynion lands may have been retained by Anarawd until his death in 916, and it was certainly maintained thereafter by Cadell's son Hywel (known later as 'Hywel Dda', 'Hywel the Good'), who ruled Dyfed directly following his father's death in 909 and then Gwynedd too following Idwal Foel ab Anarawd's death in 942.¹¹⁸ After Hywel's death in 950, however, a more fundamental division occurred among the Merfynion: the sons of Hywel's cousin Idwal Foel took control of Gwynedd in the north, while Hywel's own sons took the southern kingdom, which came to be known as Deheubarth. This was the state of affairs when the Harleian genealogies underwent their final phase of redaction in St Davids in or shortly after 954: Owain, son of Hywel Dda, ruled his father's lands in the south, while the Merfynion's ancestral kingdom of Gwynedd in the north was ruled by Owain's second cousin Iago ab Idwal.¹¹⁹

It is within this story that the compilation of the hypothetical Gwynedd collection of genealogies and its evolution into the mid-tenth-century 'St Davids recension' must be placed. A good starting point is the 'Cunedda origin legend' appended to the genealogies.¹²⁰ This story was most probably part of the original Gwynedd collection, considering its relevance both for the *Historia Brittonum* and for the Cunedda pedigrees shared between the Harleian genealogies and the Jesus 20 genealogies (see Table 2.3 above). The text appears as follows (HG 32–33):

[H]ec sunt nomina filiorum Cunedda, quorum numerus erat ix: Typipaun primogenitus, qui mortuus in regione que uocatur Manau Guodotin et non uenit huc cum patre suo et cum fratribus suis. <Sed>¹²¹ Meriaun filius eius diuisit possessiones inter fratres suos: ii Osmail, iii Rumaun, iiii Dunaut, v Ceretic, vi Abloyc, vii Enniaun Girt, viii Docmail, ix Etern.

[H]ic est terminus eorum: a flumine quod uocatur Dubr Duii usque ad aliud flumen Tebi et tenuerunt plurimas regiones in occidentali plaga Britanniae.

These are the names of the sons of Cunedda, the number of whom was nine: Tybion the first-born, who died in the territory which is called Manaw Gododdin and who did not come here with his father and with his brothers. But Meirion his son divided the possessions between his [i.e. Tybion's]¹²² brothers: 2 Osfael, 3 Rhufon, 4 Dunod, 5 Ceredig, 6 Afloeg, 7 Einion Yrth, 8 Dogfael, 9 Edern.

This is their boundary: from the river which is called the Dee as far as another river, the Teifi, and they held many territories in the western part of Britain.

¹¹⁷ See below, p. 119, n. 99.

¹¹⁸ Consider Hywel's consistent position of superiority over other Welsh kings in the witness lists of English charters: Keynes, 'Welsh Kings', p. 84; cf. *AC* (C) [951]. The earliest certain instances of Hywel's epithet appear in the Book of Llandaf: *LL* 241 and 248; cf. Kirby, 'Hywel Dda', p. 9, n. 56; Pryce, 'Prologues', p. 166.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, p. 537.

¹²⁰ The 'Cunedda origin legend' has been discussed on very many occasions. Some of the more recent and/or significant contributions include the following: Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, pp. 328–9 and 360–2; Charles-Edwards, 'Dynastic Succession', pp. 70–2; Charles-Edwards, 'Language', pp. 706–8; Koch, *Cunedda*, pp. 64–74; Jankulak, 'La matière de Bretagne', pp. 64–71; Gruffydd, 'From Gododdin'; Kirby, 'British Dynastic History', pp. 92–3; Miller, 'Foundation-Legend', pp. 528–32; Dumville, 'Sub-Roman Britain', pp. 181–2; Chadwick, 'Early Culture', pp. 32–4; *HW* I, 116–19.

¹²¹ See the notes to the edition in Appendix B.1.

¹²² Read strictly, the pronouns in this sentence seem to indicate that Meirion was Cunedda's son and that the

Though sometimes taken as simple history, this story is better understood as a pseudo-historical scheme designed to rationalise the contemporary political environment.¹²³ It is very common for the origins of kingdoms or peoples to be explained with reference to a migration from elsewhere.¹²⁴ Such a construction grants the entity under consideration its own inherent justification for existence. In the case of the Cunedda story, the important factor was that Cunedda and his sons were alleged to have expelled the Irish who were occupying Gwynedd, as is explained by the story in the *Historia Brittonum* (which precedes the Harleian genealogies by only a few folios).¹²⁵ With this justification, Cunedda rightfully annexed ‘many territories in the western part of Britain’. The territories concerned are implicated in the names of the sons, since they are all, with the important exception of Einion Yrth, eponyms for territories in northern and western Wales. The Cunedda story simultaneously justifies the existence of these separate units while also tying them together into a single, overarching political entity. It is the boundaries of this larger entity that are described in the final sentence: the upper course of the River Dee runs through Edeirnion, the easternmost territory implicated by the names of Cunedda’s sons (Edern), and the River Teifi forms the southern boundary of Ceredigion, the southernmost region so implicated (Ceredig).

A story such as this, especially in the context of the early Middle Ages, is inherently political. It seeks to explain a historically situated political landscape that was no doubt advantageous to some and disadvantageous to others. One way or another, the story seems to work to the advantage of the king of Gwynedd. Most known kings of Gwynedd between the seventh and tenth centuries belonged to one of two families: the family descended from Maelgwn Gwynedd (Gildas’s *Maglocunus*), probably based in western Anglesey, and the family descended from Maelgwn’s alleged cousin Cynlas (probably Gildas’s *Cuneglasmus*), apparently based in Rhos on the north coast of the mainland. The conflict between rival kings of Gwynedd in the early ninth century (noticed above) concerned members of these same two families: Cynan Dindaethwy (d. 816) of the Anglesey family (whose daughter was Merfyn Frych’s mother), and Hywel ap Caradog (d. 825) of the Rhos family. According to the genealogies, both these families descended from Einion Yrth. Among the sons of Cunedda, Einion Yrth is the only one whose name is not the eponym of a territory in north or west Wales that was peripheral to the core territories of the kingdom of Gwynedd. A subtle implication of the story in HG 32–33 is therefore that, while most sons of Cunedda had been allowed to rule the peripheral territories that would be named from them, Einion Yrth had inherited what became the core lands of the kingdom of Gwynedd: western Anglesey and the later coastal cantref of Rhos, Arllechwedd and Arfon, possibly as well as the north of the Llŷn peninsula.¹²⁶ Since the peripheral territories form a ring around the core lands of

following eight brothers were Meirion’s brothers (as observed by Dumville *apud* Miller, ‘Foundation-Legend’, p. 524, n. 7). However, the description of Tybion as *primogenitus* and the numbering of the remaining brothers as 2–9 favours the interpretation given in the translation.

¹²³ For such origin stories in Wales, see Sims-Williams, ‘Some Functions’ (esp. pp. 102–3). For important Irish parallels, see Ó Corráin, ‘Irish Origin-Legends’, pp. 74–83; Ó Corráin, ‘Historical Need’, pp. 144–52; Ó Corráin, ‘Creating the Past’, pp. 183–4.

¹²⁴ Henige, *Oral Historiography*, pp. 91 and 93–6. For this idea in relation to the *Historia Brittonum*’s Cunedda story, see Thomas, ‘Remembering the “Old North”’.

¹²⁵ I diverge here from the interpretation of Charles-Edwards, who sees the two accounts of Cunedda in the *Historia Brittonum* and the account in the Harleian genealogies as fundamentally separate, rather than cumulative, versions: ‘Language’, pp. 706–9. It seems to me that the writer of the version in the Harleian genealogies could safely assume that the reader was familiar with the idea that Cunedda had expelled the Irish, as is recounted in the *Historia Brittonum*.

¹²⁶ Charles-Edwards, ‘Dynastic Succession’, pp. 71–2. If the redactor of HG 32–33 thought about royal succession in a similar way to thirteenth-century Welsh lawyers, it may have been envisaged that the descendants of the sons of Cunedda who had been given peripheral territories to rule remained royal because they had been conceded royal rights in territories that were perceived as discrete, minor kingdoms,

Gwynedd, they seem to have been identified with reference to the latter. If any of Cunedda's sons would take precedence over the others, it would be the descendants of Einion Yrth, who ruled the core lands and who had inherited the primary kingship. This is fully justified in the accompanying pedigrees, which show two lines of kings of Gwynedd descending from Einion Yrth (HG 1 and 3), as well as in the *Historia Brittonum*, which draws attention to the pre-eminence of Maelgwn Gwynedd, Cadwallon and Cadwaladr, all members of the Anglesey dynasty descended from Einion Yrth.¹²⁷

The story therefore seems to rely on the assumption that Einion Yrth's descendants were pre-eminent among the territories named after Einion Yrth's alleged brothers. This assumption could have arisen historically as the consequence of a king of Gwynedd having enforced his overlordship over lesser kings of nearby kingdoms, thus creating political circumstances that contemporaries could rationalise with reference to the Cunedda story.¹²⁸ This function of the Cunedda story explains why the alleged number of Cunedda's sons changed over time. In the *Historia Brittonum* there are eight sons, in the Harleian genealogies there are nine sons and one grandson, in the Jesus 20 genealogies there are eight sons and two daughters (JC 7), while in the early thirteenth-century Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies there are as many as thirteen sons, a grandson, and two daughters (LIIG 47). The number and identity of the children who appear in any particular manifestation of the story were determined by the political situation pertaining at the time of redaction.¹²⁹

The origins of the Cunedda story probably lie further back in time than the dates of the earliest extant manifestations of the story in the ninth century.¹³⁰ The focus on Cunedda, for example, strongly suggests that the story originated before the advent of Merfynion rule, since Merfyn, unlike his immediate predecessors in the kingship of Gwynedd, was descended from Cunedda only through his mother's line. The largely unknowable history of the development of the story probably accounts for features that seem strange to us now. Why is Meirion of Meirionydd made the grandson rather than son of Cunedda (unlike in the accompanying pedigree, HG 18, where he is the son)? And why is the important Einion Yrth the seventh son, rather than the first or second?¹³¹ Nevertheless, other aspects of the extant story probably belong to the period of Merfynion rule. These include the specification in both HG 32 and in the *Historia Brittonum* (written during Merfyn's reign) that Cunedda originated in the sub-region of Gododdin (now in south-eastern Scotland) called Manaw; this addition was probably intended to bring to mind Merfyn Frych's own career, since he too was an interloper from a different Manaw, the Isle of Man.¹³²

rather than because Cunedda's kingdom had been divided among many heirs. In other words, the royal status of the descendants was predicated on the rights associated with their rule of the territories rather than merely on their descent from Cunedda: cf. *Llyfr Iorwerth*, §4/16 (ed. Wiliam, p. 3; transl. Jenkins, *Laws*, p. 7); Smith, 'Dynastic Succession', pp. 205–6 and 216; cf. Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, p. 331.

¹²⁷ *HB* (Harl. 3859), §§61–2 and 64.

¹²⁸ See especially Charles-Edwards, 'Dynastic Succession', pp. 72 and 78–9; cf. Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, p. 362.

¹²⁹ The reappearance of forms of the Cunedda story in the *Historia Brittonum*, the Harleian genealogies, the Life of St Carannog, the Jesus 20 genealogies, and especially the many manuscripts of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies strains Jankulak's contention that 'sa diffusion est limitée': 'La matière de Bretagne', p. 65. Jankulak claims that Geoffrey of Monmouth did not reproduce the story because he did not know it (p. 69), but this seems highly unlikely, particularly since Geoffrey probably used the Harleian recension of the *Historia Brittonum*: Guy, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth's Welsh Sources', pp. 49–51; cf. below, pp. 90–2.

¹³⁰ Charles-Edwards suggests that the Cunedda story 'exhibits the shape of Gwynedd c.800': 'Dynastic Succession', p. 72; cf. Dumville, 'Kingship', p. 82. Koch observes that the story must have been created initially to validate the first dynasty of Gwynedd: *Gododdin*, pp. xcvi–xcvii.

¹³¹ Charles-Edwards usefully compares the Cunedda story to the story of Jacob and his twelve sons in Genesis: *Wales*, p. 328. It may be significant that Joseph was the eleventh son.

¹³² As seen by Sims-Williams, 'Historical Need', p. 17; cf. Miller, 'Foundation-Legend', p. 517. Thornton

This feature and other aspects of the accompanying pedigrees strongly suggest that the version of the Cunedda story recorded in HG 32–33 was redacted (rather than invented) to reflect Merfynion interests. But to what period does this version of the story pertain? Certainly not to the period of the St Davids recension, around 954, during the reign of Owain ap Hywel Dda. The story contains no hint that the rule of the sons of Cunedda should extend southwards into Dyfed; indeed, the text explicitly states that their southern boundary was the river Teifi, excluding Owain's core kingdom of Dyfed. When the first two pedigrees in the collection were redacted in favour of Owain ap Hywel Dda, the redactor apparently overlooked the political implications of the accompanying Cunedda story. The exclusion of Dyfed and other southern territories ruled by Owain and his father Hywel Dda implies that the extant form of the story in HG 32–33 belongs to the period before the Merfynion annexation of Dyfed in 904.¹³³

The area described in the final sentence of the story accords fairly closely with the area ruled by Anarawd ap Rhodri and his brothers, as one might deduce from Asser's account. The only exception is Ceredigion, since, as was noted above, Ceredigion seems to have been ruled by Hyfaidd of Dyfed and then by Hyfaidd's son Rhodri until the latter's execution in Arwystli in 904. This is not an unsurmountable difficulty. Anarawd probably coveted Ceredigion, as is implied by his attack on the region around 893. Perhaps the Cunedda story expresses this aspiration rather than any reality.

However, a better explanation might be sought by looking back to Rhodri's reign. As has already been mentioned, there is no way to ascertain the territorial extent of Rhodri's power during his lifetime, but we may surmise that it was comparable to the hegemony accumulated so rapidly by Anarawd and his brothers after their victory at the Conwy in 881.¹³⁴ Rhodri's hegemony may have included Ceredigion. There is one indication that Ceredigion did indeed have some overlord in this period. The annals record that in 872 the local king of Ceredigion, Gwgon, was drowned.¹³⁵ In the early Middle Ages, drowning was a recognised and widespread method of publicly executing a king. While such executions could be carried out for a variety of reasons, several examples suggest that a common context involved an overlord killing a subordinate king.¹³⁶ The most likely candidates for overlord of Ceredigion in 872 are Rhodri Mawr of Gwynedd and Hyfaidd of Dyfed. Hyfaidd was probably the overlord (or perhaps outright ruler) of Ceredigion after Rhodri's defeat and death in 878, for the reasons discussed above. But before Rhodri's death, at the time when Gwgon was drowned in 872,

favours the opposite scenario: namely, that Merfyn was later cast as an interloper from Manaw in order to compare his career with Cunedda's: *Kings*, p. 95. This seems unlikely for several reasons: (1) there is a variety of indications that Merfyn came from Man, not all of which can be explained in this way; (2) it would have been much easier to fabricate an origin for the legendary Cunedda than the historical Merfyn; and (3) our earliest source for Cunedda's story, the *Historia Brittonum*, was written during Merfyn's reign, and thus liable to be influenced by the circumstances of Merfyn's accession. Cf. Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, p. 467, n. 8. For references to *Manaw* in early Welsh poetry, see Haycock, 'Early Welsh Poets', pp. 30–1, n. 44.

¹³³ Charles-Edwards instead assumes that HG 32–33 were composed during Owain's reign: 'Language', pp. 706–8. This assumption causes him to deduce that 'there is no consistent relationship between the location of a ninth- or tenth-century kingdom and the location of the land-taking activities of Cunedda and his sons' (p. 708). This view seems mistaken to me. While I would agree with the consequent assessment that 'there is no good reason to suppose that they [i.e. versions of the Cunedda story] were sponsored by kings to justify their power', I would prefer to suggest that such stories were intended to *rationalise* contemporary power structures.

¹³⁴ Note that Rhodri's ability or at least ambition to rule in Powys is indicated by his naming of his second son Cadell, a name closely associated with kingship in Powys: Charles-Edwards, 'Dynastic Succession', p. 79; Thornton, 'Predatory Nomenclature', pp. 6–7.

¹³⁵ AC (ABC) [872]; cf. Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, p. 508, n. 54.

¹³⁶ E.g. AU 850.3 and 851.2; AU 912.3 and CS 912; cf. Aitchison, 'Regicide', pp. 113–14; Fraser, *From Caledonia*, pp. 298–9.

the overlord may have been Rhodri. Such a situation would not only explain the formulation of the Cunedda story in HG 32–33, but it would also clarify why a pedigree of Gwgon, an alleged descendant of Einion Yrth's brother Ceredig, was included in the Gwynedd collection (HG 26). In this context, Gwgon's pedigree would have been recorded to emphasise that Gwgon was merely the contemporary representative of a peripheral offshoot of Cunedda's dynasty, whose boundaries more broadly were the Dee and the Teifi. Paramountcy within these boundaries, according to this construction, rightfully belonged to the king of Gwynedd, no doubt along with the submission of Gwgon and any other surviving representatives of 'sub-dynasties' within the Cunedda family.

If this argument is accepted, what are its implications for dating the Gwynedd collection of genealogies? This depends on two factors, neither of them certainly knowable. The first is the ever-present possibility that individual pedigrees were updated in transmission. It is possible that the Gwynedd collection originally included a pedigree headed by Gwgon's father Meurig, which was updated in transmission to begin instead with Gwgon, once he had succeeded. A good example of this process is provided by the Dunoding pedigree: in the Harleian genealogies, the subject of the Dunoding pedigree is one Cuelyn ap Bleiddudd, whereas in the Jesus 20 and Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies the subject of the same pedigree is Cuelyn's father Bleiddudd ap Caradog. The most likely explanation for this is that the version in the Harleian genealogies was updated in transmission.¹³⁷ It seems to have been very uncommon for the names at the beginnings of pedigrees to be lost in transmission accidentally. Thus, while Gwgon's pedigree may have been originally headed by his father, it is unlikely to have been originally headed by any son.

The second, more contestable factor concerns the reason that Gwgon might have been selected as the subject of the pedigree in the first place. The studies in this book identify several reasons for selecting the subjects of pedigrees. Subjects might be selected because they were contemporary with the writing of the pedigree (e.g. Owain ap Hywel Dda in HG 1–2); because they represented the previous stages of contemporary political institutions, such as kingships (e.g. Hywel ap Caradog and Idwal ap Tudwal in HG 3–4); because they were the common ancestors of ruling families (e.g. the Lord Rhys in LIIG 30.1); because they had already appeared as an intermediate generation in a preceding pedigree (e.g. Madog ap Maredudd in LIIG 11.1.2); or because they had literary or legendary importance (e.g. the 'Men of the North' in HG 6–12). A further possible reason, which is often assumed without discussion to apply to Gwgon's pedigree, is that the subject was the last surviving member of his dynasty, which afterwards became extinct. According to this view, Gwgon was selected as the subject of the Ceredigion pedigree because he was the last king of Ceredigion from his line; he had no successors who could have been added to the pedigree. Two parts of this view need to be considered in turn: firstly, the assumption that any possible successors would have been added to the pedigree had they existed, and secondly the idea that Gwgon's pedigree would have been recorded with him as its subject after his death, precisely in the knowledge that he was the last king of Ceredigion from his line.

With better evidenced lineages, it is sometimes possible to show that their pedigrees were not updated simply because of indifference to updating, rather than because the subjects of the pedigrees had no direct successors. To take the most obvious example in the Harleian genealogies, the first two pedigrees cast Owain ap Hywel Dda as their subject, despite the fact that Owain was not the last of his line to rule and indeed had a son who succeeded him. Owain is the subject of these pedigrees because they were written during his lifetime. But having now assumed written form in this way, Owain's pedigrees were later copied out without being updated. The Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies preserve a copy of Owain's

¹³⁷ Note that Bleiddudd ap Caradog may have ruled Dunoding at the time when the poem *Edmyg Dinbych* was composed: Gruffydd, 'Early Court Poetry', p. 97.

mother's pedigree (LIIG 38.1 ~ HG 2) with Owain as its subject, even though it must have been obvious to the compiler that Owain's direct descendants were still ruling in the compiler's own day. Another example in the Harleian genealogies is HG 15, which records the parentage of three brothers from the Dyfed dynasty. HG 15 is the last part of a short tract concerning the dynasty of Dyfed in the early ninth century, which was probably recorded at that time (HG 13–15).¹³⁸ Thanks to the Jesus 20 genealogies (JC 8), we know that the descendants of one of these brothers (Gruffudd) continued to rule in Brycheiniog until at least the mid-tenth century. Yet at no point between the early ninth century, when HG 15 was probably recorded, and the mid-tenth century, when the St Davids recension was redacted, did any redactor feel it necessary to update this genealogy. This was not because Gruffudd's line had become extinct, or even because his descendants had become politically irrelevant; it was because no intervening redactor took sufficient interest in HG 15 to update it. None of this necessitates the assumption that Gwgon did indeed have a successor; it is simply to say that a pedigree with Gwgon as its subject is neither evidence for nor evidence against the proposition that Gwgon had a successor, since it is perfectly likely that a pedigree recorded in Gwgon's lifetime might not be updated over time.

Although the pedigree itself, therefore, is not evidence that Gwgon had no direct successor, it yet remains possible that Gwgon was indeed the last king of Ceredigion of his line. This prompts the second part of the question: might Gwgon's pedigree have been written after his death as a record to show that his line, and thus his dynasty's claim to the kingship of Ceredigion, had become extinct? The closest analogy to the situation envisaged by this proposition is HG 3, whose subject, Hywel ap Caradog, seems to have been selected because he was the last of his line to hold the kingship of Gwynedd.¹³⁹ Hywel need not have been the last member of his dynasty, of course; his descendants could have survived for a time as local rulers of Rhos, just as Hywel himself probably began as a local ruler of Rhos following the death of his father Caradog and the probable assumption of the kingship of Gwynedd by his rival Cynan Dindaethwy. But so far as the kingship of Gwynedd was concerned, Hywel was his dynasty's final claimant. Does Gwgon's pedigree work in the same way? Two considerations suggest not. Firstly, if the Ceredigion pedigree (HG 26) had the same function as the Rhos pedigree (HG 3), one would have expected it to appear among the sequence of pedigrees at the beginning of the collection (HG 1–4), which directly concern the kingships held by the Merfynion, and which are given before the collection turns its attention to northern Britain (HG 5–12). Instead, the Ceredigion pedigree is placed towards the end, after a great deal of intervening matter.¹⁴⁰ Secondly, the form of the Cunedda story (HG 32–33) implies that the redactor of the Gwynedd collection wished to recognise Ceredigion as a kingdom potentially ruled by its own king (descended from Ceredig ap Cunedda) while simultaneously drawing Ceredigion into a wider political entity, bounded by the Dee and the Teifi, whose paramount ruler was the king of Gwynedd. Within this framework, Gwgon's pedigree is most likely to have been recorded because he was a recognised subordinate of the king of Gwynedd, rather than because his dynasty had become extinct. The same probably applies to the pedigrees of Dunoding and Meirionydd (HG 17–18), which also appeared in the Gwynedd collection (cf. Table 2.3 above). By contrast, any dynasties that had previously been associated with the other territories implicated by the names of Cunedda's sons probably really *had* become extinct by the time that the Gwynedd collection was created. Such dynasties no doubt once existed, since the territorial names associated with the sons of Cunedda bear forms suggesting that they began as dynastic names.¹⁴¹ A good example

¹³⁸ Guy, 'Earliest Welsh Genealogies', pp. 474–7; cf. Thornton, 'Power', p. 79.

¹³⁹ The pedigrees of Gwgon and Hywel are compared in this respect by Sims-Williams, 'Kings', p. 69, n. 10.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Charles-Edwards, 'Dynastic Succession', p. 72.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

is provided by Rhufoniog: according to an annal dated to 816, Rhufoniog was a *regnum* at that time, presumably with its own *rex*, but it is instructive to reflect that, by the time the Gwynedd collection was created, no imperative was felt to record a dynasty descended from Rhufon ap Cunedda, presumably because no such dynasty any longer existed.¹⁴² The most probable conclusion from this is that the Ceredigion pedigree was recorded with Gwgon as its subject because, at the time of writing, Gwgon was the ruling king of Ceredigion and a subordinate of the king of Gwynedd. This king of Gwynedd would have been Rhodri Mawr, who probably ruled from his father's death in 844 to his own death in 878, six years after the drowning of Gwgon.¹⁴³

If the form of the Cunedda story and the accompanying Cunedda pedigrees in the Harleian genealogies can be argued to belong to Rhodri Mawr's reign and to predate the death of Gwgon in 872, there is a case for the whole Gwynedd collection, as defined above, to be dated in the same way.¹⁴⁴ This would help to explain the focus at the beginning of the Harleian genealogies on the transmission of the kingships of Gwynedd and Man. Such a focus makes little sense in the context of Owain ap Hywel Dda's reign but would have been especially pertinent during the reign of Rhodri, who probably ruled these two kingdoms directly. The great developments in Welsh dynastic history discussed above owed much to Rhodri's reign, and it may be that these developments received genealogical expression in the Gwynedd collection of genealogies. If so, the beginning of the collection must have looked rather different at the time of the composition of the Gwynedd collection by comparison with the extant Harleian genealogies. The Dyfed pedigree (HG 2), which in the St Davids recension forms the ancestry of Owain ap Hywel Dda's mother Helen, would have been either absent or perhaps positioned later in the collection, while the main pedigree of the line of Gwynedd at the start of the collection (HG 1) would have begun with Rhodri rather than his great-grandson Owain.

The precise dating of the Gwynedd collection is more difficult to determine. There is evidence that the versions of the *Historia Brittonum* and the annals that accompany the genealogies in Harley 3859 were revised around 858, during Rhodri's reign.¹⁴⁵ A text ancestral to the Harleian recension of the *Historia Brittonum* was interpolated with a dating clause that can be resolved at 857, 858 or 859.¹⁴⁶ An early stratum of the annals, focussed on North Wales, culminates with the obituary of Ionathan, abbot of Abergele, who died in 858;¹⁴⁷ this may have been the time when these annals were first interpolated into the *Historia Brittonum*. It is possible that the Gwynedd collection of genealogies was interpolated into

¹⁴² Although HG 20 has been tentatively affiliated with Rhufoniog on the basis of LIIG 45, it is not explicitly associated with Rhufoniog or the Cunedda scheme in the Harleian genealogies, and may not even have appeared in the original Gwynedd collection, making it irrelevant in the present context.

¹⁴³ Sims-Williams has suggested that an argument of this type, which favours dating the recording of Gwgon's pedigree to the period before his death in 872, 'seems to require Gwgon to have had a successor, who could have been mentioned if the compilation was later than 872' ('Kings', p. 69). But this assumes either (1) that Gwgon's pedigree would have been updated had he had a successor, which, as already discussed, is a weak premise; or (2) that Gwgon's pedigree would have been recorded after his death had he had no successor, which is possible but certainly not inevitable, and in my view is less likely than supposing that it was recorded during his lifetime. On the latter view, the important point is that, *whether or not* Gwgon had any direct successor, his death would have removed the imperative to record a pedigree with him as its subject.

¹⁴⁴ Other scholars have pointed to the ninth century as the probable period for the redaction of the main underlying source of the Harleian genealogies: Phillimore *apud* Owen, *Description* III, 209; Chadwick and Chadwick, *Growth* I, 149–50; Chadwick, 'Early Culture', pp. 74–5; Jackson, 'Britons', p. 85; Bromwich, 'Early Welsh Genealogies', p. 176; Kirby, 'British Dynastic History', p. 82; Charles-Edwards, 'Dynastic Succession', p. 77; Sims-Williams, 'Kings', p. 68.

¹⁴⁵ As argued in Guy, 'Origins', pp. 27, 53 and 55.

¹⁴⁶ Dumville, 'Textual History' I, 51–3; Miller, 'Consular Years', pp. 21–2.

¹⁴⁷ As noticed originally by Miller ('Final Stages', p. 211) and Dumville ('*Annales Cambriae*', p. 47).

the *Historia Brittonum* at the same time, perhaps in Abergele. This would accord with the dating of the Ceredigion pedigree to the period of Gwgon's lifetime. But complications arise from considering the other dateable pedigrees that can be attributed to the Gwynedd collection. The Powys pedigree of HG 27 takes Cyngen ap Cadell as its subject, who died in 854, whereas the Strathclyde pedigree of HG 5 takes Rhun ab Arthial as its subject, whose father died in 872, the same year as Gwgon of Ceredigion.¹⁴⁸ Not all of these pedigrees are likely to have been recorded in their extant forms in the same year. However, the nature of the written transmission of pedigrees hinders more precise determination. We have already seen that, upon recording, written pedigrees were liable to be transmitted in their written forms without being updated. This could have been the fate of Cyngen ap Cadell's pedigree, which might have been recorded, with him as its subject, prior to the creation of the Gwynedd collection. On the other hand, it is possible that the Strathclyde pedigree was updated over time. These are not the only explanations for the chronological discordances, but they are as credible as any other suggestions, given the attendant level of uncertainty.¹⁴⁹

In conclusion, I would argue that the common source of the Harleian and Jesus 20 genealogies, which I call the 'Gwynedd collection of genealogies', was composed during the reign of Rhodri Mawr (844–78), probably before Gwgon's drowning in 872. The Gwynedd collection was designed as an explanatory addition to the *Historia Brittonum*. It explained the relationships between the northern British kings who fought against the Bernicians, placing those kings in a genealogical and chronological relationship with the ninth-century kings of Alclud/Strathclyde. It enlarged upon the Cunedda story, specifying which of Cunedda's sons lent their names to Welsh territories and which dynasties descended from those sons remained active into the ninth century. Most significantly, it situated the *Historia Brittonum* more firmly within a political context dominated by the Merfynion, whose legitimate right to rule Gwynedd and Man was emphasised. The Gwynedd collection of genealogies, with broadly these parameters, was transmitted through two distinct channels to the Harleian and Jesus 20 genealogies. The core of the early collection is preserved in the Jesus 20 genealogies, but the compiler of that collection rearranged or omitted some material. The Harleian genealogies preserve the Gwynedd collection more completely, but in an expanded form. During transmission, additional material concerning Dyfed, Powys and possibly Glywysing and Gwent was inserted into that version of the collection. This process culminated in the creation of the St Davids recension shortly after the death of Hywel Dda in 950 and the succession of his son Owain, when Owain was cast as the subject of the first two pedigrees in the collection. Around 954, a particular copy of the St Davids recension was made, and this copy was taken to England, possibly to St Augustine's, Canterbury. It may have been there that this same Welsh manuscript was copied into the extant quires of Harley 3859 around 1100.

The St Davids Recension in Llancarfan

In addition to the Harleian genealogies, several further texts written in the twelfth century contain what appear to be quotations or extracts from the St Davids recension. In none of these cases is Harley 3859 itself a likely source, and so it would seem that the twelfth-century texts made use of one or more separate copies of the St Davids recension. The texts are the St Cadog genealogies, the Life of St Carannog, the Life of St Gurthiern, Geoffrey

¹⁴⁸ AC (ABC) [854]; AU 872.5.

¹⁴⁹ Elsewhere I have suggested that the Strathclyde pedigree, in its extant form, could have been compiled during the lifetime of Rhun's father Arthial, since Rhun was probably an active adult prior to his father's death in 872: 'Textual History', pp. 22–3.

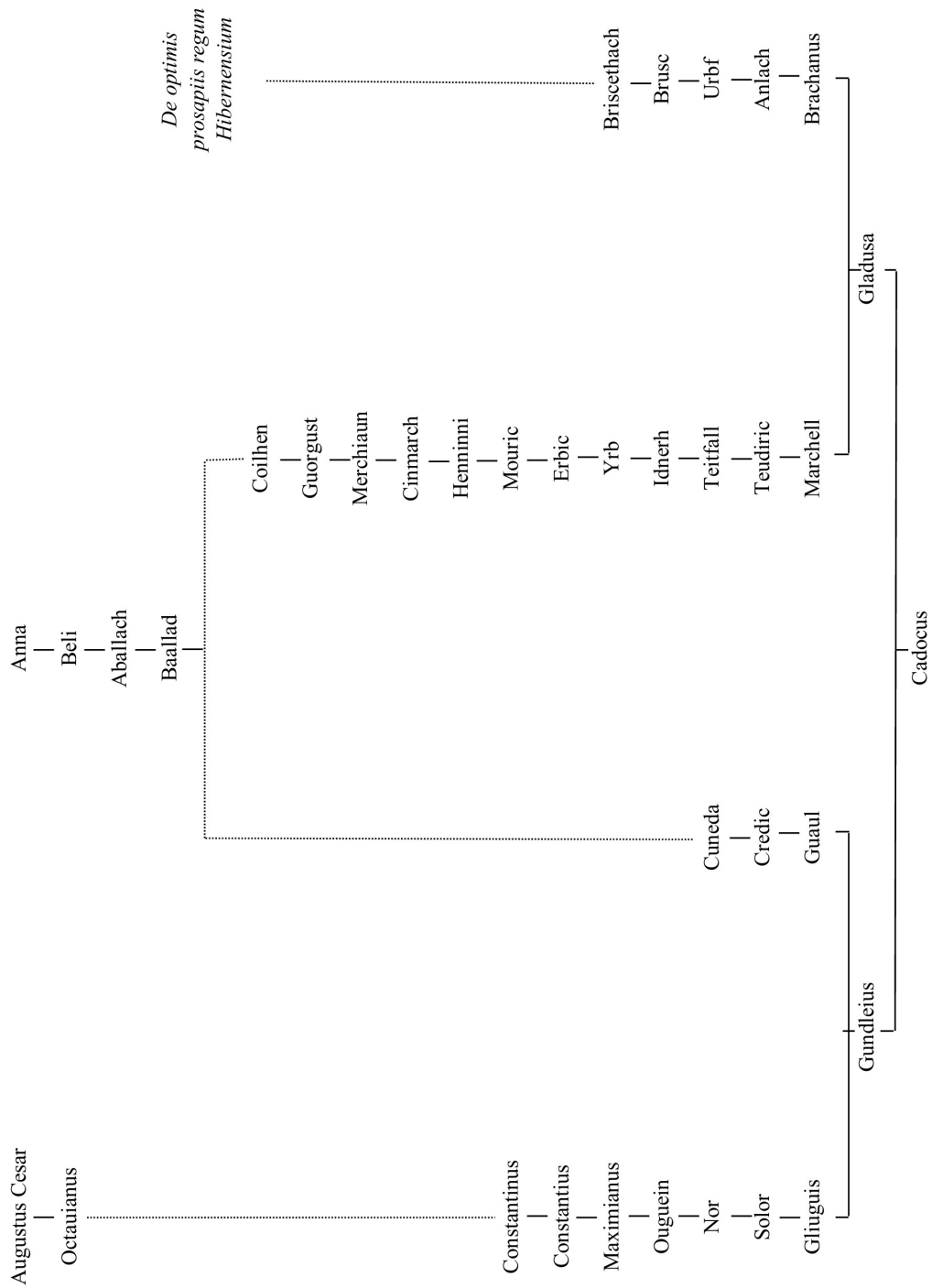


Figure 2.2: The genealogical scheme of the St Cadog genealogies

of Monmouth's *De gestis Britonum*, the Book of Llandaf, the genealogy of St Petroc, and William of Malmesbury's *De antiquitate Glastonie ecclesie*. These texts are discussed in this order, and it is suggested that each owed its knowledge of the St Davids recension to one or more copies of the text available in the church of Llancarfan.

The St Cadog Genealogies and the Life of St Carannog

The Lives of Saints Cadog and Carannog are preserved in the same manuscript, Cotton Vespasian A. xiv, part i (ff. 17r–43v and 93r–94v respectively). The manuscript was written in St Mary's Priory, Monmouth, during the last third of the twelfth century, and is best-known for containing the largest collection of Latin saints' Lives surviving from medieval Wales.¹⁵⁰ Of the texts just mentioned, it is these two Lives which display the clearest signs of having drawn material from the St Davids recension.

It is partially as a consequence of the availability of the St Davids recension that the Life of St Cadog is accompanied by the most extensive genealogical section of any saint's Life written in medieval Wales. The Life of St Cadog was written by Lifris of Llancarfan, son of Herewald, bishop of Glamorgan (1056–1104). Although the Life cannot be dated with complete certainty, it was most probably composed between 1081 and 1104, perhaps being finalised around the time that Robert fitz Hamo, the Norman conqueror of Glamorgan, granted Llancarfan to St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, around 1095 × c. 1100.¹⁵¹ The genealogical section follows immediately after Lifris's authorship colophon, and so is presented more as an appendage to the Life than as a part of the Life proper.¹⁵² As Hywel Emanuel observed, the occurrence of the genealogies after the colophon might indicate that they were a later addition to Lifris's original text.¹⁵³ So as not to prejudge the relationship between the genealogies and the Life, which is explored further below, I refer to the genealogies simply as the 'St Cadog genealogies'.

Unusually in a Welsh context, the St Cadog genealogies trace Cadog's lines of descent forwards in time from the earliest ancestors, using the biblical formula 'A begot B, B begot C'. Four such lines of descent are traced, as shown in Figure 2.2. All significant parallels to these lines of descent are set out in Appendix A.2.2, in order to illustrate the discussion below. Two of the four lines clearly derive from the St Davids recension.

The portion of the first line that artificially traces the 'genealogy' of successive Roman emperors forwards from Augustus to Constantine the Great and his son Constantius is a version of the same idiosyncratic 'genealogy' found in HG 16, as shown particularly by the textual correspondences between the prose passages interspersed among the names in both versions. In the common source, a table of the succession of Roman emperors had been converted into a pedigree, in which each emperor was represented as the son of his predecessor. David Thornton has shown that the emperors chosen for inclusion in the

¹⁵⁰ In general, see Hughes, 'British Library MS. Cotton Vespasian A. XIV'. The manuscript was convincingly attributed to Monmouth Priory in Harris, 'Kalendar', pp. 5–20. The dating of the manuscript offered here follows the palaeographical analysis of Teresa Webber: see Guy, 'Life', p. 6, n. 17. The conventional dating of c. 1200 derives from Robin Flower's analysis of the manuscript, published in *VSBG* x–xiii.

¹⁵¹ Brooke, 'St Peter', pp. 73 and 89; for the grant of Llancarfan to St Peter's, cf. Smith, *Walter Map*, pp. 108–9. Tatlock believed that the Life could not have been composed after 1086, when he thought that Llancarfan had been granted to St Peter's, but Brooke has shown that the grant did not happen until 1095 × 1104, or more probably 1095 × c. 1100: Tatlock, 'Caradoc', pp. 144–5; Tatlock, 'Dates', pp. 347–8; Brooke, 'St Peter', pp. 64–5.

¹⁵² The genealogies are edited as part of Wade-Evans's edition of the Life of St Cadog (*VS Cadoci*, §§45–7). Later copies of the St Cadog genealogies all derive ultimately from Vespasian A. xiv: see Appendix A.2.1.

¹⁵³ Emanuel, 'Analysis', p. 220; Emanuel, 'Latin Life', pp. cxxxiv and ccxviii; endorsed in Brooke, 'St Peter', p. 70.

pedigree correspond to the emperors that were selected for special notice in the chronicles of Eusebius-Jerome, Prosper and Isidore of Seville.¹⁵⁴ There is an especially close agreement between the genealogies and the list of *imperatores Romanorum* in the *series regum* found in manuscripts of Jerome's translation of Eusebius's chronicle.¹⁵⁵

The other one of Cadog's pedigrees that clearly draws on the St Davids recension is the fourth, which traces the line of Anna forwards to Cadog's paternal grandmother, Gwawl. The majority of this line consists of the pedigree of Cunedda Wledig, as found in HG 1. Cunedda is connected to Cadog's father Gwynllyw through Ceredig ap Cunedda and Ceredig's daughter Gwawl, just as in *Progenies Keredic* (PK 5), another text found in Vespasian A. xiv, which may have acted as an additional source for the St Cadog genealogies. Of the many surviving versions of Cunedda's pedigree, the versions closest to HG 1 are those in the St Cadog genealogies and the Life of St Carannog.¹⁵⁶ Only in these three versions (and in the similarly archaic version in *Gwehelyth Morgannwg*, discussed in Chapter 3) do Iago and Geneddog not appear between Tegid and Cain, and only these three versions preserve uncorrupted forms of the names *Dubun* and *Brithgwein*. In addition, one small detail suggests a particularly close connection between the versions of Cunedda's pedigree in the St Cadog genealogies and the Life of St Carannog. Only the latter two versions of the pedigree add the adjectival ending *-awg* to the epithet of Cunedda's grandfather, *Patern Pe(i)s Rudauc*. This is unlikely to have been an addition made by the scribe of Vespasian A. xiv, since the same epithet in that manuscript's Life of St David appears in its usual form as *Peisrud*.¹⁵⁷ This suggests that the link between the versions of the Cunedda pedigree added to the St Cadog genealogies and the Life of St Carannog may have originated earlier in the textual histories of those texts.

The other two of the four lines presented in the St Cadog genealogies draw primarily on a different source, which I call the 'Brychan Tract'. The Brychan Tract is extant in two complete witnesses and four partial witnesses, as is discussed in detail in Chapter 3. The earliest and best witness to the text is known as *De situ Brecheniauc*, which appears in Vespasian A. xiv, the same manuscript in which the St Cadog genealogies are found. The Brychan Tract concerns the eponymous Brychan of Brycheiniog and his many saintly sons and daughters. The first daughter listed in all relevant versions of the Brychan Tract is 'Gladus, filia Brachan, mater sancti Cadoci' ('Gwladus, daughter of Brychan, mother of St Cadog').¹⁵⁸ It is possible that the St Cadog genealogies took their cue from this statement for the presentation of Cadog's maternal ancestry. The pedigree of Cadog's maternal grandfather (Brychan) in the St Cadog genealogies broadly follows the Brychan Tract, aside from the interesting additions of *Brusc* and his father *Briscethach* as Brychan's ultimate ancestors (see Table A.2.2.2). Given the acknowledged Irish context of Brychan's ancestry, Cadog's ancestor *Brusc* should probably be equated with the *Briscus* named in the Life of St Carannog as one of the four leaders of the Irish who overcame *Britannia*, implying perhaps a further connection between the St Cadog genealogies and the Life of St Carannog.¹⁵⁹ Moreover, the form *Briscethach* was probably produced in error through a scribal conflation arising from the Irish section of the pedigree of the kings of Dyfed; perhaps it was once claimed that Brychan descended from the same Irish dynasty as the early kings of Dyfed.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁴ Thornton, 'Power', pp. 97–9. See too Nicholson, 'Dynasty', pp. 90–6.

¹⁵⁵ Schoene, *Eusebi Chronicorum Libri Duo* I, appendices, cols 35–6. For a comparison, see Appendix A.2.2.

¹⁵⁶ See Table A.2.2.4; cf. Table A.3.3.2.

¹⁵⁷ *VS David*, §68.

¹⁵⁸ *DSB* 12.1; cf. *CB* 15.1; *JC* 3.1; *LIIG* 1.3.1; *LIFB* 3.1.

¹⁵⁹ *VS Carantoci I*, §2; cf. Thornton, 'Power', pp. 87–8; Sims-Williams, *Irish Influence*, pp. 180–2; Sims-Williams, 'Significance', pp. 618–19.

¹⁶⁰ Sims-Williams, *Irish Influence*, p. 182; Sims-Williams, 'Significance', p. 619; cf. Thornton, 'Power', pp. 87–8.

A more convincing case can be made for the pedigree of Cadog's maternal grandmother Marchell having drawn on the Brychan Tract (cf. Table A.2.2.3). In the Brychan Tract, Marchell is Brychan's mother, and thus Cadog's great-grandmother, but in the St Cadog genealogies she has been promoted by a generation, becoming Brychan's consort, presumably in order to produce the symmetrical scheme for Cadog's ancestry displayed in Figure 2.1. In the Brychan Tract, Marchell's pedigree is traced back five generations, through her father Tewdrig to *Annhun rex Grecorum*.¹⁶¹ In the St Cadog genealogies, Marchell's pedigree is traced back much further, to Coel Hen and eventually to Beli and Anna. This was achieved by grafting the pedigree of Meurig ab Enynny, reputed founder of the dynasty of Glywysing, onto a pedigree of the type found in the Brychan Tract. In particular, it seems that Marchell's father, Tewdrig, was equated with a man of the same name who appears as a descendant of Meurig ab Enynny. The two pedigrees could then be merged by portraying Marchell's father Tewdrig as the great-grandson of *Yrb*, who was really the great-grandfather of the Tewdrig descended from Meurig ab Enynny (see Table A.2.2.3).¹⁶² Pedigrees of Meurig ab Enynny's ancestors and descendants appear in two sections of the Jesus 20 genealogies (JC 5 and 9) that probably derive from a genealogical collection present in Llancarfan in the twelfth century, as is argued in Chapter 3, meaning that this material was very probably accessible to the compiler of the St Cadog genealogies.

It is significant that the process of conflation by which Marchell's pedigree in the St Cadog genealogies was assembled introduced into the genealogies a significant point of disagreement with the main text of Lifris's Life. As we have seen, Marchell's pedigree was extended back in time by grafting it onto the pedigree of Meurig ab Enynny. The result was that Meurig ab Enynny became the ancestor of St Cadog in the eighth degree. This is in blatant contradiction to an important crux in Lifris's text, where it is said that Cadog prayed to God to grant him a king who could rule Glywysing on his behalf, and received in response Meurig son of Enynny.¹⁶³ Cadog then gave Meurig power over all Glywysing except Gwynllŵg, and had him marry his (Cadog's) aunt, *Dibunn*. The story is designed to account for the origins of the dynasty that would rule Glywysing for centuries to come, suggesting that the dynasty owed its power to (and thus should show due respect to) St Cadog. The blatant contradiction to this story found in the St Cadog genealogies is surely an indication that someone other than Lifris was responsible for the construction of the St Cadog genealogies in their current form.

Since the Brychan Tract was used as a source for the St Cadog genealogies, the latter in their current form must post-date the creation of the Brychan Tract. Unfortunately, it is not known exactly when the latter text was written. It is argued in Chapter 3 that a variety of factors suggest that the archetype of all surviving witnesses to the Brychan Tract was written in the century between c. 1050 and c. 1150. One possible location for the composition of the Brychan Tract is Brecon Priory; if so, the Brychan Tract, and therefore also the St Cadog genealogies, must have been written after c. 1100, when the priory was founded.¹⁶⁴ However, it remains possible that the Brychan Tract was composed a little earlier, somewhere like the church of Llan-gors.

¹⁶¹ E.g. *DSB* 10. All versions of this pedigree are laid out in parallel in Table A.3.4.1. For *Annhun rex Grecorum*, see Chapter 5 below, pp. 236–40.

¹⁶² As a consequence, the 'Glywysing' Tewdrig acquired the father of the 'Brycheiniog' Tewdrig, *Teitfall*. The Book of Llandaf seems to show awareness of this attempt to extend the pedigree of St Cadog's mother Marchell by apparently referring to the Glywysing Tewdrig as *Teudiric filio Teithpall*: *LL* 118; cf. *LL* 141–3.

¹⁶³ *VS Cadoci*, §25; the implications of this episode are explored further below, p. 142–3.

¹⁶⁴ See below, p. 136. David Stephenson ('*Mawl Hywel ap Goronwy*', p. 47) has argued that the priory was founded closer to 1105, following the fall of Hywel ap Goronwy.

By contrast to the St Cadog genealogies, the genealogical material in the Life of St Carannog has been integrated rather awkwardly into the main text of the Life. As it stands, Vespasian A. xiv's Life of St Carannog falls into two parts, edited by Wade-Evans as a *Vita prima* and a *Vita secunda*. However, the so-called '*Vita secunda*', which in the manuscript follows on without a break (and significantly without a new heading) from the '*Vita prima*', consists only of a series of extracts from the St Davids recension followed by a single chapter (§4) on Carannog's life. It is probably more accurate to consider these sections as constituting an *addendum* to the '*Vita prima*' rather than a separate *vita* altogether. Moreover, it is notable that the later versions of the Life of St Carannog in John of Tynemouth's *Sanctilogium* and in the Léon Breviary incorporate versions of §4 of the '*Vita secunda*' alongside elements derived from the '*Vita prima*', but do not include any of the material from the St Davids recension found in §§1–3 of the '*Vita secunda*'.¹⁶⁵ It is uncertain whether this is because the genealogical material had been omitted from a common source, or whether the two later versions derive from a text of the Life that had never been interpolated with the St Davids recension material.¹⁶⁶ Either way, it is better to conceive of Vespasian A. xiv's Life of St Carannog as a single Life rather than two separate Lives, albeit one that has become disjointed through the haphazard insertion of additional genealogical material.

When might the genealogical material have entered the Life of St Carannog? The material from the St Davids recension consists of the pedigree of Cunedda (cf. HG 1), now traced back from Cunedda's alleged grandson Carannog, followed by the Cunedda origin legend (cf. HG 32–33). The text is almost identical to the text in the Harleian genealogies, with one significant exception: the southern boundary of the lands said to belong to the sons of Cunedda has been shifted southwards, from the Teifi (the southern border of Ceredigion) to the Gwaun (near the southern border of the cantref of Cemais). Phillimore suggested that the change may have been the 'consequence of some temporary conquest, otherwise unrecorded by history, by Ceredigion of an adjacent portion of Dyfed'.¹⁶⁷ The suggestion may essentially be correct, though the event may not be unrecorded. The version of the story in HG 32–33 describes the boundaries of the sons of Cunedda as the rivers Dee and Teifi, therefore drawing Ceredigion, bounded in the south by the Teifi, into the sphere of the kings of Gwynedd rather than the kings of Dyfed. As argued above, these boundaries probably reflect the claimed extent of the authority of Rhodri Mawr, who may have asserted himself as overlord of the local kings of Ceredigion. The kings of Dyfed probably also exercised periodical overlordship over Ceredigion, as seems to have been the case in the period immediately following Rhodri's defeat and death in 878, when Hyfaidd of Dyfed is likely to have extended his power north of the Teifi.¹⁶⁸ But after the beheading of Hyfaidd's son Rhodri, probably king of Dyfed, in 904, the Merfynion drew both Ceredigion and Dyfed into their

¹⁶⁵ For discussion and references, see Jankulak, 'Carantoc', pp. 127–31. Although the Léon Breviary quotes the beginning of §1 of the '*Vita secunda*', the quote ends immediately before the material drawn from the St Davids recension begins (the relevant text from the Léon Breviary is printed in Le Duc, 'Irish Saints', pp. 118–19).

¹⁶⁶ Jankulak posits that John of Tynemouth and the Léon Breviary might have drawn on a common source for other reasons: 'Carantoc', pp. 129 and 131. With regard to the Life of St Cadog, at least, Emanuel has shown that John of Tynemouth drew his version from a manuscript descended from Vespasian A. xiv, though not from Vespasian A. xiv itself: 'Latin Life', pp. cxxviii and cxlvi–cxlix. See Appendix A.2.1.

¹⁶⁷ Phillimore *apud* Owen, *Description* I, 222–4, n. 2. Phillimore noted that, by the time of the *taxatio* of Pope Nicholas IV in 1291, the deaneries of Cemais and Emlyn were included in the archdeaconry of Cardigan: cf. Rees, *Historical Atlas*, pl. 33. This may have been because the boundaries of the archdeaconry were formed during the period between 1136 and 1158 (see below), perhaps while Bernard was bishop of St Davids (1115–48). Phillimore's argument was misunderstood by Anwyl and Wade-Evans, who thought that the change to the text's boundary had been introduced *in consequence* of the archidiaconal arrangements recorded in 1291: Anwyl, 'Early Settlers', p. 95; *VSBG* xiii–iv.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, p. 495.

direct control. For the Merfynion, therefore, the Teifi ceased to be a significant political boundary after 904, if indeed it had not already done so in 878.

Thereafter, no other self-professed descendants of Cunedda could claim to rule precisely the lands delineated by the story in HG 32–33 until 1136–7, when the sons of Gruffudd ap Cynan of Gwynedd conquered Ceredigion from its Norman colonisers. This victory was signalled especially by their defeat in 1136 of an Anglo-Norman army led by Stephen, constable of Cardigan castle, Robert fitz Martin, lord of Cemais, and William and Maurice, sons of Gerald of Windsor.¹⁶⁹ Probably as a consequence of the defeat of Robert fitz Martin, the lordship of Cemais seems to have been drawn into the power of Gruffudd ap Cynan's sons along with Ceredigion.¹⁷⁰ Thus, due to the campaigns of 1136–7, the southern boundary of the lands ruled by a dynasty descended from Cunedda could be described more or less accurately as the River Gwaun. Although Gruffudd ap Cynan's dynasty lost Ceredigion, probably along with Cemais, to the sons of Gruffudd ap Rhys (also descended from Cunedda Wledig) in 1150–3, it was probably not until 1158 that Cemais fell back into Anglo-Norman hands, this time permanently, thanks to Henry II's reassertion of Anglo-Norman power in Wales.¹⁷¹ From this time onwards, the Gwaun would never again form a significant political boundary for a dynasty descended from Cunedda Wledig. If the text in the Life of St Carannog was altered to reflect these events at the time at which it was taken from the St Davids recension and incorporated into the Life of St Carannog, then the act of incorporation might be dateable to between 1136–7, when Gruffudd ap Cynan's sons conquered Ceredigion and Cemais, and 1158, when these territories were regained by the Anglo-Normans. Although it is possible that the genealogical passages were incorporated into the Life of St Carannog at some undeterminable time before the southern boundary was altered, it is most likely that both were features of the same act of textual intervention.

Altogether, therefore, one may observe the following about the genealogical contents of Cotton Vespasian A. xiv, part i. Near the beginning of the manuscript is a version of the Brychan Tract (*De situ Brecheniauc*), which is appended with a version of a short text that I call the 'Ceredig Tract' (*Progenies Ceredig*).¹⁷² Immediately following the Life of St Cadog and Lifris's authorship colophon is a genealogical text focussed on St Cadog, which draws on both the St Davids recension and the Brychan Tract. Presumably, the Life of St Cadog, the Cadog genealogies and *De situ Brecheniauc* had been transmitted together since the time at which the St Cadog genealogies were composed, probably in Llancarfan.¹⁷³ The St Cadog genealogies blatantly disagree with an important part of Lifris's text, suggesting that Lifris was not responsible for them. Finally, the Life of St Carannog has been interpolated with genealogical material from the St Davids recension that is closely related to the material used for the St Cadog genealogies. The text in the Life of St Carannog, furthermore, was subject to an alteration that can be dated specifically to the period between 1136 and 1158.

Although it is not provable, all this activity may have occurred around the same time and place: Llancarfan, probably in the later 1130s. In the following sections, attention is drawn to several other examples of genealogical material deriving from the St Davids recension being used by writers connected to Llancarfan around this time. Some examples may be linked specifically to the work of Caradog of Llancarfan and his circle, perhaps suggesting that Caradog himself had a hand in the formation of the St Cadog genealogies.

¹⁶⁹ HW II, 471–6; R. R. Davies, *Age of Conquest*, pp. 45–6.

¹⁷⁰ Miles, *Lords of Cemais*, p. 17.

¹⁷¹ HW II, 504–7; R. R. Davies, *Age of Conquest*, pp. 50–2.

¹⁷² For a full analysis of the Ceredig Tract, see Chapter 3 below, pp. 137–42.

¹⁷³ The same conclusion is prompted by the textual history of the Jesus 20 genealogies: see below, p. 143.

The Life of St Gurthiern

The next text to be considered is the Life of St Gurthiern, a hagiographical text incorporated into the cartulary of Quimperlé (BL Egerton 2808).¹⁷⁴ The latter is a dossier of documents and texts relating to the saints, rights and possessions of the Benedictine abbey of Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé in Brittany, written mostly by a monk called Gurheden in the 1120s and early 1130s.¹⁷⁵ According to Gurheden, the cartulary was compiled following a dispute with the abbey of Saint-Sauveur de Redon over possession of the estate of Belle-Île, an island off the southern coast of Brittany.¹⁷⁶ Sainte-Croix was successful in this confrontation, and subsequently attempted to secure its position more generally through the compilation of a volume that included various charters, lists and saints' Lives, all of which could be used to support any future challenges to the rights and possessions of the abbey. One aspect of this literary campaign was the creation of a saintly founding figure who long pre-dated both the actual foundation of the abbey, sometime between 1046 and 1050, and even the spurious foundation date given by the cartulary's chronicle (1024).¹⁷⁷ The figure chosen for the occasion was the obscure St Gurthiern, the reality of whose connection to Sainte-Croix prior to this time is open to considerable doubt.¹⁷⁸ The Life claims that St Gurthiern's relics, along with the relics of other saints, were discovered for the abbey on the Île de Groix during the time of Abbot Benoît (1066–79), and, according to the cartulary's chronicle, a church in an unspecified location was dedicated to St Gurthiern in 1089.¹⁷⁹

The Life of St Gurthiern was probably composed by Gurheden himself, the monk responsible for assembling the cartulary.¹⁸⁰ The Life is a rather disjointed affair, comprising a genealogy followed by two main narrative sequences that have not been properly amalgamated together. The first purports to describe the 'conuersatio sancti Gurthierni secundum traditionem eiusdem' ('St Gurthiern's manner of life, according to an account about him') while the second begins with the 'inventio reliquiarum sancti Gurthierni' ('discovery of St Gurthiern's relics') (see Table 2.4).¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁴ For the text, see *Cartulaire* (ed. Maître and de Berthou, pp. 42–6) and Tanguy, 'De la vie', pp. 181–4. Quotations given below have been checked against the manuscript: for a facsimile copy, see Henry *et al.*, *Cartulaire* (the Life of St Gurthiern is on ff. 4v–8r, at pp. 106–13). For translations of the Life into French and English, see respectively Tanguy, 'De la vie', pp. 169–72 and Jankulak, 'Breton vitae', pp. 244–8. I have followed Jankulak's division of the text into sections.

¹⁷⁵ For introductions to Quimperlé and its cartulary, see Quaghebeur, 'Aristocratie' and Jankulak, 'Breton vitae'. For the date, see Henry *apud* Henry *et al.*, *Cartulaire*, pp. 28–9. Other commentators have argued for more precise dates: for 1127, see Quaghebeur, 'Aristocratie', p. 199, n. 1, who is followed by Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 457 and 464; for 1124–8, see Guillotel, 'Cartulaires', p. 336; Jankulak, 'Breton vitae', p. 224.

¹⁷⁶ Henry *apud* Henry *et al.*, *Cartulaire*, pp. 24–5; Guillotel, 'Cartulaires', pp. 334–5; Jankulak, 'Breton vitae', pp. 225–6.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Quaghebeur, 'Lieux de pouvoir', p. 238. For the dates, see Quaghebeur *apud* Henry *et al.*, *Cartulaire*, pp. 60–2; Quaghebeur, 'Aristocratie', pp. 202–3; Jankulak, 'Breton vitae', pp. 223–6.

¹⁷⁸ Tanguy, 'De la vie', pp. 168–9; Jankulak, 'Breton vitae', pp. 238–40.

¹⁷⁹ *Cartulaire* (ed. Maître and de Berthou, pp. 45 and 105).

¹⁸⁰ Jankulak, 'Breton vitae', p. 231; Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 456–7.

¹⁸¹ For analyses of the Life's structure, see Debary, 'Saint Gurthiern' and Jankulak, 'Breton vitae', pp. 231–7.

The Earliest Welsh Genealogical Collections

Table 2.4: The structure of the Life of St Gurthiern

VS Gurthierni §§	Opening words	Content
1–4	Haec est genealogia sancti Gurthierni	Genealogies derived from the <i>Historia Brittonum</i> and the St Davids recension
5–13	Incipit uero conuersatio sancti Gurthierni secundum traditionem eiusdem	A narrative of Gurthiern's life taking place mostly in Britain and displaying verbal parallels with the <i>Historia Brittonum</i>
14–18	De inuentione reliquiarum sancti Gurthierni	Specific links between Gurthiern and Brittany, especially Quimperlé and Kervignac

Of present concern is the genealogical section preceding the *conuersatio*, which appears as follows:¹⁸²

Haec est genealogia sancti Gurthierni, nobilis genere, incliti officio, quam quidam laicus fidelis nomine Iuthael filius Aidan demonstraui, non pro terreno munere sed pro celesti. Igitur Gurthiern filius Boni filii Glou filii Abros filii Dos filii Iacob filii Genethauc filii Iudgual filii Beli filii Outham senis filii Maximiani filii Constantii filii Constantini filii Helenę, quę crucem Christi habuisse refertur [...] Beli et Kenan duo fratres erant, filii Outham senis. Ipse Kenan tenuit principatum quando perrexerunt Britones ad Romam. Illic tenuerunt Lęticiam, et reliq[...]¹⁸³ Beli filius Anneę, quam dicunt esse consobrinam Mariae, genetricis Christi.

This is the genealogy of St Gurthiern, noble in birth and renowned in office, which a certain faithful layman called Iuthael son of Aidan has revealed, not for earthly but for heavenly reward. Thus, Gurthiern son of Bonus son of Glou son of Abros son of Dos son of Iacob son of Genethauc son of Iudgual son of Beli son of Outham the Old son of Maximianus son of Constantius son of Constantinus son of Helena, who is said to have had the Cross of Christ [...] Beli and Kenan were two brothers, sons of Outham the Old. This Kenan held dominion when the Britons went to Rome. From there they took *Lęticia* [i.e. *Letauia*, 'Brittany'] and [...] Beli [was] son of Anna, whom they say was cousin of Mary, mother of Christ.

According to the opening of this section, the source for the genealogies that follow was the layman Iuthael son of Aidan. However, at the end of the second part of the main Life, the *inuentio reliquiarum*, a different source is apparently mentioned.¹⁸⁴

Haec cartula prescripta inuenta de genealogia sancti Gurthierni, cum reliquiis reuelatis, multum uetustate confecta, seruatur in peribolo celebri nostri monasterii.

This little aforementioned charter concerning the *genealogia* of St Gurthiern, discovered with the relics that were revealed, much worn down by age, is kept in the celebrated enclosure of our monastery.

Quite what the *cartula prescripta de genealogia sancti Gurthierni* is intended to refer to is much less clear than critics have allowed. It has been assumed that the *cartula* was the source for the genealogies preceding the *conuersatio*, despite the text's explicit statement that it was Iuthael son of Aidan who revealed those genealogies.¹⁸⁵ However, it is far more likely that the alleged *cartula* found with the relics was supposed to be the source for the

¹⁸² *VS Gurthierni*, §1 (ed. Maître and de Berthou, *Cartulaire*, p. 42).

¹⁸³ The end of this word is illegible.

¹⁸⁴ *VS Gurthierni*, §17 (ed. Maître and de Berthou, *Cartulaire*, p. 46).

¹⁸⁵ E.g. Jankulak, 'Breton vitae', pp. 231–2.

inventio reliquiarum, which immediately precedes the statement about the *cartula*'s present location. The *inventio* begins with the phrase 'De inventione reliquiarum sancti Gurthierni aliorumque sanctorum' ('Concerning the discovery of the relics of St Gurthiern and other saints').¹⁸⁶ It was probably intended that the next sentence should seem like a 'quotation' from the *cartula* discovered with the relics (whether it was real or not): 'Gvrthierni reliquie sunt hec, qui fuit rex Anglorum' ('These are the relics of Gurthiern, who was king of the English').¹⁸⁷ As has been recognised, what follows is not entirely compatible with the earlier *conuersatio*. Indeed, it would appear that the details given in the final part of the Life were intended to reconcile the account of Gurthiern's *conuersatio*, which may derive from an external source (see below) and barely features Brittany, with the meagre traditions about St Gurthiern in Brittany: namely, Gurthiern's alleged foundation of Quimperlé (identified with the otherwise unknown *Anaurot* of the *conuersatio*) and his death in Kervignac (see Table 2.4). If the *cartula* was the alleged source for the *inventio reliquiarum*, it follows that the word *genealogia* in the extract quoted above was used to mean something more like 'vita', 'origin', or perhaps '*patria*' rather than 'genealogy', and in this instance does not refer to the actual genealogical section at the beginning of the text.¹⁸⁸

The genealogies at the beginning of the Life are clearly related to the St Davids recension. The statement about Anna, 'quam dicunt esse consobrinam Mariae genetricis Christi' ('whom they say was cousin of Mary, mother of Christ'), reproduces almost exactly the words of the Harleian genealogies, the St Cadog genealogies and the Life of St Carannog.¹⁸⁹ A statement about St Helena and the cross is included too, though not in the same words as HG 2. The composer of the St Gurthiern genealogies also seems to have had access to the *Historia Brittonum*, since the first three generations of Gurthiern's patriline, 'Gurthiern filius Boni filii Glou', are based on the *Historia*'s genealogy of Vortigern.¹⁹⁰ *Glou*'s father *Abros* is probably a rendering of Ambrosius with an overlooked nasal contraction mark, perhaps again taken from the *Historia Brittonum*.¹⁹¹ These connections are supported by Nora Chadwick's evidence for verbal parallels between the *conuersatio* section of the Life of St Gurthiern and the *Historia Brittonum*'s account of Vortigern.¹⁹² The derivation of elements of the *conuersatio* from the *Historia Brittonum* may be the basis for the statement that the *conuersatio* is given 'secundum traditionem eiusdem' ('according to an account about him'). Taken together, St Gurthiern's *genealogia* and *conuersatio* would appear to witness another instance of the St Davids recension travelling alongside the *Historia Brittonum*. As Bernard Tanguy has noted, a Welsh origin for the substance of the St Gurthiern genealogies would also account for the use of the Welsh spellings *Genethauc* and *Kenan* in a manuscript that otherwise spells Brittonic personal names according to Breton conventions.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁶ *VS Gurthierni*, §14 (ed. Maître and de Berthou, *Cartulaire*, p. 45).

¹⁸⁷ *VS Gurthierni*, §15 (ed. Maître and de Berthou, *Cartulaire*, p. 45).

¹⁸⁸ Compare the Welsh or Cornish colloquy known as *De raris fabulis*, where *genealogia* is listed as a synonym for *prouincia*, *patria*, *regio*: *De raris fabulis*, §22 (ed. and transl. Gwara, pp. 26–7); cf. W. Davies, *Patterns*, p. 20, n. 28. In Carolingian Europe, the word *genealogia* commonly meant 'family' rather than 'pedigree': Pohl, 'Genealogy', pp. 248–9.

¹⁸⁹ HG 1; *VS Cadoci*, §46; *VS Carantoci II*, §1.

¹⁹⁰ Tanguy, 'De la vie', p. 174; Fleuriot, 'Old Breton Genealogies', p. 3. According to the *Historia Brittonum*, *Glou* was Vortigern's great-grandfather, while *Bonus* was a brother of Vortigern's grandfather, *Guitolin*: *HB* (Harl. 3859), §49.

¹⁹¹ Tanguy, 'De la vie', p. 175; Fleuriot, 'Old Breton Genealogies', p. 2.

¹⁹² Chadwick, 'Note', pp. 42–3.

¹⁹³ Tanguy, 'De la vie', p. 175; Tanguy *apud* Henry *et al.*, *Cartulaire*, p. 84. The diphthongisation of /ɔ:/ > /au/ in stressed syllables, as in *Genethauc* (Sims-Williams, 'Emergence', pp. 63–71; Sims-Williams, 'Dating the Transition', pp. 254–7; *LHEB* 287–8), happened in Welsh but not in Breton. The vowel spelled *e* in the first syllable of *Kenan* < Brittonic **Cunagnos* was the result of the distinctively Welsh development /un/ > /ɔn/ > /ən/ in pretonic syllables; the equivalent development in Breton was /un/ > /ɔn/, which would

More intriguingly, the latter reaches of Gurthiern's patriline are specifically related to Llancarfan genealogical material. As is discussed in detail in Chapter 3, the links 'filii Outham senis filii Maximiani filii Constantii filii Constantini filii Helene' correspond to the Llancarfan material included in the St Cadog genealogies and in JC 4.¹⁹⁴ The connection between Maximianus and Constantius is otherwise found only in the St Cadog genealogies, while the attachment of Eudaf Hen and his son Cynan to this line is a particular feature of the genealogy of St Cadog in JC 4. This evidence implies that the genealogies at the beginning of the Life of St Gurthiern derive largely from Llancarfan material.

The idea receives support from passages in Lifris's Life of St Cadog and the cartulary of Quimperlé that have been discussed by Bernard Tanguy.¹⁹⁵ One chapter of Lifris's Life of St Cadog is concerned with Cadog's visit to Brittany, and in particular his stay on the Île de Saint-Cado, an island in the estuary of the River Étel.¹⁹⁶ The priory on this island was donated to Sainte-Croix by Alain Fergant, duke of Brittany, in 1089.¹⁹⁷ Lifris mentions that Cadog placed a man named Cadwaladr as prior there, and it is striking that an undated (probably early eleventh-century) charter in the cartulary of Quimperlé shows that the prior at that time bore the name Cadwaladr, suggesting that Lifris was somehow acquainted with genuine information concerning the priory.¹⁹⁸ However, since Lifris's description of the island implies that he (or his informant) had not actually been there, his information is likely to have come from oral and/or documentary evidence located somewhere else; after 1089, this can only have been Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé.¹⁹⁹ Perhaps this is testimony to direct literary exchange between Llancarfan and Quimperlé. The exchange may have taken place in or shortly after 1089, when the priory on the Île de Saint-Cado was donated to Sainte-Croix; the monks of Sainte-Croix were clearly concerned with St Gurthiern at that time, since a church was dedicated to the saint in that very year. Alternatively, Gurheden may have acquired the information used for St Gurthiern's *genealogia* and *conuersatio* in the 1120s or early 1130s, following the initial establishment of contact between Sainte-Croix and Llancarfan by Lifris in the preceding generation. The same exchange may have been intended to inform a Life of St *Catuodus* (Cado) of Île Cado written in Quimperlé. A passage in the cartulary of Quimperlé, written by a thirteenth-century hand, alleges that such a text once existed, but was stolen from the priory by a certain priest named Iudhuarn.²⁰⁰ Lifris specifically mentions that the locals call Cadog *Catbodu*, again demonstrating his knowledge of the island. No such Life of St Cado survives, but it is perhaps notable that, in the seventeenth century, Albert Le Grand wrote a Life of St Cado that has clearly been influenced by Lifris's account.²⁰¹ All of this implies that Sainte-Croix acquired its knowledge of the St Davids recension directly from Llancarfan sometime between 1089 and the early 1130s.

If this deduction is correct, what of the role of Iuthael son of Aidan? This figure has occasioned much comment, both because of his apparent position as a 'professional' genealogist²⁰² and because of the Irish name of his father, Aidan.²⁰³ Yet both inferences may be

not have been spelled *en* (CIB 89, 100–2, 146–52 and 231–3; Sims-Williams, 'Emergence', pp. 36–47; LHEB 664–6).

¹⁹⁴ See below, pp. 150–3.

¹⁹⁵ Tanguy, 'De la vie'; reprised in Tanguy, 'D'Anaurot à Kemper Ellé'.

¹⁹⁶ *VS Cadoci*, §35; Doble, *St Cadoc*, pp. 15–20.

¹⁹⁷ *Cartulaire*, §CVII (ed. Maître and de Berthou, pp. 262–3).

¹⁹⁸ *Cartulaire*, §CIII (ed. Maître and de Berthou, pp. 258–9).

¹⁹⁹ Tanguy, 'De la vie', pp. 163–5; Doble, *St Cadoc*, pp. 20–1.

²⁰⁰ *Cartulaire*, §CI (ed. Maître and de Berthou, p. 255); Tanguy, 'De la vie', pp. 166–7.

²⁰¹ Tanguy, 'De la vie', p. 166; Doble, *St Cadoc*, p. 20. Emanuel ('Latin Life', p. ccxvii) suggested that Albert Le Grand drew on liturgical evidence rather than on a specific *vita*.

²⁰² Fleuriot, 'Old Breton Genealogies', p. 6; Brett, 'Breton Latin Literature', p. 8; cf. Sims-Williams, 'Some Functions', p. 109.

²⁰³ Jankulak, 'Breton *vitae*', p. 232; Le Duc, 'Irish Saints', p. 98.

misleading. Tanguy notes that this is a unique instance of the name 'Aidan' in early Breton documents, implying that Iuthael's father was not from Brittany.²⁰⁴ But the name was not unknown outside the Gaelic world, since it was also adopted into Welsh.²⁰⁵ For example, there are five men bearing this name in the Book of Llandaf.²⁰⁶ One was a pupil of St Dyfrig, and the same man was supposedly one of Dyfrig's successors as bishop of Llandaf.²⁰⁷ Two others were witnesses to charters of Ffernfael ab Ithel (d. 775) and Cadwgon ab Owain (fl. s. x²).²⁰⁸ A fourth was a priest in Llanelli during the eleventh or early twelfth centuries.²⁰⁹ The fifth is by far the most interesting. Around the 1070s, a certain *Aidan presbiter Catoci* ('Aeddan priest of Cadog', i.e. Llancarfan) witnessed three charters preserved in the Book of Llandaf.²¹⁰ In two of these charters, Aeddan witnesses alongside none other than Lifris, author of the Life of St Cadog. It was common in Llancarfan at this time for priests to have lay children; Lifris, for example, himself the son of Bishop Herewald, seems to have had descendants who were laymen.²¹¹ Could Lifris's contemporary Aeddan, a priest of Llancarfan, have had a lay son called *Iuthael* (i.e. Ithel)? Fewer men could have been better placed to transmit the genealogical matter prefacing the Life of St Gurthiern sometime between 1089 and the early 1130s than a lay son of a priest of Llancarfan associated with Lifris.²¹²

Geoffrey of Monmouth

Geoffrey of Monmouth's *De gestis Britonum* ('Concerning the Deeds of the Britons'), known usually as the *Historia regum Britanniae* ('History of the Kings of Britain'), was probably first disseminated around 1138.²¹³ Geoffrey's use of a genealogical text akin to the Harleian genealogies has long been recognised.²¹⁴ Very many of the personal names used by Geoffrey may be found in the Harleian genealogies, as is shown in Appendix A.2.3, where every instance of onomastic correspondence between the two texts is listed. Particular clusters of names in *De gestis Britonum* point specifically to Geoffrey's use of the St Davids recension. The most striking example occurs in Geoffrey's list of those in attendance at Arthur's court at Caerleon.²¹⁵ Among those listed is a group furnished with patronymics, which clearly shows that Geoffrey was here drawing on the 'Old North' section of the St Davids recension.²¹⁶ Three of the names occur in sequence: *Donaut Mappapo*, *Cheneus Mapcoil*, *Peredur Maberidur*. These have been taken from sections 11–12 of the St Davids recension, which read '[§11] Dunaut map Pappo map Ceneu map Coyl. [§12] Gurci ha Peretur mepion Eleuther [...]'. As mentioned above, the presence of the pedigree of Gwrgi and Peredur immediately following the pedigree of Dunod ap Pabo may be a feature of the

²⁰⁴ Tanguy, 'De la vie', p. 173; Tanguy *apud* Henry *et al.*, *Cartulaire*, p. 84.

²⁰⁵ As noted by Tanguy *apud* Henry *et al.*, *Cartulaire*, p. 84. Tanguy thought that Iuthael son of Aidan was 'sans doute au pays de Galles' ('without doubt from Wales'): *ibid.*, p. 87.

²⁰⁶ LL 386; cf. W. Davies, *Llandaff Charters*, p. 148.

²⁰⁷ J. R. Davies, *Book of Llandaf*, pp. 81 and 83; J. R. Davies, 'Saints', pp. 372–3; Guy, 'Life', pp. 22–3.

²⁰⁸ LL charters 207 and 224; cf. W. Davies, *Llandaff Charters*, pp. 117–18 and 121.

²⁰⁹ LL 279.

²¹⁰ LL charters 267, 271 and 272; cf. W. Davies, *Llandaff Charters*, pp. 69 and 129.

²¹¹ J. C. Davies, *Episcopal Acts II*, 517–19; J. R. Davies, *Book of Llandaf*, pp. 106–7.

²¹² This argument is set out more fully in Guy, 'Explaining the Origins'.

²¹³ For the title *De gestis Britonum*, see Reeve and Wright, *Geoffrey*, p. lix. For the date, see Tahkokallio, 'Monks', pp. 19–22; Gillingham, 'Context', p. 20.

²¹⁴ Faral, *La légende II*, 117–18, 137–9 and 276; Hutson, 'Geoffrey', pp. 368–73; Hutson, *British Personal Names*, p. 89; Piggott, 'Sources', pp. 269–86; Tatlock, *Legendary History*, p. 163, n. 254. For a more recent consideration, see Guy, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth's Welsh Sources'.

²¹⁵ DGB IX.156.328–51.

²¹⁶ Hutson, 'Geoffrey', pp. 368–73; Hutson, *British Personal Names*, pp. 72–5; Piggott, 'Sources', pp. 281–2; Guy, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth's Welsh Sources', pp. 53–4.

St Davids recension that did not appear in the original Gwynedd collection of genealogies.²¹⁷ Another such feature is the 'Roman emperor' pedigree of HG 16, which Geoffrey again used in his list of those in attendance at Arthur's court. Geoffrey lists, in this order, *Run Mapneton*, *Kinbelin Maprunat* and *Cathleus Mapcatel*: all of these names can be found in the first part of HG 16.²¹⁸

A third feature of the St Davids recension that was probably not found in the underlying Gwynedd collection is the adjacency of the Gwynedd and Dyfed pedigrees (HG 1–2). Geoffrey's source seems to have had the same feature, because among his list of the many sons and daughters of Ebraucus is a significantly high proportion of names from precisely these two pedigrees.²¹⁹ From the Gwynedd pedigree are *Iagon*, *Chein* and *Aballac* (cf. *Iacob*, *Cein*, *Aballac* in HG 1).²²⁰ More compellingly, from the Dyfed pedigree are *Margadud*, *Regin*, *Kincar*, *Gloigin*, *Tangustel*, and possibly *Ragan* (cf. *Margetiut*, *Regin*, *Cincar*, *Gloituin*, *Tancoysl* in HG 2). A similar conclusion may be drawn from the names used by Geoffrey for the opponents of Dunuallo Molmutius.²²¹ The names of two of them, *Pinner* and *Staterius*, were clearly taken from the remoter reaches of the Dyfed pedigree, where a certain *Stater map Pincr Misser* may be found (cf. HG 2).²²² The name of the third opponent, *Rudaucus*, is more revealing. As mentioned above, a feature of the Cunedda pedigree found exclusively in the Lives of Cadog and Carannog is the change of Padarn's epithet from *Peisrut* to *Peis Rudauc*. 'Rhuddog', presumably meaning something like 'reddish', is not a common Welsh word. *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* lists only three attestations, from 1707, c. 1730 and 1803.²²³ It seems highly likely that Geoffrey found the word in the same source as *Pinner* and *Staterius*. This implies that Geoffrey not only used a copy of the St Davids recension, but he used a copy that was particularly close to the copy that informed the St Cadog genealogies and the Life of St Carannog.²²⁴ It is on account of such evidence that Geoffrey's readings can sometimes be used to inform our understanding of the Harleian genealogies.²²⁵

We have already observed that the genealogies interpolated into the Life of St Carannog received an addition dateable to 1136 × 1158. The most likely time for this addition is the late 1130s, in the wake of the conquest of Ceredigion and Cemaes by the sons of Gruffudd ap Cynan. This was precisely the time when Geoffrey was finishing his history, and it is possible that he was in contact with the person(s) responsible for the genealogies in the Life of St Carannog and the closely related St Cadog genealogies. Geoffrey was, of course, aware of the hagiographical activity taking place in Llancarfan. This may be inferred from the famous epilogue to his work, where he delegates the task of continuing the history of the Saxon kings to William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon and the history of the Welsh kings to 'Caradoco Lancarbanensi contemporaneo meo' ('Caradog of Llancarfan, my contemporary').²²⁶ Caradog of Llancarfan is the best-known Welsh hagiographer of the

²¹⁷ See above, p. 65–7.

²¹⁸ Cf. Hutson, *British Personal Names*, p. 75.

²¹⁹ *DGB* II.27.97–104. Cf. Faral, *La légende* II, 100. Also prominent among the daughters are the names of the daughters of Brychan Brycheiniog: Hutson, 'Geoffrey', pp. 361–8; Hutson, *British Personal Names*, pp. 16–24; Tatlock, *Legendary History*, p. 164, n. 255.

²²⁰ *Chein* could be based on either the *Cein* of HG 1 or the *Kein*, daughter of Brychan, in *DSB* 12.21: Hutson, 'Geoffrey', p. 365; Hutson, *British Personal Names*, p. 21. Geoffrey probably used both sources in this section, so either borrowing is possible.

²²¹ *DGB* II.34.308–10.

²²² Hutson, *British Personal Names*, p. 31; Tatlock, *Legendary History*, p. 150. For the origin of these names, see Guy, 'Earliest Welsh Genealogies', p. 484.

²²³ *GPC Online*, s.v. rhuddog.

²²⁴ Hutson suggested the less likely source *Rydoch* in *DSB* 11.11: 'Geoffrey', p. 367; *British Personal Names*, p. 31.

²²⁵ For an example, see Guy, 'Second Witness', pp. 86–7.

²²⁶ *DGB* XI.208.601–2.

twelfth century. As is explored further below, he wrote a Life of St Gildas for Glastonbury Abbey and revised Lifris's Life of St Cadog, possibly for St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester. He may have written several other Lives that are now anonymous in the manuscripts. Considering that Geoffrey's references to William and Henry are grounded in knowledge of their work,²²⁷ could it be that Geoffrey likewise acquired material from Caradog of Llancarfan, perhaps encompassing the *Historia Brittonum* alongside the St Davids recension and the Welsh annals, in a compilation comparable to that in Harley 3859?²²⁸

The Book of Llandaf

The Book of Llandaf (NLW 17110E) is the most infamous product of the ecclesiastical controversies of South Wales in the twelfth century. The manuscript contains the Gospel of St Matthew alongside many saints' Lives, documents and charters intended to support the campaign of Bishop Urban of Llandaf (1107–34) to secure the diocesan boundaries and dignities of his episcopal see, especially in relation to its neighbours, the bishoprics of St Davids and Hereford.²²⁹ It was probably written between 1132, the date of the latest document originally incorporated into the manuscript, and 1134, when Bishop Urban died.²³⁰ The process of compilation was no doubt underway while Gurheden was writing the cartulary of Quimperlé in the 1120s, and was completed not long before Geoffrey of Monmouth finished his *De gestis Britonum* around 1138 and the genealogies in the Life of St Carannog were amended after 1136.

Although St Cadog was never promoted as an official saint of the diocese like Saints Dyfrig, Teilo and Euddogwy, the community of Llancarfan was especially prominent among the diocesan clergy in this period and would undoubtedly have had a hand in the making of the Book of Llandaf.²³¹ For example, on his final visit to the papal curia in 1134, Bishop Urban seems to have been accompanied by as many as five clergymen from Llancarfan. One of these, called Caradog the priest, has been plausibly identified with Caradog of Llancarfan.²³² Certain stylistic traits found in the Book of Llandaf have even suggested to some that Caradog of Llancarfan was the author of the book.²³³ Whether or not that is true, Caradog would certainly have been aware of the compilation of the book, especially in his role as a hagiographer.

It is for this reason especially notable that a pedigree of the kings of Dyfed, such as is found in the St Davids recension, seems to have been used during the compilation of the manuscript. The Book of Llandaf certainly drew on the *Historia Brittonum* and the Welsh annals, so it should come as no surprise that a copy of the St Davids recension was available too.²³⁴ That a pedigree of the kings of Dyfed was used as a source by the compilers is suggested by the haphazard way in which their names were incorporated into the Book's historical scheme, in contrast to the kings of Glywysing and Gwent.²³⁵

²²⁷ Tatlock, *Legendary History*, p. 5.

²²⁸ It has been suggested before that Geoffrey was in direct contact with Caradog: Tatlock, 'Caradoc', p. 140; Brooke, 'Archbishops', p. 43; J. R. Davies, *Book of Llandaf*, p. 142. For further consideration of the relationship between the two, see Guy, 'Explaining the Origins'.

²²⁹ In general, see J. R. Davies, *Book of Llandaf*.

²³⁰ J. R. Davies, 'Liber Landavensis', pp. 7–11.

²³¹ For the community of Llancarfan and the diocese of Llandaf in this period, see J. C. Davies, *Episcopal Acts II*, 516–24; J. R. Davies, *Book of Llandaf*, pp. 105–8.

²³² J. C. Davies, *Episcopal Acts II*, 517, n. 199; J. R. Davies, *Book of Llandaf*, pp. 105–6.

²³³ Brooke, 'Archbishops', pp. 40–3; J. R. Davies, *Book of Llandaf*, pp. 138–41.

²³⁴ For references, see Guy, 'Life', p. 2, n. 3.

²³⁵ I agree with Sims-Williams's assessment that the compilers of the Book of Llandaf probably did not draw on pedigrees of the kings of Glywysing and Gwent: Sims-Williams, *Book of Llandaf*, pp. 29–31.

The latter are usually placed in credible chronological and historical contexts, owing to their appearances in the original charters that were reworked for inclusion in the Book of Llandaf.²³⁶ The chronology of the kings of Dyfed, on the other hand, is so erratic as to suggest that their names were drawn indiscriminately from an external source lacking any contextual framework, such as a pedigree; correspondingly, they are not associated with any charters likely to derive from original records.²³⁷ Table 2.5 lists every king of Dyfed appearing in the Book of Llandaf in correct historical order, and indicates the Llandaf saints with whom the kings are anachronistically associated.

Table 2.5: *The kings of Dyfed in the Book of Llandaf*

LL	King of Dyfed	Real <i>floruit</i> of king	LL associated saints
118, 130 and charters 125b, 127a, 127b	<i>Aircol Lauhir filius Tryfun</i> (125b)	s. vi ¹ ?	Teilo
133 and charter 77	<i>Noe filius Arthur</i> (77)	s. vii ¹ ?	Dyfrig
118, 133	<i>Catgucaun Tredici</i> ²³⁸ (118)	s. vii/viii?	Teilo and Euddogwy
Charter 125a	<i>Margetud filius Rein</i>	?	Teilo

The early medieval kingdom of Dyfed was important to Bishop Urban and his associates because of the rivalry between the bishoprics of Llandaf and St Davids. The actions of the early kings of Dyfed could be manipulated in Llandaf's favour. For example, the story about King Cadwgon in the Book of Llandaf's Life of St Euddogwy is a device to 'explain' why the bishopric of St Davids had become, by the twelfth century, ecclesiastically independent of Llandaf.²³⁹ According to Llandaf, this had not always been the case; elsewhere in the Book of Llandaf, St Teilo (Euddogwy's alleged predecessor) is portrayed as an archbishop with the authority to consecrate St Ishmael as bishop of St Davids in succession to St David himself.²⁴⁰

The close attention paid to the early kings of Dyfed in the Book of Llandaf should be considered alongside other contemporary examples of interest in the Dyfed pedigree. It has already been mentioned that Geoffrey of Monmouth made greater use of the Dyfed pedigree than he did of other pedigrees at his disposal. The text considered next again drew on the same pedigree in conjunction with material about St Cadog.

The Genealogy of St Petroc

In the early twentieth century, a hagiographical manuscript of considerable significance for south-western Britain was discovered in the ducal library in Gotha (MS Mm.I.81).²⁴¹ The manuscript was written around the third quarter of the fourteenth century, probably

²³⁶ For this view of the charters, see the recent discussion in *ibid.*

²³⁷ Guy, 'Life', p. 10 and n. 31; cf. Sims-Williams, *Book of Llandaf*, pp. 33, 35, 53 and 143–4 (and n. 141). For the kings of Dyfed in the Book of Llandaf, see W. Davies, *Early Welsh Microcosm*, pp. 87–90; for the relevant charters, see W. Davies, *Llandaff Charters*, pp. 95–7.

²³⁸ To my knowledge, this epithet only otherwise appears (in a variant form) in the Dyfed pedigree in LIIG 38.1 (Cadwgawn Trydelic).

²³⁹ LL 133; cf. J. R. Davies, *Book of Llandaf*, p. 90.

²⁴⁰ LL 115; cf. J. R. Davies, *Book of Llandaf*, pp. 64 and 118.

²⁴¹ The manuscript's contents were first described in Grosjean, 'De Codice Hagiographico Gothano'.

somewhere in south-western England like Hartland Abbey or Glastonbury Abbey.²⁴² A substantial part of the manuscript is devoted to texts concerning St Petroc of Bodmin in Cornwall.²⁴³ These texts occur in the following order: (1) a prose Life of the saint; (2) a metrical Life based directly on the preceding prose Life; (3) several *miracula* dating probably to between 1157 and 1177; (4) an account of the theft of St Petroc's relics written after their recovery in 1177; and (5) a genealogy of St Petroc.²⁴⁴ It has been suggested that the prose Life (1) and the *miracula* (3) were composed by the same author.²⁴⁵ This same author may have been responsible for the genealogy (5) too, because the prose Life, like the genealogy, makes St Petroc the brother of Gwynllyw (of Gwynllŵg) and descendant of the kings of *Cambria*, and thus, implicitly, the uncle of St Cadog.²⁴⁶ These relationships are explained more fully in the genealogy on folio 148v.²⁴⁷

De progenie sancti Petroci, sancti Wynleu et sancti Cadoci.

Sanctus Petrocus fuit filius Gliuis. Gliuis filius Silor. Silor filius Nor. Nor filius Protector. Protector filius Piner. Piner filius Miser. Miser filius Constantini imperatoris. Constantinus filius Helene.

Sanctus Winleu fuit frater sancti Petroci, et in Wallia apud Neuport est ecclesia eius.

Sanctus Cadocus fuit filius sancti Wynleu, et apud Ealdeston est fons sancti Cadoci valde salubris, ubi multa fiunt miracula per Dominum.

Concerning the kindred of St Petroc, St Gwynllyw and St Cadog.

St Petroc was the son of Glywys. Glywys son of *Silor*. *Silor* son of *Nor*. *Nor* son of Protector. Protector son of *Piner*. *Piner* son of *Miser*. *Miser* son of the Emperor Constantine. Constantine son of Helena.

St Gwynllyw was St Petroc's brother, and his church is in Newport in Wales.

St Cadog was St Gwynllyw's son, and there is a very healthful spring of St Cadog at Padstow, where many miracles are wrought through the Lord.

This genealogy is a simple conflation of St Cadog's pedigree and elements from the version of the pedigree of the kings of Dyfed in the St Davids recension, as is shown in Table 2.6.²⁴⁸

²⁴² This date was offered by Michael Lapidge, following palaeographical advice from Malcolm Parkes: Lapidge *apud* Dumville and Lapidge, *Annals of St Neots*, pp. lxxix–lxxx. Jankulak (*Medieval Cult*, p. 3) suggested that the manuscript could have been written at Hartland Abbey, since texts concerning the abbey's founder and patron saint, Nectan, feature prominently in the manuscript, whereas Doble (*Saint Cadoc*, p. 45) noted that Glastonbury Abbey possessed the relics of several saints whose Lives appear in the manuscript.

²⁴³ These texts are surveyed in Jankulak, *Medieval Cult*, ch. 1. For Bodmin in this period, see *ibid.*, chs 2 and 4; cf. Olson, *Early Monasteries*, pp. 66–78.

²⁴⁴ Grosjean, 'De Codice Hagiographico Gothano', p. 98; Grosjean, 'Vies', pp. 135–7.

²⁴⁵ Grosjean, 'Vies', pp. 135–6; Jankulak, *Medieval Cult*, p. 5.

²⁴⁶ *VS Petroci*, §2 (ed. Grosjean, 'Vies', p. 146); Jankulak, *Medieval Cult*, p. 13. The same relationship is expressed in *ByS* 39, which makes St Petroc a son of *Clemens tywyssawc o Gernyw*, alias Glywys, father of Gwynllyw.

²⁴⁷ Edited in Grosjean, 'Vies', p. 188; partially reproduced in *EWGT* 29–30.

²⁴⁸ Cf. Jankulak, *Medieval Cult*, p. 11, n. 62; Thornton, 'Power', p. 89.

It is not clear why names from the Dyfed pedigree have been inserted into St Cadog's pedigree between *Nor* and Constantine the Great. It does, at least, show the same awareness of the Dyfed pedigree that is evident in the Book of Llandaf and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *De gestis Britonum*. More significantly, the genealogy of St Petroc again provides clear evidence of an effort to combine genealogical material about St Cadog with genealogies from the St Davids recension, as seen in the St Cadog genealogies and the Life of St Gurthiern. In this case, the effort has resulted in St Petroc being cast as the uncle of St Cadog, just as in the preface of Lifris's Life of St Cadog and in the St Cadog material in JC 5.²⁴⁹ The familial relationship between Petroc and Cadog may have been originally construed because of the existence of a chapel dedicated to St Cadog in the parish of Padstow, the original centre of the cult of St Petroc.²⁵⁰ The chapel seems to have been associated with a holy well, which is very probably the well of St Cadog at Padstow mentioned in the genealogy. It seems to be the same well and chapel that are mentioned by Lifris in a chapter on St Cadog's visit to Cornwall in the Life of St Cadog.²⁵¹ The clergy of Padstow and Bodmin would have been keen to learn more of the patron of their holy well, and the community of Llancarfan would no doubt have been only too happy to accept that the Cornish well had been established by Cadog; such deductions would encourage suppositions about a relationship between the two saints. The initiative in this regard clearly came from Llancarfan rather than Padstow or Bodmin, considering that Petroc was drawn into the royal family of Glywysing.

Table 2.6: Sources of the genealogy of St Petroc

<i>Genealogia s. Petroci</i>	<i>VS Cadoci</i> , §45	HG 2
	Cadocus	
Petrocus	Gundleius	
Gliuis	Gliuguis	
Silor	Solor	
Nor	Nor	
	Ouguein	
	Maximianus	[...]
Protector		Protector
		Ebiud
		Eliud
		Stater
Piner		Pincr Misser
Miser		
	Constantius	Constans
Constantinus imperator	Constantinus magnus	Constantinus magnus
Helena	Helena & Galerius [...]	Constantius & Helen Luicdauc

As with Geoffrey of Monmouth and possibly the Book of Llandaf, there may be a direct connection between the genealogy of St Petroc and Caradog of Llancarfan. Gotha Mm.I.81 happens to be the only surviving manuscript to preserve the full text of Caradog of

²⁴⁹ *VS Cadoci*, pref.; see Appendix A.3.6.

²⁵⁰ Jankulak, *Medieval Cult*, pp. 11–12.

²⁵¹ *VS Cadoci*, §§31–2.

Llancarfan's version of the Life of St Cadog.²⁵² By whatever means, material composed by Caradog of Llancarfan was therefore transmitted to Gotha Mm.I.81, potentially via Bodmin. Since the genealogy of St Petroc is itself formed from material of Llancarfan provenance, one might suppose that Caradog of Llancarfan could have had a hand in facilitating the transfer of this material to St Petroc's hagiographers, perhaps alongside his Life of Petroc's exalted nephew Cadog. The genealogical material seems to have been available in Bodmin by no later than the time when Petroc's prose Life was composed, possibly around the third quarter of the twelfth century, shortly after Caradog's known floruit.

De antiquitate Glastonie ecclesie

The final text to be discussed here is William of Malmesbury's *De antiquitate Glastonie ecclesie*. This was written by William between 1129 and 1139 on behalf of the monks of Glastonbury Abbey.²⁵³ In common with England's other old Benedictine foundations, Glastonbury had come under increasing pressure following the Norman Conquest to justify its position as a wealthy and powerful centre of English Christianity. One means of doing this was to employ skilled writers, such as William of Malmesbury, to compose histories of the abbey and accounts of its associated saints. William wrote four saints' Lives for Glastonbury, in addition to *De antiquitate* itself, which established the abbey's venerable age and institutional continuity.²⁵⁴ However, in later decades William's work would prove inadequate for the abbey's evolving concerns. A fire in 1184 created a dire need to increase Glastonbury's patronage and income, and, with this in mind, in 1191 the monks staged their famous 'exhumation' and reburial of the bodies of Arthur and Guinevere, successfully providing a new stimulus for pilgrims to visit the abbey.²⁵⁵ Accompanying this new drive to raise the status of the abbey was the literary activity that saw the text of William's *De antiquitate* expanded and interpolated with new material in an attempt to keep the abbey's literature in line with the latest efforts towards self-aggrandisement.

Unfortunately, the text of the *De antiquitate* survives only in this interpolated form, making it necessary to deduce which of its sections belonged to William's original text and which were added later.²⁵⁶ Among those sections that were almost certainly interpolations is Chapter 4, which describes the first settlement of Glastonbury by one '*Glasteing*' and his brothers.²⁵⁷ The chapter includes an account of the settlement of western Britain by the descendants of *Cunedda*, found 'in antiquis Britonum gestis' ('among the ancient deeds of the Britons').²⁵⁸ The source referred to is almost certainly the *Historia Brittonum*.²⁵⁹ Moreover, this version of the *Historia Brittonum*, like that in Harley 3859, would appear to have been accompanied by a copy of the St Davids recension, because one of the latter's pedigrees, akin to HG 25, was incorporated into *De antiquitate*. HG 25 is the pedigree of one Idnerth ap Morien, traced back to *Glast*, eponym of the *Glastenic*, but in the interpolation in *De antiquitate* the pedigree has been converted into a list of the twelve brothers of *Glasteing*, the

²⁵² Edited in Grosjean, 'Vie de saint Cadoc'. Extracts from Caradog of Llancarfan's Life of St Cadog were also added to Vespasian A. xiv: Emanuel, 'Analysis', pp. 223–5. For discussion of this Life, see Grosjean, 'Vie de Saint Cadoc', pp. 41–3; Emanuel, 'Latin Life', pp. xxxvii–lxviii; Brooke, 'Archbishops', pp. 41–2, n. 99; Brooke, 'St Peter', pp. 89–92; W. Davies, 'Property Rights', pp. 522–3.

²⁵³ For the dates, see Stubbs, *De gestis regum* I, xxvii–xxviii.

²⁵⁴ For William's contribution, see Gransden, 'Growth', pp. 341–6; Scott, *Early History*, pp. 1–5.

²⁵⁵ Carley, 'Arthur', pp. 48–9.

²⁵⁶ For the witnesses to the text, see Scott, *Early History*, pp. 34–9.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 187–8, nn. 22 and 24.

²⁵⁸ *De antiquitate*, §4 (ed. and transl. Scott, pp. 52–3).

²⁵⁹ Thornton, 'Glastonbury', pp. 195–6 and 200–2; Scott, *Early History*, pp. 187–8, n. 22.

alleged first settler of Glastonbury. Table 2.7 shows the close correspondence between the names in the list of brothers and in two versions of the pedigree deriving from the St Davids recension (HG 25 and LIIG 39).

Antonia Gransden has argued persuasively that the *Glasteing* story was interpolated into *De antiquitate* in order to ‘explain’ why the site of the abbey could be called both Glastonbury and Avallon.²⁶⁰ The story asserts that this *Glasteing* (whose name functions as a passable eponym for Glastonbury) followed a certain sow to the site of Glastonbury, where it was found suckling its piglets under an apple tree.²⁶¹ It is then said that the place was named *Auallonie* (*sic*) in British, because *aualla* was the British word for apple (i.e. modern Welsh *afal*). In its current form, therefore, the *Glasteing* story in *De antiquitate* most probably belongs to the period immediately following the ‘discovery’ in Glastonbury in 1191 of Arthur’s burial, which was supposedly accompanied by an inscribed cross claiming that Arthur was buried in the Isle of Avallon.

Table 2.7: Versions of the Glasteing pedigree

<i>De Antiquitate</i> , §4	HG 25	LIIG 39
Ludnerth	[I]udnerth	Ednyfet
Morgen	Morgen	Moryen
Catgur	Catgur	Kadgwr
Cathmor	Catmor	Kadvor
Merguid	Merguid	Merwyd
Moruined	Moriutned	Mornyvet
Morehel	Morhen	Moraeth
Morcant	Morcant	Morgwn
Boten	Botan	Botang
Morgen	Morgen	Moryen Glas
Mortineil	Mormayl	
Glasteing	Glast	

From where did the monks of Glastonbury obtain their copy of the *Historia Brittonum* accompanied by the St Davids recension of genealogies? In the middle decades of the twelfth century, William of Malmesbury was not the only professional hagiographer employed by Glastonbury Abbey. The other was Caradog of Llancarfan, who wrote a Life of St Gildas for the abbey, possibly between 1125 and 1140.²⁶² It has been suggested that it was Caradog’s linking of Arthur and Glastonbury in his Life of St Gildas that prompted the monks of Glastonbury to stage their exhumation in 1191 in the first place.²⁶³ The interpolation in *De antiquitate*, which was probably a product of this event, thus provides a further example of a connection between knowledge of the St Davids recension and contact with Caradog of Llancarfan. Might Caradog have sent to Glastonbury a copy of the *Historia Brittonum* accompanied by the genealogies at the same time that he sent his commissioned Life of St Gildas?

²⁶⁰ Gransden, ‘Growth’, pp. 356–7. Scott agrees: *Early History*, p. 188, n. 24.

²⁶¹ Cf. Jankulak, ‘Alba Longa’.

²⁶² Tatlock, ‘Caradoc’, pp. 140–2; Gransden, ‘Growth’, pp. 340 and 346; Scott, *Early History*, p. 3. For the dates, see Tatlock, ‘Dates’, pp. 352–3, n. 1. Caradog’s Life of St Gildas is edited and translated in H. Williams, *Two Lives*, pp. 80–103.

²⁶³ Carley, ‘Arthur’, p. 48.

Caradog of Llancarfan

None of the texts examined above can tell a cohesive story about the circulation of the St Davids recension of genealogies in texts connected with Llancarfan in the first half of the twelfth century. Nevertheless, when the evidence is considered together, a picture begins to emerge. The St Cadog genealogies show that, at some point after Lifris composed the Life of St Cadog at the end of the eleventh century, considerable interest in the genealogies of the St Davids recension had arisen in Llancarfan due to their capacity to provide St Cadog with several illustrious lines of descent. Among other purposes, the genealogies were used to connect St Cadog to famous Roman figures like Constantine the Great and St Helena, and, via Maximianus, to tie his lineage to the story of the settlement of Brittany. Closely related genealogies were interpolated into the Life of St Carannog and updated at some point between 1136 and 1158. Such efforts were no doubt related to the great literary endeavour that is the Book of Llandaf, with which the community of Llancarfan, who occupied many of the senior ranks among the diocesan clergy, must have been intimately acquainted. The compilers of the Book of Llandaf paid especial attention to the pedigree of the kings of Dyfed, interest in which is similarly displayed in the genealogy of St Petroc and in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *De gestis Britonum*.

The genealogical expertise developed at Llancarfan seems to have been sought out by hagiographers elsewhere. Genealogical material of demonstrable Llancarfan provenance, partially derived from the St Davids recension, was sent to Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé by the early 1130s and to Bodmin by perhaps 1177 to create new genealogies for St Gurthiern and St Petroc respectively. The genealogical material transmitted to Bodmin was probably accompanied by Caradog of Llancarfan's Life of St Cadog, since Cadog was, according to the new genealogy, St Petroc's nephew. The same process seems to have occurred at Glastonbury Abbey. Between 1125 and 1140, Caradog of Llancarfan wrote a Life of St Gildas for the abbey, and may similarly have been responsible for providing the abbey with the *Historia Brittonum* and St Davids recension of genealogies, which were used to augment William of Malmesbury's *De antiquitate* around the end of the twelfth century. The same texts were made available to and extensively used by Geoffrey of Monmouth, who, around 1138, named Caradog of Llancarfan as the only contemporary Welsh writer fit to compose a history of the kings of Wales. Caradog had evidently gained a reputation; others have argued that he may have also been responsible for a Life of St Cyngar written for the canons of Wells and Lives of Saints Gwynllyw and Tatheus written for St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester.²⁶⁴

It is difficult to avoid the temptation to see the hand of Caradog of Llancarfan behind much of the activity described above. So far as can be discerned, practically all instances of the St Davids recension of genealogies being used in the twelfth century belong to the 1120s and 1130s, relate somehow to the St Cadog genealogies, and appear in contexts where Caradog's work was known and appreciated. One might even go so far as to suggest that Caradog himself composed the St Cadog genealogies. On entirely separate grounds, it has been proposed by more than one scholar that other Lives in Vespasian A. xiv (the manuscript preserving the St Cadog genealogies), namely the Lives of Illtud, Gwynllyw and Tatheus, were composed by Caradog of Llancarfan.²⁶⁵ Perhaps it was Caradog who interpolated the genealogical material into the Life of St Carannog. None of this will ever be provable, but

²⁶⁴ For Caradog and the Life of St Cyngar, see Robinson, 'Lives', pp. 15–18; Grosjean, 'Vie de Saint Cadoc', p. 36; Brooke, 'Archbishops', p. 39, n. 93; J. R. Davies, *Book of Llandaf*, pp. 135–6. For some doubts, see Doble, *Lives*, pp. 118–22; Doble, 'Saint Congar', pp. 86–8; Emanuel, 'Latin Life', pp. xlix–l. For an edition of a twelfth-century fragment of the Life of St Cyngar, see Robinson, 'Fragment'. For Caradog and St Peter's, Gloucester, see J. R. Davies, *Book of Llandaf*, pp. 134 and 142. Davies suggests that Caradog's Life of St Cadog may also have been written originally for St Peter's.

²⁶⁵ Brooke, 'Archbishops', p. 39, n. 93; J. R. Davies, *Book of Llandaf*, pp. 134–6. Doble suggested that

if it were not Caradog himself who was responsible for composing or transmitting the texts described above, it was certainly some other member of the community of Llancarfan who had obtained a deep knowledge of Welsh legendary history, not least through reading the *Historia Brittonum* and the St Davids recension of genealogies.

The texts discussed in the second half of this chapter provide evidence for many sections of the St Davids recension having been available to writers connected to Llancarfan in the twelfth century. In Table 2.8 (overleaf), an attempt has been made to identify every section of the St Davids recension that was reproduced or used as a source in the relevant works. Geoffrey's contribution to the list is difficult to specify. Geoffrey is listed without a question mark only for the sections discussed above and for sections from which he borrowed a name with a specific epithet or patronymic. References to Geoffrey preceded by a question mark designate sections containing multiple names used by Geoffrey that are unique to the section concerned (see Appendix A.2.3).

It is clear that the sections of the St Davids recension known to and used by the texts discussed above encompass every part of the St Davids recension, including both those parts taken from the Gwynedd collection of genealogies and those parts that probably originated elsewhere. The text available at Llancarfan was undoubtedly very similar in form and scope to the text preserved in Harley 3859, even though one cannot be certain whether every section of the latter was represented therein. The close textual correspondences between the twelfth-century texts and the Harleian genealogies indicate that the detail in the Llancarfan copy had not been reworked to any great extent. Moreover, the use made by some of the texts of the *Historia Brittonum*, alongside the genealogies, suggests that there resided at Llancarfan a compilation of texts very similar to that found in Harley 3859, comprising the *Historia Brittonum* and the St Davids recension of genealogies, probably alongside a version of the Harleian chronicle.

Caradog (or someone of his school) may have acted as a reviser rather than a composer: *Lives*, p. 121; 'Saint Congar', p. 87.

Table 2.8: Evidence for sections of the St Davids recension having been available to writers connected with Llancarfan in the twelfth century

HG	Association	Twelfth-century writers/texts displaying knowledge of the section
1	Deheubarth/Gwynedd (Môn)	Cadog; Carannog; Gurthiern; Geoffrey
2	Deheubarth/Dyfed	Geoffrey; <i>LL</i> ; Petroc
5	Strathclyde/Alclud	?Geoffrey
8	Old North	?Geoffrey
9	Old North	Geoffrey
10	Old North	?Cadog; Geoffrey
11	Old North	Geoffrey
12	Old North	Geoffrey
15	Dyfed/Brycheiniog	Geoffrey
16	Roman emperors	Cadog; Geoffrey
17	Dunoding	?Geoffrey
18	Meirionydd	Geoffrey
19	Old North	Geoffrey
20	Rhufoniog	?Geoffrey
21	Penllyn	Geoffrey
24	?Caereinion	?Geoffrey
25	Glastening	Glastonbury
26	Ceredigion	?Geoffrey
32	Sons of Cunedda	Carannog
33	Boundaries of the sons of Cunedda	Carannog

A SOUTHERN GENEALOGICAL ANTHOLOGY: THE JESUS 20 GENEALOGIES

Oxford, Jesus College 20 contains the largest genealogical collection surviving in any medieval manuscript written in Wales prior to the second half of the fifteenth century. The collection has been fully edited three times: once by Egerton Phillimore, with corrections by J. Gwenogvryn Evans; a second time by Peter Bartrum; and a third time in Appendix B.2 below.¹ The section on the children of Brychan Brycheiniog has also been printed twice by A. W. Wade-Evans,² and a full transcript of the manuscript, including its genealogies, has appeared on the website of the *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300–1425* project.³ Aside from occasional discussion of individual pedigrees, the collection as a whole has never previously been investigated. A few useful comments have been offered by Alfred Anscombe and Peter Bartrum on particular aspects of the text, and Thomas Charles-Edwards has made some perceptive observations on the section dealing with the ancestry of Rhodri Mawr.⁴ This chapter offers the first full analysis of the text.

The purpose of the present chapter is to analyse the structure of the text as it is extant in the manuscript, with a view to disentangling the stages in which the various components of the collection were composed and assembled. By necessity, such an approach must work backwards, from the knowable facts about the surviving manuscript to the more speculative reconstruction of the textual history of the collection. The discussion begins with an account of the history of the manuscript, followed by an examination of its contents. The textual affinities of the contents argue strongly that the manuscript's scribes worked in or around Glamorgan or Gower, in the same milieu that witnessed the writing of the Red Book of Hergest, around the end of the fourteenth century. Attention then turns to the genealogical collection itself, and it is suggested that the present arrangement of the text is the product of a deliberate act of redaction, formally dateable to the period 1216 × c. 1400, but probably belonging to the thirteenth century. Comparison with other genealogical texts suggests that the most significant action of the text's 'final redactor' was the bringing together of two formerly separate genealogical collections: one, a collection of texts from the church of Llancarfan; the other, a version of the Gwynedd collection of genealogies that had been expanded and updated in the first half of the thirteenth century at one or more centres in Ystrad Tywi (see Figure 3.5 on page 157 for a summary diagram). The disentangling of this process is greatly facilitated by a newly discovered text, *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* (edited in Appendix B.3), which descends ultimately from the same tenth-century source as one section of the Llancarfan collection.⁵

¹ Phillimore, 'Pedigrees', with *erratum* and additional note in Cy 10 (1889), 245; *EWGT* 42–9.

² Wade-Evans, 'Brychan Brycheiniog', pp. 18–19 (transl. p. 24); *VSBG* 318–19.

³ *Oxford Jesus College 20: Electronic Edition*, ed. P. W. Thomas, D. M. Smith and D. Luft <<http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/ms-home.php?ms=Jesus20>> [accessed 12 August 2019].

⁴ Anscombe, 'Indexes', pt 1, 519 and pt 3, 57–103; *EWGT* 41–2 and 138–42; Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, p. 474.

⁵ See especially below, pp. 147–50.

The Manuscript

History of the Manuscript

Jesus 20 has appeared in various guises in modern scholarship. For many years the manuscript was known as 'Llyfr Llywelyn Offeiriad' on account of its text of *Seith Doethon Rufein*.⁶ In Jesus 20 that text is attributed to Llywelyn Offeiriad, a descendant of Owain Brogyntyn (lord of Edeirion and Dinmael, d. c. 1218) living in the fourteenth century.⁷ A later hand, however, understood the attribution as referring to the scribe of the manuscript, and wrote on the inside of the front board 'Liber a quodam Llewelin scriptu' ('a book written by a certain Llywelyn').⁸ Evan Evans (1731–88) similarly attributed Jesus 20 to Llywelyn Offeiriad in NLW 1984B (Panton 15), folio 132. This idea has now quite rightly been rejected.⁹ Another common designation for the manuscript is 'Jesus 3'.¹⁰ This label arose from J. Gwenogvryn Evans's *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*.¹¹ The designation most commonly used today is 'Jesus 20', which derives from the catalogue of Oxford college manuscripts prepared by Henry Coxe in 1852.¹²

Various estimations have been given as to the date of Jesus 20, ranging from c. 1200 to the first half of the fifteenth century.¹³ Following re-evaluation by Daniel Huws, it is now generally accepted to belong to s. xiv/xv.¹⁴ As we shall see, this dating agrees well with the contents and associations of the manuscript.

G. J. Williams suggested that Jesus 20 was written somewhere in Glamorgan.¹⁵ He pointed in particular to a reference in the genealogies (JC 3.4) to a 'Llys Ronvŷ yGwlat Vorgan' ('Llys Ronwy in Glamorgan'), explaining that *Llys Ronwy* was a bardic name for Llyswyrny (Llysworney) in Glamorgan.¹⁶ The reference to *Llys Ronwy* appears in an item concerning a daughter of Brychan who is not found in any other version of the lists of Brychan's children. Another addition to the list of Brychan's children which seems to reflect

⁶ E.g. *MA*² 417; Meyrick, *Heraldic Visitations* I, xi; Phillimore, 'Fragment', p. 105; Powel, 'Ebostol', pp. 162–3; Wade-Evans, 'Brychan Documents', p. 38; Anscombe, 'Indexes', pt 3, 57; A. Jones, *History*, p. 36; Anscombe, 'Some Old Welsh Pedigrees', p. 78; *CLIH* xxviii, n. 2; Hutson, 'Geoffrey', p. 363, n. 8; F. Jones, 'Approach', p. 329; G. J. Williams, *Traddodiad*, pp. 164, 176 (n. 99), 190 and 209 (n. 183); James, *Rice Merrick*, p. xxv, n. 24.

⁷ *WG* I I, s. 'Bleddyn ap Cynfyn 20'.

⁸ Lewis, *Chwedleu*, p. 21.

⁹ Phillimore *apud* Vaughan, 'Welsh Pedigrees', p. 83, n. 8; Lewis, *Chwedleu*, p. 21; G. J. Williams, *Traddodiad*, p. 148; *EWGT* 41.

¹⁰ E.g. Anscombe, 'Indexes', pt 3, 57; Anscombe, 'Some Old Welsh Pedigrees', p. 78; Wade-Evans, 'Brychan Brycheiniog', p. 7; I. Williams, 'Ymddiddan', p. 270; Lewis, *Chwedleu*, p. 21; Bartrum, 'Noë', p. 53; *CLIH* xxviii, n. 2; *EWGP* 4; *VSBG* xxii; Bartrum, 'Some Studies', p. 280; G. J. Williams, *Traddodiad*, p. 148; Jarman, *Ymddiddan*, p. 22, n. 1; R. M. Jones, 'Rhamantau', p. 110; *TYP*¹ 186 (changed to '20' in *TYP*² 186); Haycock, *Blodeugerdd*, p. 297; Daniel, *Ymborth*, p. lxxii.

¹¹ *RMWL* II.i, 31.

¹² Coxe, *Catalogus* II, 'Catalogus codicum MSS. Collegii Jesu', p. 7. E.g. *MWM* 60.

¹³ Coxe, *Catalogus* II, 'Catalogus codicum MSS. Collegii Jesu', p. 7 (s. xv^m); Vaughan, 'Welsh Pedigrees', pp. 83–4 (1200); Phillimore *apud ibid.*, p. 83, n. 8 (s. xiv¹; cf. Phillimore, 'Notes', p. 484; Phillimore, 'Welsh Pedigrees', p. 475); Gwenogvryn Evans *apud* Anscombe, 'Indexes', pt 3, 100, n. 1 (learnt to write c. 1340); *RMWL* II.i, 31 (s. xv¹, apparently a mistake for s. xiv¹; cf. Anscombe, 'Indexes', pt 3, 57; R. M. Jones, 'Astudiaeth Destunol', p. 6; R. M. Jones, 'Rhamantau', p. 110, n. 2; Thomson, *Owein*, p. ix.); Evans, *Grammar*, p. xxv (c. 1350).

¹⁴ *MWM* 60.

¹⁵ Williams, *Traddodiad*, pp. 148–9.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 149, n. 19; cf. Richards, 'Gwrynydd', p. 385.

either the Glamorgan provenance of the manuscript or at least a Glamorgan aspect of the transmission of this section of the genealogies is the daughter called ‘Llud verch Vrachan yn Ruthun yGvlat Vorgant’ (‘*Llud* daughter of Brychan in Ruthin in Glamorgan’). This is Ilid of Llanilid in Glamorgan, who appears in *De situ Brecheniauc* in Cotton Vespasian A. xiv simply as ‘Ilud filia Brachan’, lacking the explicit Glamorgan attribution.¹⁷

That the manuscript was in the hands of someone with an interest in Glamorgan in the fifteenth century is shown by a marginal addition on folio 35v. The marginal addition is glossing the main text of the genealogies. This part of the genealogies offers an explanation for the name ‘Morgannwg’ (JC 9): ‘O enw Morgant vhot [i.e. Morgan ab Owain]¹⁸ y gelwir Morgannvc. Ereill a dyweit mae o env mochteyrn¹⁹ Predein m. Glivs, mal y mae vhot’ (‘Morgannwg is named from Morgan’s name above. Others say that it is from the name of a king of Britain, the son of Glywys, as it is above’). The first of these two explanations is the one favoured by modern historians: that Morgannwg takes its name from the tenth-century king Morgan ab Owain (d. 974).²⁰ The second explanation seems to be a misunderstanding of an earlier section of the genealogies (JC 5), in which *Mur* of *Margam* appears amongst the sons of Glywys. A son of Glywys named *Mar* also appears in the list of Glywys’s children in the preface to the Life of St Cadog, where it is explicitly stated that the region of *Margam* took its name from him.²¹ In both instances, *Mur*/*Mar* son of Glywys is an eponym for the cantref of Margam rather than Morgannwg, despite what the main text of JC 9 claims. The marginal annotation of the passage in JC 9, written by a fifteenth-century hand, adds a further explanation: ‘o enw Morgan mab Maglawn y kavas Morgannwg y henw, canys Morgan Wg y gelwid’ (‘Morgannwg took its name from the name of Morgan son of Maglawn, since he was called Morgan Wg’).²² This explanation derives from Geoffrey of Monmouth, probably via *Brut y Brenhinedd* (which similarly has *Maglawn* for Geoffrey’s *Maglaurus*). *Brut y Brenhinedd* explains the following about the two kings, Morgan ap Maglawn and Cunedda ap Henwyn: ‘ar vaes ma’r yd ymgyfarfuant, ac yna y llas Morgan. Ac o’e env ef y gelvir y lle h’vnnv Maes Morgan, yn y lle y mae manachlavc Vorgant’ (‘they met each other on a large field, and there Morgan was killed. And from his name that place was called Maes Morgan, where the monastery of Margam is’).²³ As with the second explanation offered by the main text, the annotator of folio 35v has mistaken an explanation of the name Margam for an explanation of the name Morgannwg.

Nothing can be said for certain about the location of the manuscript between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. Bartrum noted that the manuscript was largely unknown to the genealogists of this period.²⁴ The only manuscript that appears to give a word for word quotation of any part of the Jesus 20 genealogies is NLW 3042B (Mostyn 134, s. xvii¹),

¹⁷ DSB 12.25; cf. Phillimore *apud* Owen, *Description* III, 233.

¹⁸ Bartrum thought that this reference is ambiguous, since it could also refer to Morgan ab Owain’s ancestor Morgan ab Athrwys: *EWGT* 139, n. 9. It seems clear to me that the reference is to Morgan ab Owain, since it is he who forms the subject of the pedigree immediately preceding the statement.

¹⁹ See the note on this word in the edition in Appendix B.2.

²⁰ Charles-Edwards, ‘Dynastic Succession’, p. 76; W. Davies, *Wales*, pp. 102–3; W. Davies, *Early Welsh Microcosm*, p. 92; Phillimore *apud* Owen, *Description* I, 208, n. 1. Lloyd thought that the name derived from Morgan ab Owain’s ancestor, Morgan ab Athrwys: *HW* I, 274 and 281. See above, n. 18.

²¹ *VS Cadoci*, pref..

²² G. J. Williams, *Traddodiad*, p. 149, n. 19; *EWGT* 139, n. 9; Phillimore, ‘Pedigrees’, p. 85, n. 1. It is evident that *Wg* was understood by the annotator to be Morgan’s epithet. Presumably *gwg*, ‘frown’ was intended. Nouns are often used for epithets in the genealogies: cf. *EWGT* 225–8; G. P. Jones, ‘List’.

²³ *Brut y Brenhinedd* (Red Book of Hergest) (ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 69); *DGB* II.32.277–82. I quote the Red Book version of *Brut y Brenhinedd* because this was the version circulating in Glamorgan and Gower when Jesus 20 was written. See below, p. 282. For the Red Book version of *Brut y Brenhinedd*, see Roberts, ‘Red Book’. In this case, the text in *Brut Dingestow* is almost identical: *BD* II.15.

²⁴ Bartrum, ‘Notes’, pt 1, 64.

which contains on folio 17 a passage about the building of Abergwili that is seemingly identical to JC 33–34.²⁵ However, it is possible that NLW 3042B is here quoting a relative of Jesus 20, rather than Jesus 20 itself, because one of its readings seems superior to its equivalent in Jesus 20.²⁶ There is evidence that at least one text in NLW 3042B was copied from the work of Ieuan Brechfa, an association that is also supported by annotation in the manuscript that shows a particular interest in Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion, where Ieuan Brechfa was active.²⁷ It is suggested below that JC 33–34 might have originally entered the Jesus 20 genealogies from a Carmarthenshire source. Perhaps this source was available to Ieuan Brechfa, a prominent poet and genealogist, around 1500.²⁸

When Jesus 20 finally emerges into the light of the late-seventeenth century, it is found in the hands of the Glamorgan manuscript collector, Thomas Wilkins (1625/6–99), rector of St Mary's church (Llan-fair), Glamorgan.²⁹ Some of the most famous books in Wilkins's collection were donated to Jesus College, Oxford. Wilkins donated three manuscripts (Jesus 119 (*Llyfr yr Ancr*), Jesus 29 and Jesus 27) on 9 January 1693.³⁰ In 1701 Thomas Wilkins's son, another Thomas Wilkins, donated Jesus 111 (the Red Book of Hergest) to Jesus College.³¹ G. J. Williams suggested that both Jesus 20 and *Llyfr yr Ancr* were donated at the same time as the Red Book; this certainly cannot be the case for *Llyfr yr Ancr*, since it had already been deposited in 1693, but it is more difficult to be certain about Jesus 20.³² The history of Jesus 20 in these years is largely dependent on one's interpretation of Peniarth 120. This volume, dated by Daniel Huws to c. 1696–7, contains transcripts made by amanuenses of Edward Lhwyd.³³ These include extracts from the Book of Llandaf, Jesus 20 (including the genealogies, from folio 71)³⁴ and *Llyfr yr Ancr*. The remaining transcripts are not of present concern. We have already seen that *Llyfr yr Ancr* was resident in Jesus College from 1693. If the transcripts of Jesus 20 and *Llyfr yr Ancr* were made at roughly the same time and place, then perhaps Jesus 20 was likewise in Jesus College in c. 1696–7, and so cannot have been donated at the same time as the Red Book. However, in 1696 the Book of Llandaf was in the possession of Robert Davies of Llannerch (Denbighshire), who had the manuscript rebound in that year.³⁵ Lhwyd saw the Book of Llandaf while it was in Llannerch, and it was there that he had it copied by his amanuensis into the first booklet of Peniarth 120.³⁶ This shows that there was some lapse in time before this transcript was bound together with the transcripts made at Jesus College. It may be significant that the transcript of Jesus 20 appears in the manuscript adjacent to that of the Book of Llandaf, perhaps suggesting that the transcript of Jesus 20 was made while Lhwyd and his followers were travelling around Wales (between May 1697 and March 1701), rather than resident in Jesus College.³⁷ The occasion may well have been Lhwyd's visit to Thomas Wilkins's home in 1697, when Lhwyd transcribed the Red Book of Hergest.³⁸ Lhwyd himself made a contents list and a few marginal annotations

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pt 1, 64–5.

²⁶ For this reason, variants from NLW 3042B are quoted in the edition of the Jesus 20 genealogies in Appendix B.2. See below, p. 126, n. 141.

²⁷ Guy, 'Brut Ieuan Brechfa'; Huws, *Repertory*, s. NLW 3042B (Mostyn 134); cf. below, p. 187.

²⁸ See below, p. 128. For Ieuan Brechfa as a genealogist, see below, pp. 181–5.

²⁹ Huws, *Repertory*, s. Wilkins, Thomas; James, *Rice Merrick*, p. xxv, n. 24; Thomas, 'Wilkins'.

³⁰ Hill, 'Oxford, Jesus College MS. 29', p. 99; Hill, 'History', p. 205; Foster, 'Book', p. 198, n. 1.

³¹ Huws, 'Llyfr Coch', pp. 26–7; Hill, 'History', p. 206, n. 16.

³² Williams, *Traddodiad*, pp. 163–4; Foster, 'Book', p. 198, n. 1.

³³ Huws, *Repertory*, s. Peniarth 120; *RMWL* I, 730.

³⁴ *RMWL* II.i, 32.

³⁵ *MWM* 154.

³⁶ *Ibid.*; Lhuyd, *Archæologia Britannica*, p. 259.

³⁷ Evans and Roberts, *Edward Lhwyd*, p. 6; T. Jones, 'Lhuyd'.

³⁸ Huws, 'Llyfr Coch', p. 26; James, *Rice Merrick*, p. xv; G. J. Williams, *Traddodiad*, p. 163; Gunther, *Life*, pp. 37–8.

in Jesus 20, just as he did in other manuscripts copied by his amanuenses.³⁹ All of this may indicate that Williams was correct to speculate that Jesus 20 was donated to Jesus College at the same time as the Red Book of Hergest, in 1701.

Aside from Peniarth 120, the only other copies of Jesus 20 were made while the manuscript resided in Jesus College. The earliest such copy is that of Hugh Thomas (1673–1720), deputy-herald for Wales, who in 1710 copied JC 1–5 and 8 into Harley 4181, folios 27r–29v.⁴⁰ This copy confirms that Jesus 20 had arrived in Jesus College by 1710. In 1757, a copy of some of the poetry and genealogies was made by Evan Evans in NLW 1984B (Panton 15).⁴¹ In 1760, the genealogies in Jesus 20 were used by Lewis Morris to supplement his Alphabetical *Bonedd y Saint* in BL Add. 14928, as he remarks on folio 3r of the latter.⁴² The Alphabetical *Bonedd y Saint* in Morris's manuscript was later printed in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, which, following Morris, lists *Llyvyr Llywelyn Offeiriad* among its manuscript sources.⁴³

Contents

The best way to understand the milieu and context of the creation of Jesus 20 is to consider the textual affinities of the texts copied into the manuscript. Table A.3.1.1 in Appendix A.3.1 provides a summary of the manuscript's contents and attempts to identify the manuscripts that contain the most similar versions of the same texts. The most striking feature of Table A.3.1.1 is the close correspondence between the texts copied into Jesus 20 and the texts found in the manuscripts of Hywel Fychan and his associates. Hywel Fychan was a prolific scribe active in Cwm Tawe, near Swansea, in the decades either side of c. 1400, who is most famous for his part in the production of the Red Book of Hergest.⁴⁴ Hywel Fychan identifies himself in a colophon at the end of Philadelphia 8680.O, where he also names his patron, Hopcyn ap Tomas, a resident of Ynysforgan in the Tawe valley.⁴⁵ The Red Book of Hergest was almost certainly written for the same patron.⁴⁶ Among the various scribes identified by Huws in the Red Book of Hergest, two are visible elsewhere: Hywel Fychan and a scribe often known as the *Llyfr Teg* scribe, on account of his appearance in Peniarth 32, *Y Llyfr Teg*.⁴⁷ The latter is the scribe labelled 'X91' in Daniel Huws's *Repertory*, and, in addition to Peniarth 32 and parts of the Red Book of Hergest, he was also responsible for Peniarth 190, which contains the text of *Ymborth yr Enaid* most closely related to that found in Jesus 20.⁴⁸ A third scribe active in the same milieu was Siancyn ap Dafydd ap Gruffudd, the scribe of Llanstephan 2, which contains a text of *Seith Doethon Rufein* related to the texts in the Red Book of Hergest and Jesus 20.⁴⁹ In a colophon on folio 37 of Llanstephan 2, Siancyn ap

³⁹ Huws, *Repertory*, s. Jesus 20; cf. Huws, 'Llyfr Coch', p. 26.

⁴⁰ Phillimore, 'Fragment', p. 105; Phillimore *apud* Vaughan, 'Welsh Pedigrees', p. 83, n. 8; *EWGT* 41. For Hugh Thomas, see F. Jones, 'Approach', pp. 421–7; F. Jones, 'Hugh Thomas'; *DWH* 1, 320–1. For other genealogical texts copied by Hugh Thomas into Harley 4181, see below, pp. 164, 345, 421 and 436.

⁴¹ The genealogies are on ff. 121r–132r: cf. *EWGT* 41 and *RMWL* II.i, 32 (called 'Plâs Hen MS. 15') and II.iii, 823–4.

⁴² On the alphabetical *Bonedd y Saint*, see below, p. 195, and Bartrum, 'Late Additions', pp. 81–4.

⁴³ *MA*² 417.

⁴⁴ *MWM* 16, 51–5, 60 and 80–3; Huws, 'Llyfr Coch', pp. 1–2. The manuscripts of Hywel Fychan were first identified by Gifford Charles-Edwards: 'Scribes', p. 250; 'Hywel Fychan'. For references to Hywel Fychan and his work, see Guy, 'Welsh Manuscript', pp. 98–9 and 106–7.

⁴⁵ On Philadelphia 8680.O, see Guy, 'Welsh Manuscript'. For Ynysforgan, see Morgan, 'Glamorgan'.

⁴⁶ *MWM* 16 and 80; Huws, 'Llyfr Coch', pp. 1–2.

⁴⁷ Huws, 'Llyfr Coch', p. 4; *MWM* 51; Charles-Edwards, 'Scribes', p. 250.

⁴⁸ Huws, *Repertory*, s. X91; *MWM* 60; Daniel, *Ymborth*, pp. lxxxv–lxxxvii.

⁴⁹ Lewis, *Chwedleu*, pp. 21–2.

Dafydd reveals that his patron was Rhys ap Tomas ab Einion (brother of Hopcyn ap Tomas), the man for whom Hywel Fychan himself probably wrote the Red Book of Talgarth.⁵⁰

The Red Book of Talgarth is perhaps the manuscript with the closest affinities to Jesus 20. Much of the Red Book of Talgarth is dedicated to religious texts, and it has been suggested that it was created as a counterpart to the Red Book of Hergest's vast collection of primarily secular texts.⁵¹ Indeed, one text, *Englynion y Clyweit*, survives only in Jesus 20 and the Red Book of Talgarth.⁵² Overall, these connections serve to underscore the nature of the literary environment in which the scribe of Jesus 20 was working.

The Extant Form of the Jesus 20 Genealogies

Structure

The structure of the Jesus 20 genealogies may be most conveniently set out in tabular form, as is done in Table 3.1. The left-hand column gives the section numbers of the edition in Appendix B.2. The 'Name' and 'Final Ancestor' columns quote forms from the text. The 'Territorial Association' column provides modern forms. All dates are those deducible from the Welsh Latin annals and *Brut y Tywysogyon*, unless otherwise stated in the footnotes.

Table 3.1: *The structure of the Jesus 20 genealogies*

JC §§	Name	Date	Final Ancestor	Territorial Association
1	Kynaŵc Sant mab Brachan		Eurbre Gŷydel o Iwe[r]don	Brycheiniog; Merthyr Cynog
2	Meibyon Brachan			Brycheiniog
3	Merchet Brachan			Brycheiniog
4	Cattŵc Sant m. Gwynlliŵ m. Gliŵs		Anna verch y amheraŵdyr Rufein	Morgannwg; Llancarfan
5	Meibon Gliŵs			Morgannwg
6	Cunedu m. Ederu		Beli m. Anna	Gwynedd
7	Meibyon a merchet Cunedu		Eudaf Hen	Gwynedd
8	Teŵdŵr m. Griffri ⁵³	fl. s. x ^{med}	Brachan	Brycheiniog
9	Morgant m. Eweint ⁵⁴	fl. c. 930–d. 974	Caradaŵc Vreichvras	Morgannwg
10	Morgant m. Eweint	fl. c. 930–d. 974	Gereint m. Erbin	Morgannwg; Ergyng
11	Gereint m. Erbin		Eudaf Hen	Cornwall ⁵⁵
12	Morgant m. Eweint	fl. c. 930–d. 974	Aircol Laŵhir	Morgannwg; Dyfed
13	Ayrcol Laŵhir m. Tryphun		Constantinus Maŵr m. Custenint o Elen	Dyfed
14	Morgant mab Eweint	fl. c. 930–d. 974	Gŵrtheyrn Gŵrthenev	Morgannwg; Buellt

⁵⁰ Huws, *Repertory*, s. Siancyn ap Dafydd ap Gruffudd; Roberts, 'Hopcyn'; Roberts, 'Un o Lawysgrifau Hopcyn ap Tomas', p. 224. Siancyn ap Dafydd ap Gruffudd also wrote Peniarth 47iv and NLW 5267B.

⁵¹ Evans, *Buched Dewi*, pp. xxxv–xxxvi.

⁵² I. Williams *apud* Williams and Parry-Williams, 'Englynion', pp. 5 and 9.

⁵³ See below, pp. 146 and 153.

⁵⁴ See *HW I*, 338, n. 66.

⁵⁵ Cf. *TYP*⁴ 356–60; *WCD* 274–6.

A Southern Genealogical Anthology

JC §§	Name	Subject(s)	Date	Final Ancestor	Territorial Association
15	Gŵrtheyrn Gŵrtheneu			Gloyŵ Gŵalltir	Caerloyw (Gloucester)
16	Morgant vab Eweint		fl. c. 930–d. 974	Gŵrtheyrn Gŵrtheneu	Morgannwg
17	Rodri Maŵr		fl. 844–d. 878	Coil Hen	Gwynedd
18	Rodri Maŵr		fl. 844–d. 878	Gŵrtheyrn Gŵrth[en]eu	Gwynedd; Powys
19	Rodri Maŵr		fl. 844–d. 878	Maxen Wledic	Gwynedd; Man
20	Meibon Rodri Maŵr		fl. 878–916	Rodri Maŵr	Gwynedd; Deheubarth
21	Angharat verch Veuric ⁵⁶		fl. s. ix ²	Kuneda Wledic	Ceredigion
22	Rodri m. Meruyn		fl. 844–d. 878	Kuneda Wledic	Gwynedd
23	Einyaŵ[n] a Katwallaŵn Llaŵhir				Gwynedd
24	Rees Gryc		fl. 1195–d. 1233	Rodri Maŵr	Deheubarth
25	Rees Gryc		fl. 1195–d. 1233	Gruffud m. Kynan	Deheubarth; Gwynedd
26	Gruffud m. Kynan		fl. 1075–d. 1137	Rodri Maŵr	Gwynedd
27	Rees Gryc		fl. 1195–d. 1233	Howel Da	Deheubarth; Powys
28	Llywelyn m. Iorwoerth		fl. 1194–d. 1240	Gruffud m. Cynan	Gwynedd
29	Llewelyn m. Marereda		fl. 1194–d. 1240	Madaŵc m. Maredudd	Gwynedd; Powys
30	Howel m. Gronŵy		fl. 1096–d. 1106	Iorwoerth Hirulaŵd	Rhwng Gwy a Hafren ⁵⁷
31	Howel m. Gronŵy		fl. 1096–d. 1106	Howel Da	Rhwng Gwy a Hafren; Deheubarth
32	Meibyon Seissyll m. Llewelyn ⁵⁸		fl. s. xii ¹	Kadŵgaŵn m. Elstan	Buellt
33	Ellelŵ mam Seissyll ⁵⁹		s. xi ²	Keneu Menrud	Abergwili
34	Keneu Menrud			Koel Hen	Old North
35	Rvn m. Einyaŵn			Coyl Hen	Old North
36	Gwallaŵc m. Llyennaŵc			Coyl Hen	Old North
37	Morgant m. Cledaŵc			Coel Hen	Old North
38	Dunawt m. Pabo Post Prydein			Coel Hen	Old North
39	Howel m. Cradaŵc		fl. 798–d. 825	Cunedu Wledic	Rhos

⁵⁶ Angharad's brother Gwgon drowned in 872: *AC* (ABC) [872]; *BT* (PS) 871 [872]; (R) [872].

⁵⁷ Although Hywel ap Goronwy's family seems to have been based in and around the lands between the Wye and Severn, Hywel was granted lordship over Ystrad Tywi, Cydweli and Gŵyr by Henry I in 1102: see below, p. 126. Stephenson argues that Hywel ap Goronwy became king of Brycheiniog upon the death of his father in 1101, but the evidence for this seems insubstantial: Stephenson, 'Mawl Hywel ap Goronwy'; criticism in Guy, 'Rheinwg'.

⁵⁸ None of the sons of Seissyll ap Llywelyn is mentioned in contemporary records, but their floruits can be determined as approximately the first half of the twelfth century. Their grandfather, Llywelyn ap Cadwgon, fought two battles against Rhys ab Owain of Deheubarth in 1075 and 1077: *BT* (PS) 1073 [1075] and 1075 [1077]; (R) [1075] and [1077]; Brev. b1099.1; Cott. c397.1 and c399.1; cf. Remfry, *Native Welsh Dynasties*, pp. 16–17. As shown above, Seissyll's cousin, Hywel ap Goronwy, was active in the decades either side of c. 1100. One of Seissyll's grandsons, Meurig ab Adda, was killed by his cousin in 1170; cf. especially Brev. b1192.2 [1170]: 'Meuruc filius Adam filius [sic] Seisil de Buellt a sanguineo suo occisus est' ('Meurig son of Adda son of Seissyll of Buellt was killed by his relative'). For other descendants of Seissyll, see *LID* T22.

⁵⁹ See previous note.

Medieval Welsh Genealogy

Subject(s)		Date	Final Ancestor	Territorial Association
JC §§	Name			
40	Bleidut m. Cradaŵc	fl. 909–d. 950 ⁶⁰	Cunada Wledic	Dunoding
41	Kynan m. Brochuael		Kuneda Wledic	Meirionydd
42	Howel Da		Kuneda Wledic	Ceredigion
43	Dewi m. Sant		Ceredic m. Cunada Wledic	Henfynyw / Llanddewibrefi, Ceredigion
44	Kynan Buellt		Ceredic m. Kuneda Wledic	Llanafan, Ceredigion ⁶¹
45	Cenuur m. Einyon		Keredic m. Kuneda Wledic	[?]Glasbury / Llangynidr, Brycheiniog ⁶²
46	Amor m. Morith		Brochuael m. Kuneda Wledic	Rhufoniog ⁶³
47a ⁶⁴	Gwynlliv m. Gŵaŵr		Keredic	Nantcwnlle, Ceredigion
47b	Kynuelyn m. Meiryafn		Ceredic m. Kuneda Wledic	Llangynfelyn, Ceredigion
48	Gwŵgaŵn m. Llaŵr		Keredic m. Kuneda Wledic	Ceredigion ⁶⁵
49a ⁶⁶	Bangar m. Gardan		Karedic	Anhuniog, Ceredigion
49b	Dunun m. Annŵn		Ceredic	
49c	Ceneu m. Corun		Corun m. Cunada Wledic	Llangeneu, Dyfed
50	[?]euruc ⁶⁷ m. Elaed		Docuael m. Cunada Wledic	Dogfeiling

An inspection of Table 3.1 reveals that most sections appear within a group of sections sharing one or more common characteristics. The groups may be defined as shown in Table 3.2.⁶⁸ Most of these groups are self-evident and are supported by the spaces that were left between certain groups of genealogies by the scribe of Jesus 20.⁶⁹ Only the Rhys Gryg and Hywel ap Goronwy groups require justification. The Hywel ap Goronwy group (JC 30–33) divides into two halves, the first dealing with Hywel himself and the second dealing with Hywel's cousin, Seisyll ap Llywelyn. However, as is discussed below, the presentation of Seisyll's maternal ancestry makes best sense in the context of his cousin Hywel's rulership of Ystrad Tywi between 1102 and 1105, meaning that the two 'halves' of the Hywel ap Goronwy group should be considered together. The Rhys Gryg group (JC 24–29) can similarly be divided into two halves, focussed on Rhys Gryg (d. 1233) and Llywelyn ab Iorwerth (d. 1240) respectively. JC 24–27 present three pedigrees for Rhys Gryg: two traced back to Rhodri Mawr and a third traced back to Rhodri's grandson, Hywel Dda. These three

⁶⁰ See Thornton, 'Death'.

⁶¹ As discussed below, *Kynan Buellt* is an error for Afan Buellt.

⁶² As discussed below, *Cenuur m. Einyon* is probably an error for Cynidr ap Cynon.

⁶³ Cf. LIIG 45.

⁶⁴ JC 47 has run two items together.

⁶⁵ *TYP*⁴ 384; *WCD* 325. There is no evidence that this Gwgon should be identified with the Gwgon ap Meurig of Ceredigion who drowned in 872, as Bromwich suggested.

⁶⁶ JC 49 has run three items together.

⁶⁷ For the initial letter, see the note to this name in the edition in Appendix B.2.

⁶⁸ Similar groupings were adduced by Anscombe, 'Indexes', pt 3, 58–61 and Thornton, 'Power', p. 201.

⁶⁹ The scribe's spacing is emulated in the edition in Appendix B.2.

pedigrees follow naturally from the preceding group, which details the various ancestries of Rhodri Mawr, and consequently the ancestries of Rhys Gryg. The three pedigrees traced back from Rhys Gryg are designed to show his connections to the dynasties ruling the three major native kingdoms of early thirteenth-century Wales. The first (JC 24) traces Rhys's paternal line through the kings of Deheubarth. The second (JC 25–26) traces Rhys's descent through his grandmother Gwenllian, the daughter of Gruffudd ap Cynan of Gwynedd, and thence through the kings of Gwynedd to Rhodri Mawr. The third (JC 27) traces Rhys's descent through his mother, an unnamed daughter of Madog ap Maredudd of Powys, and thence back through the kings of Powys and on to Hywel Dda.⁷⁰

The inclusion of JC 24–27 in a 'Rhys Gryg' group is thus self-explanatory. Slightly less obvious, however, is the inclusion, in the same group, of the two pedigrees of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, JC 28–29. The first (JC 28) traces Llywelyn's paternal line back to Gruffudd ap Cynan, but no further. This pedigree would appear to be dependent implicitly on the pedigree of Gruffudd ap Cynan (JC 26) that follows the section on Rhys Gryg's paternal grandmother Gwenllian, daughter of Gruffudd ap Cynan (JC 25), an arrangement designed to focus attention on Rhys's close familial relationship with Llywelyn ab Iorwerth. The second (JC 29), a pedigree of Llywelyn's mother, Marared ferch Madog, is more explicitly connected to Rhys Gryg. The text, clearly erroneously, says the following of Marared's grandfather, Maredudd (i.e. Maredudd ap Bleddyn, d. 1132): 'bra/vt oed Varedud y Rees Gryc' ('Maredudd was the brother of Rhys Gryg'). Maredudd ap Bleddyn was really the great-grandfather of Rhys Gryg, as correctly shown in JC 27. The error in JC 29 can be explained in any number of ways. Perhaps the composer of the text was briefly confused, since Rhys Gryg himself did have a brother called Maredudd; perhaps a sentence about Rhys's real brother Maredudd was accidentally omitted by eye-skip; or perhaps the *Varedud* of the text was accidentally written because Maredudd was the last name of the preceding pedigree. If, rather than *Varedud*, 'Llywelyn' was originally intended as the alleged brother of Rhys Gryg, then another curious feature of the text might be explained. In JC 27, the name of Rhys Gryg's mother, Gwenllian, is omitted. In the absence of that information, the text might easily be read to mean that Rhys Gryg and Llywelyn ab Iorwerth (whose mother was Gwenllian's sister, Marared) shared the same mother, and were therefore half-brothers. In any case, the important point is that there was clearly an attempt to link the short section on Llywelyn ab Iorwerth back to Rhys Gryg, who had received much fuller treatment. This indicates that the two Llywelyn pedigrees were composed in conjunction with the Rhys Gryg pedigrees, and should be included as part of the Rhys Gryg group. The context for such a composition is discussed further below.

Table 3.2: The groupings of the Jesus 20 genealogies

JC §§	Group	JC §§	Group
1–3	Plant Brychan	24–29	Rhys Gryg
4–5	Cadog Sant	30–33	Hywel ap Goronwy
6–7	Cunedda Wledig	34–38	Old North
8	Brycheiniog	39–42	Gwynedd
9–16	Morgan ab Owain	43–50	Plant Ceredig
17–23	Rhodri Mawr		

⁷⁰ Other sources show that Rhys's mother was named Gwenllian: *EWGT* 141, n. 27.

The Final Redactor

Tables 3.1 and 3.2 serve to illustrate the diversity of the material brought together to form the Jesus 20 genealogies. The material was clearly not all recorded in the same time or place, and probably represents the result of multiple stages of compilation. The voice of at least one of these compilers is discernible; I call this compiler the ‘final redactor’, since, as should become clear, the actions of this individual lent the text the shape in which it survives in the manuscript.

At the ends of several pedigrees, a comment occurs explaining that the figure to whom the pedigree has been traced has already appeared earlier in the text. Comments of this type appear across most of the groups delineated above, and must belong to a fairly late stage in the evolution of the text. The first such comment appears at the end of JC 5, the pedigree of Coel Hen, which reads: ‘m. Beli Maŵr vab Anna, val y mae vchot’ (‘son of Beli Mawr son of Anna, as it is above’). The reference is to the immediately preceding section, where it is said that ‘yr Anna honn oed verch y amheraŵdyr Rufein. Yr Anna honno a dywedei wyr yr Eifft y bot yn gyfynnithderŵ y Veir Vorwyn’ (‘this Anna was the daughter of the emperor of Rome. The men of Egypt used to say that the same Anna was a first-cousin of the Virgin Mary’). All comments of the *val y mae vchot* type are tabulated in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Cross-references in the Jesus 20 genealogies

JC §§	Comment	Referring to (JC §§)
5	Anna, val y mae vchot	4
6	Anna, val y dewetpŵyt vchot	4
7	Eudaf Hen, vchot	4
8	Brachan, val y mae vchot	1
9	Glŷs, mal y mae vchot	4
11	Eudaf Hen, mal y mae vchot	4
16	Gŵrtheyrn Gŵrtheneu, vchot	15
17	Coil Hen, mal y mae vchot	5
19	Maxen Wledic, val y mae vchot	4

The table shows that seven ancestral figures receive a comment of this type. Notably, four of the seven are discussed in JC 4, the first section following the Plant Brychan group. This passage is worth discussing in detail, since its internal contradictions would appear to reveal something of the method of the redactor responsible for the comments:

Llyma weithon ach Cattŵc Sant:

Cattŵc m. Gwynlliŵ m. **Glŷs** m. Filur m. Nor m. ab. Owein mab **Maxen Wledic** brenhin y Brytanyeit, a gwedy hynny yn amheraŵdyr yn Rufein, a Chynan yn vrenhin yn y le. Kynan m. **Eudaf** m. Custenin m. Maxen m. Maximianus m. Constantinus m. Custeint. Mam Constantinus oed Elen Luedyaŵc, yr hon a enillaŵd y groes yg Karusalem, ac a duc rann genthi y Gŵnstantinobyl, a ran arall a anuones y’r Brytanyeit. Ac y gyt a hi yd oed Ewein y mab. Ewein oed vab y Vaxen o Keindrech verch Reiden. Reiden m. Eledi m. Mordu m. Meirchaŵn m. Kasswallaŵn. Yn amser y Kasswallaŵn hŵnnŵ y kymellaŵd y Rufeinwyr treth o Ynys Prydein. Kaswallaŵn m. Beli Maŵr m. **Anna**. Yr Anna honn oed verch y amheraŵdyr Rufein. Yr Anna honno a dywedei wyr yr Eifft y bot yn gyfynnithderŵ y Veir Vorwyn.

Here now is the genealogy of St Cadog:

Cadog son of Gwynllyw son of **Glywys** son of *Filur* son of *Nor* son of Owain son of **Maxen Wledig**, king of the Britons, and after that emperor in Rome, with Cynan as king [of the Britons] in his place. Cynan son of **Eudaf** son of Custennin son of Maxen son of Maximianus son of Constantinus son of Custaint. The mother of Constantinus was Elen Luyddog, who obtained the cross in Jerusalem and brought a part with her to Constantinople, and another part she sent to the Britons. And together with her was Owain her son. Owain was son of Maxen by Ceinddrech daughter of *Reiden*. *Reiden* son of *Eledi* son of Morddu son of Meirchion son of Caswallon. In the time of that Caswallon, the Romans exacted tribute from the island of Britain. Caswallon son of Beli Mawr son of **Anna**. This Anna was the daughter of the emperor of Rome. The men of Egypt used to say that the same Anna was a first-cousin of the Virgin Mary.

The four names in bold indicate the ‘ancestral figures’ whose later appearances are accompanied by a cross-reference referring back to this passage. It may be observed that two of these figures, Maxen and Anna, are furnished with additional, non-genealogical details. Eudaf’s ancestor Elen is accorded similar treatment, while Glywys descends from Maxen himself. The statement about Maxen being king of the Britons, and subsequently emperor of Rome, is clearly linked to the kind of story told by Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Middle Welsh prose tale *Breudwyt Maxen Wledic* (‘The Dream of Maxen Wledig’), though in neither of those texts does Cynan become king of Britain after Maxen.⁷¹

JC 4’s passage about Anna invites more specific comparison. Anna appears in the Jesus 20 genealogies again at the end of Cunedda’s pedigree (JC 6), accompanied by a reference to JC 4:

[...] m. Beli m. Anna, val y dewetpvyt vchot.

[...] son of Beli son of Anna, as was said above.

This should be compared with the end of Cunedda’s pedigree in the Harleian genealogies (HG 1):

[...] qui fuit Beli magni filius et Anna, mater eius, quam dicunt esse consobrina Mariae uirginis, matris Domini nostri Iesu Christi.

[...] who was son of Beli Mawr and Anna, his mother, whom they say was cousin of the Virgin Mary, mother of our Lord Jesus Christ.

It is likely that explanatory text of this kind once appeared at the end of an earlier version of Cunedda’s pedigree in JC 6. At some stage, however, the same information was added to JC 4, and it was presumably on this occasion that the corresponding text in JC 6 was omitted and the cross-reference *val y dewetpvyt vchot* was inserted in its place. This notion is supported by the presence of comparable text at the end of another pedigree traced back to Beli Mawr in *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* (GM 1), a close relative of this section of the Jesus 20 genealogies, as is discussed further below:⁷²

[...] ap Beli Mawr ap Anna merch amherodyr Ryfain o Iddewes y mam. Honno oedd gares agos yr Arglwyddes Vair.

⁷¹ DGB V.84–8; *Breudwyt Maxen* (ed. Roberts; transl. S. Davies, *The Mabinogion*, pp. 103–10); cf. TYP⁴ 441–4; Guy, ‘Constantine’.

⁷² In *Gwehelyth Morgannwg*, the comments about Anna (GM 1) have also been removed from Cunedda’s pedigree (GM 2), but the presence of both elements adjacent to one another in the same short text remains indicative.

[...] son of Beli Mawr son of Anna, daughter of the emperor of Rome by a Jewish woman, her mother. She was a close relative of the Lady Mary.

This implies that the common source of *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* and the Jesus 20 genealogies had a statement about Anna at the end of a pedigree traced back to Beli Mawr, as in HG 1, a statement which was removed and replaced with the comment *val y dewetp/lyt vchot* at a later stage in the transmission of the Jesus 20 collection. The motivation behind the textual rearrangement in the Jesus 20 genealogies would appear to have been a desire to assemble contextual information about important ancestral figures in a single passage (JC 4), to which later genealogies could refer back.

Another product of the same desire is JC 4's story about Elen Luyddog, which may be compared with the similar passage found at the end of another pedigree in the Harleian genealogies (HG 2):

[...] map Constantii et Helen Luicdauc que de Brittannia exiuit ad crucem Christi querendam usque ad Ierusalem, et inde attulit secum usque ad Constantinopolin, et est ibi usque in hodiernum diem.

[...] son of Constantius and Helen Luyddog, who set out from Britain to Jerusalem to seek the cross of Christ, and from there she brought it with her to Constantinople, and it remains there to this day.

The end of HG 2 is clearly mirrored by JC 4, though in HG 2 there is no mention of a part of the cross being sent to the Britons. In the Harleian genealogies, this passage appears at the end of the pedigree of the kings of Dyfed. A related Dyfed pedigree occurs in the Jesus 20 genealogies (JC 12–13), but there the pedigree is not accompanied by a passage about Elen Luyddog, nor is there any kind of cross-reference to JC 4. There is similarly no passage about Elen Luyddog following the closely related Dyfed pedigree in *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* (GM 3), implying that the passage was absent from the end of the Dyfed pedigree in the common source shared by the Jesus 20 genealogies and *Gwehelyth Morgannwg*. The absence of such a passage from the Dyfed pedigree in the common source explains the lack of a cross-reference to JC 4 in JC 12–13, because the cross-references were added at a stage subsequent to that common source; the redactor responsible for the cross-references would have found nothing about Elen in his exemplar for JC 12–13 to prompt the cross-reference. Although it is likely that JC 4's passage about Elen Luyddog does derive ultimately from a passage at the end of a Dyfed pedigree like HG 2, it seems that it was not taken in the first instance from the exemplar of JC 12–13. This provides valuable evidence for the development of the Dyfed pedigree, as is explored further below.⁷³

The assemblage in JC 4 of various historical anecdotes from diverse sources created certain genealogical problems. One of these is apparent at the end of the passage about Elen Luyddog, where we are told that Elen was accompanied by her son Owain at the time that she obtained the cross. Without a break, the text goes on to explain that Owain was the son of Maxen and *Keindrech verch Reiden*. This latter statement would appear to continue the sentiment of the original pedigree of St Cadog at the beginning of JC 4, where Owain is the son of Maxen, and not the son of Maxen's 'ancestress' Elen Luyddog. Unless (reading against the flow of the text) the Owain son of Elen is taken to be an incidental character, unrelated to Owain son of Maxen, the inconsistency might stem from confusion between the Elen who is Maxen's ancestress in JC 4 (i.e. St Helena, mother of Constantine the Great) and the unnamed daughter of Eudaf Hen

⁷³ See below, pp. 150–3.

whom Maxen is said to have married in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *De gestis Britonum*, named as (H)elen in *Brut y Brenhinedd* and Elen Luyddog in *Breudwyt Maxen Wledic*.⁷⁴

The net effect of the process of compilation detectable in JC 4 is that many of the traditions concerning common dynastic ancestors are brought together in the same passage near the beginning of the text. Such a passage would have been useful for the redactor responsible for the cross-references, most of which refer back to JC 4. Since in JC 6 the passage about Anna's relationship with the Virgin Mary has, in effect, been replaced by the comment *val y dewetpwyt vhot*, it is likely that a single redactor was in fact responsible for both the compilation of JC 4 and the cross-references.

I call the redactor responsible for these changes the 'final redactor', because this redactor's actions comprise the latest discernible layer of deliberate change visible in the extant text. Unfortunately, the final redactor cannot be dated with any precision. The final redactor could have been active at any point between c. 1216, the earliest date at which the Rhys Gryg group (JC 24–29) is likely to have been composed,⁷⁵ and c. 1400, the date of the manuscript. Nevertheless, there may be one small hint that the final redactor was working in the earlier part of this period. The form *dewetpwyt* in the comment following Anna in JC 6, probably written by the final redactor, has *e* for /ə/ in the first syllable, a spelling more likely to have been used in the thirteenth century than in the fourteenth.⁷⁶ Such spellings occur fairly frequently in the text, and may be the product of the same period of redaction.⁷⁷

A comparison between the Jesus 20 genealogies and Welsh genealogical collections preserved elsewhere indicates that two bodies of material have been brought together to form the extant Jesus 20 collection. The final redactor may be seen at work on material deriving from both of these sources, implying either that the two bodies had been brought together prior to the final redactor's time, or else that the final redactor was responsible for their combination.⁷⁸ One of these sources ('Source I') seems to have come from the old *clas* church of Llancarfan, and bears comparison with the St Cadog genealogies and other genealogical texts preserved in Cotton Vespasian A. xiv, in addition to *Gwehelyth Morgannwg*.⁷⁹ The other source ('Source II') derives ultimately from the Gwynedd collection of genealogies, and thus bears comparison with the Harleian genealogies and the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, other such derivatives. Since the latter provide fuller points of comparison than the material preserved in Vespasian A. xiv, it is more convenient to turn our attention firstly to Source II.

The Jesus 20 Genealogies, Source II

The Twelfth-Century 'Pseudo-Rhodri Mawr' Recension

As is explained in Chapter 2, the Harleian genealogies are a copy of a genealogical collection redacted at St Davids in the mid-tenth century. This redaction itself probably derives from an earlier genealogical collection produced during the reign of Rhodri Mawr in Gwynedd,

⁷⁴ DGB V.81–3; BD V.11; *Brut y Brenhinedd* (Red Book of Hergest) (ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 115); *Breudwyt Maxen Wledic*, ll. 238–42 (ed. Roberts, p. 8; transl. S. Davies, *The Mabinogion*, p. 108); cf. Guy, 'Constantine', pp. 401–2. For St Helena in Wales, see *ibid.* and Harbus, *Helena*, ch. 3.

⁷⁵ See below, p. 118.

⁷⁶ Cf. Charles-Edwards and Russell, 'Hendregadredd Manuscript', p. 431.

⁷⁷ E.g. *Predein*, 'Prydain' JC 9; *Hewel*, 'Hywel' JC 10; *Bredoe*, 'Brydwr' JC 16; *Cleda/c*, 'Clydog' JC 37 (*sim.* JC 42); *Cenlas*, 'Cynlas' JC 39.

⁷⁸ This uncertainty is shown in Figure 3.5 by having the lines of transmission of the two bodies of material meet slightly before the time of the final redactor.

⁷⁹ For the sections derived from Source I, see below, p. 129.

which I call the ‘Gwynedd collection of genealogies’.⁸⁰ The existence of a ninth-century ‘Gwynedd collection’ is implied by the close similarity between the Harleian genealogies and the ‘Old North’ and ‘Gwynedd’ groups of the Jesus 20 genealogies (JC 34–38 and 39–42). The ordering of the text is almost identical in each case; the key difference is that the Jesus 20 genealogies do not include the material that seems to have been interpolated into the version of the Gwynedd collection underlying the Harleian genealogies. The Old North and Gwynedd groups of the Jesus 20 genealogies would thus appear to provide a witness to the ninth-century Gwynedd collection of genealogies, independent of the tenth-century St Davids recension.

Table 2.3 in Chapter 2 shows the genealogical matter which is common to the Jesus 20 and Harleian genealogies and which largely appears in the same order, since the coincidence in the ordering of these two collections provides important evidence for their common archetype. Table 3.4 below provides a more inclusive summary of the material which is common to the Jesus 20 and Harleian genealogies and which can be attributed to the hypothetical ninth-century Gwynedd collection (rather than just the material sharing a common order). Note that not every item included within the relevant Jesus 20 ‘groups’ has a counterpart in the Harleian genealogies (e.g. JC 17, Rhodri Mawr’s patriline).

Table 3.4: Items in the Jesus 20 genealogies that probably derive from the Gwynedd collection of genealogies

JC group	JC §§	HG §§	Subject (quoted from JC)	Date	Territorial association
Cunedda Wledig	6	1	Cunedda m. Edern		Gwynedd
	7	32–33	Meibyon a merchet Cunedda		Gwynedd
Rhodri Mawr	18	27	Rodri Maŵr	d. 878	Gwynedd; Powys
	19	4	Rodri Maŵr	d. 878	Gwynedd; Man
	21	26	Angharat verch Veuric	fl. s. ix ²	Ceredigion
	22	1	Rodri m. Meruyn	d. 878	Gwynedd
Old North	34	8	Keneu Menrud		Old North
	36	9	Gwallaŵc m. Llyennaŵc		Old North
	37	10	Morgant m. Cledaŵc		Old North
	38	11	Dunaŵt m. Pabo Post Prydein		Old North
Gwynedd	39	3	Howel m. Cradaŵc	d. 825	Gwynedd; Rhos
	40	17	Bleidut m. Cradaŵc		Dunoding
	41	18	Kynan m. Brochuael		Meirionydd
	42	26	Howel Da	d. 950	Deheubarth; Ceredigion

Table 3.4 again shows that the material in the Old North and Gwynedd groups that derives from the Gwynedd collection follows the same order as the Harleian genealogies. The only exception is the Rhos pedigree (JC 39 ~ HG 3), which in the Jesus 20 genealogies has been positioned adjacent to the other ‘satellite’ Gwynedd dynasties, as in the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies (LIIG 44).⁸¹ The material in the Cunedda Wledig and Rhodri Mawr groups, on the other hand, follows a different order in the Jesus 20 genealogies compared with the Harleian genealogies. It is argued below that the difference in ordering is largely a

⁸⁰ See Chapter 2 above.

⁸¹ Noticed too by Charles-Edwards, ‘Dynastic Succession’, p. 72.

product of the textual history of the Jesus 20 genealogies and does not reflect the state of the archetypal text lying behind both the Harleian genealogies and the Jesus 20 genealogies (i.e. the ninth-century Gwynedd collection of genealogies).

The present positioning of JC 6–7, the Cunedda Wledig group, is probably a product of the final redactor's efforts to gather together all the information about dynastic ancestors towards the beginning of the text, as discussed above in relation to JC 4. The first of the Cunedda sections, JC 6, is a pedigree tracing the paternal line of Cunedda back to Beli Mawr and Anna. In effect, this is a continuation of JC 22, which traces the ancestry of Rhodri Mawr back to Cunedda. The contents of JC 6 and JC 22 appear together as a single pedigree in the Harleian genealogies (HG 1), traced back from Owain ap Hywel Dda (d. 988) through Rhodri Mawr and Cunedda to Beli Mawr. The occurrence of Cunedda's own ancestry in HG 1, in comparison with its absence from JC 22, supports the idea that the current positioning of the Cunedda pedigree in JC 6 is a structural innovation in the Jesus 20 genealogies, brought about by the division of a single Gwynedd pedigree (like HG 1) into two (JC 6 and 22). On the other hand, the beginning of JC 22 (*Rodri m. Meruyn* [...]) may well represent the way that the Gwynedd pedigree began in the original Gwynedd collection, probably written in Rhodri's time; the extension of the same pedigree forwards in time to Owain ap Hywel Dda, as seen in HG 1, was a product of the tenth-century redaction in St Davids.⁸²

The second of the two Cunedda sections, JC 7, lists firstly the sons and secondly the daughters of Cunedda. The list of sons is clearly related to the similar list in the Harleian genealogies (HG 32); the named sons appear in the same order in both texts.⁸³ However, the list of daughters, as well as the statement about Cunedda's wife and mother-in-law, would appear to be additions to the material inherited from the Gwynedd collection.

The current positioning of JC 6–7 thus does not argue against the material in these sections having been transmitted to the Jesus 20 collection alongside the other material deriving from the Gwynedd collection, because there are factors within the textual history of the Jesus 20 genealogies that can account for their positioning. The textual affinities of these sections (such as the ordering of the sons) suggest that they could indeed have been inherited in this way.

The sections listed in Table 3.4 that remain to be considered, namely JC 18–19 and 21–22, all fall within the purview of the 'Rhodri Mawr' group (JC 17–23). Within JC 17–23, there are four pedigrees traced back from Rhodri Mawr, a list of the children of Rhodri Mawr, the pedigree of Rhodri's supposed wife, Angharad ferch Meurig, and a passage concerning Rhodri's ancestor Cadwallon Lawhir. Among the pedigrees of Rhodri Mawr and the pedigree of Angharad (JC 17–19 and 21–22), four pedigrees present lines that are also found in the Harleian genealogies, and which were probably present in the original Gwynedd collection, as listed in Table 3.4. These four are the pedigree of Rhodri's wife, Angharad, traced back through the line of Ceredigion (JC 21 ~ HG 26);⁸⁴ the pedigree of Rhodri's mother, Nest ferch Cadell Powys, traced back through the early kings of Powys (JC 18 ~ HG 27); the pedigree of Rhodri's grandmother, Epyllt, traced back through the line of the kings of Gwynedd to Cunedda Wledig (JC 22 ~ HG 1); and the pedigree of Rhodri's great-great-grandmother, Celeinion ferch Tudwal, traced back through a line associated with the Isle of Man (JC 19 ~ HG 4). However, despite the correspondence between the pedigrees in the Harleian genealogies and the Jesus 20 genealogies, only the third of these four pedigrees, demonstrating Rhodri Mawr's descent from the kings of Gwynedd, is linked explicitly to Rhodri Mawr in the Harleian genealogies. This is most curious, considering that the Harleian genealogies probably derive from a collection compiled during Rhodri's reign, and in any

⁸² As Nora Chadwick thought: 'Early Culture', p. 76.

⁸³ Though HG 32's *Osmail* is omitted from JC 7's list.

⁸⁴ Although Angharad is made Rhodri's wife in JC 20–21, she is called Rhodri's mother in JC 42.

case are extant in a redaction favourable to Rhodri's great-grandson Owain. Furthermore, the other three pedigrees are linked to Rhodri Mawr in the Jesus 20 genealogies in a suspiciously formulaic way, as both Sims-Williams and Thornton have noted.⁸⁵ In the Harleian genealogies, HG 26 is headed by Gwgon ap Meurig (d. 872), but in JC 21 the pedigree is headed by Angharad, apparently a sister of Gwgon. Similarly, HG 27 is headed by Cyngen ap Cadell (d. 854), but in JC 18 Rhodri is connected to Nest, apparently a sister of Cyngen. Again, HG 4 is headed by one Idwal ap Tudwal, but in JC 19 Rhodri is connected, via a patriline that does not appear in the Harleian genealogies, to Celeinion, apparently a sister of Idwal. The formulaic nature of these connections, each one connecting Rhodri to a supposed sister of the person who formed the subject of the related pedigree in the Harleian genealogies, coupled with the seeming absence of such connections to Rhodri from the original genealogical collection probably composed during Rhodri's reign and redacted during the reign of his great-grandson Owain, strongly suggest that the forms of the pedigrees comprising JC 18–19 and 21 were the product of a time later than Rhodri's own reign (whatever the potential historicity of their claims). It is notable that these three 'extra' Rhodri Mawr pedigrees were created using only pedigrees found in the original Gwynedd collection, and not material drawn from elsewhere (with the exception of Rhodri's patriline). This might suggest that the version of the Gwynedd collection eventually incorporated into the Jesus 20 genealogies had already been reformed into a text focussed more heavily on Rhodri Mawr before it was brought into contact with the other material in the extant Jesus 20 collection.

Another curiosity is that the only pedigree of Rhodri Mawr that is present in the Jesus 20 genealogies but entirely absent from the Harleian genealogies is Rhodri's Mawr's own patriline, traced back, through Llywarch Hen, to Coel Hen (JC 17). If such a pedigree had been available to the tenth-century St Davids redactor responsible for the current form of the Harleian genealogies, then it would almost certainly have been included in that collection, because it could have functioned as the patriline of Owain ap Hywel Dda, Rhodri's great-grandson, in whose favour the St Davids redactor worked. This implies that the Rhodri Mawr patriline was an addition to the version of the Gwynedd collection transmitted to the Jesus 20 genealogies.⁸⁶ Egerton Phillimore, in a typically perceptive comment, once suggested that Rhodri's patriline, as found in JC 17, was fabricated.⁸⁷ He suggested that the three generations between *Alcun* and Llywarch Hen, which appear in JC 17 as 'Tegyth m. Ceit m. Douc', had been lifted from a version of Cunedda's pedigree (compare the names in bold in Table 3.5). JC 17's *Tegyth* can be compared to Cunedda's great-grandfather, who likewise appears as *Tegyth* in JC 6. In other versions of both the patriline and Cunedda's pedigree, *Tegyth* appears as *Tacit* or *Tagit*; this is not a real Welsh name, but rather a fossilised Latinate form originating in Cunedda's pedigree, from where it must have been borrowed by the creator of Rhodri Mawr's patriline.⁸⁸ JC 17's *Ceit* was similarly compared by Phillimore with the *Cein* of Cunedda's pedigree, who is *Tacit*'s father (and therefore Cunedda's great-great-grandfather) in HG 1, the Lives of Cadog and Carannog and *Gwehelyth Morgannwg*, or *Tacit*'s great-grandfather in later versions, including JC 6 (see Table 3.5).⁸⁹ By setting the form *Ceit*

⁸⁵ Sims-Williams, 'Historical Need', pp. 25–6; Thornton, 'Power', pp. 100–3; Thornton, *Kings*, pp. 111–15.

⁸⁶ Patrick Sims-Williams drew the same conclusion: 'Historical Need', p. 30.

⁸⁷ Phillimore *apud* Owen, *Description* III, 209; cf. *HGK* ccxi, n. 106; Sims-Williams, 'Historical Need', pp. 26–8. Note too Miller, 'Foundation-Legend', p. 517, n. 2, in reference to the patriline: 'it is not convincing'.

⁸⁸ Cf. Koch, *Cunedda*, pp. 73–4. Koch recognises that *Tacit* (< Lat. *Tacitus*) has not been assimilated to Old Welsh (as *Tecit*), and he deduces from this that the form originated in an early written pedigree from northern Britain. I would prefer more simply to conclude that the form *Tacit* arose in a Latin source, perhaps a pre-ninth-century Latin version of Cunedda's pedigree. Such a source could have originated in Gwynedd just as easily as northern Britain.

⁸⁹ Phillimore pointed particularly to the form in the Life of St Cadog, *Ceint*.

of JC 17 (Rhodri Mawr's patriline) beside the equivalent form *Gwen* used for the same man in the *Vita Griffini filii Conani* (or *Gveir* in *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*), one might suggest that the original form of the name in Rhodri Mawr's patriline was indeed *Cein*, supporting Phillimore's argument that the name was taken from Cuneda's pedigree. Phillimore's suggestion is perhaps weaker with regard to the third name. He suggested that *Douc* was adapted from either *Genedawc*, the son of *Cein* in later versions of Cuneda's pedigree (e.g. JC 6), or from *Doli*, *Cein*'s grandfather. Considering that Dwg was otherwise a famous son of Llywarch Hen in his own right, it is perhaps unnecessary to speculate about a different origin for his name in the pedigree.⁹⁰

Table 3.5: Rhodri Mawr's patriline and Cuneda Wledig's ancestry compared

JC 17	Rhodri Mawr's patriline		LIIG 11.1.4	Cuneda Wledig's ancestry	
	VGC §3	HGK 1–2		HG 1	JC 6
			[...]		
Rodri Maŵr	Rhodri	Rodri Maur	Rodri Mawr		
Meruyn Vrych	Mervyn Vrych	Mervyn Vrych	Merfyn Vrych		
Gŵrhyat	Gwriat	Guryat	Gwryat	[...]	
Elidyr	Elideri	Elidir	Elidir	Cuneda	Cuneda
Sandef	Sandef	Sandef	Sandef	Ætern	Edern
Alcun	Alkwm	Alcwn	Alkwn	Patern Pesrut	Padarn Beisrud
Tegyth	Tagit	Tagit	Tagit	Tacit	Tegyth
Ceit	Gwen	Gveir	Gwair	Cein	Iago
Douc	Dwc	Dwc	Dwg	Guorcein	Genedawc
Llewarch Hen	Llywarch senioris	Llewarch Hen	Llywarch Hen	Doli	Cein
Elidyr	Elidir	Elidir	Elidir		
Lydanwyn	Llydanwyn	Lledanwyn	Llydanwyn	[...]	Gorein
Meirchaŵn	Meirchiawn Gvl	Meirchyaun Gul	Meirchiawn Gul		Doli
Gŵrgust	Gorwst Lledlwm	Gorwst Ledlumm	Gwrwst Lledlwm		[...]
Keneu	Keneu	Keneu	Keneu		
Coil Hen	Coeli Godebawc	Coel Godebauc	Koel Godebawg		
	[...]	[...]	[...]		

Nevertheless, the correspondence of the names *Tegyth* and *Ceit* with names in Cuneda's pedigree is still probably indicative of the artificiality of this section of Rhodri's patriline, adding weight to the possibility that the patriline was an addition to the original ninth-century Gwynedd collection. It does not necessarily follow that all of the names in the patriline were the products of later invention; some, indeed, had probably been transmitted correctly by memory before being written down in the pedigree.⁹¹ It may only have been the link back to Llywarch Hen via *Tegyth*, *Ceit* and *Douc* that was invented, quite probably, judging by

⁹⁰ Cf. *EWSP* 412 and 472; Sims-Williams, 'Historical Need', pp. 28 and 30.

⁹¹ Merfyn Frych's father Gwriad, who is quite possibly commemorated by the eighth- or ninth-century Manx stone bearing the inscription 'CRUX GURIAT', provides one example of a name that was probably preserved correctly in the pedigree: see Chapter 2 above, p. 69.

the absence of the patriline from the Harleian genealogies, at a time later than the mid-tenth century. Such an addition may have been made to a version of the Gwynedd collection at the same time that the pedigrees of Ceredigion, Powys and Man were mechanically linked to Rhodri. It may well have been at this time too that the list of Rhodri's children and the statement about Cadwallon Lawhir were added. In effect, in however many stages it came about, it would appear that the version of the Gwynedd collection eventually incorporated into the Jesus 20 genealogies had been transformed into a text focussed on the primacy of Rhodri Mawr, as a figure through whom all earlier sources of legitimacy could be made to flow.⁹² I call this version of the Gwynedd collection the 'pseudo-Rhodri Mawr' recension. As is discussed in Chapter 4, this version of the Gwynedd collection was to be very influential in later genealogical writing.⁹³

When and why was this recension created? The question can be approached from two angles: by considering the internal evidence of the Jesus 20 genealogies, and by comparing the text with other genealogical and pseudo-historical texts. We may consider the internal evidence first. In the extant arrangement of the Jesus 20 genealogies, the 'Rhodri Mawr' group of genealogies (JC 17–23) appears to serve a specific function: to provide a secure genealogical platform for the Rhys Gryg group (JC 24–29). None of Rhys Gryg's pedigrees is traced back further than Rhodri Mawr, and in the extant text they occur immediately after the Rhodri Mawr group, implying that the reader is supposed to understand the connection. The unity of the Rhys Gryg group was established above.⁹⁴ The essential purposes of this group of pedigrees are to glorify Rhys Gryg and emphasise his close relationship with Llywelyn ab Iorwerth. A context for such a construction immediately suggests itself. Although Rhys Gryg is recorded as having been active from 1195 until his death in 1233, it was only after the council of Aberdyfi in 1216 that he was firmly obliged to recognise his subservience to Llywelyn ab Iorwerth.⁹⁵ In 1216, Llywelyn intervened in the politics of Deheubarth in order to enact a formal partition of the land among the descendants of the Lord Rhys, Rhys Gryg's father. Llywelyn continued to exercise lordship over the descendants of the Lord Rhys until his death in 1240, as when he led an army against Rhys Gryg in 1220 to ensure that Rhys Gryg observed the terms of the Treaty of Worcester, which Llywelyn had agreed with Henry III's councillors in 1218. In general, these would appear to be the political circumstances that the genealogist was attempting to rationalise from the perspective of Rhys Gryg, emphasising his precedence and close relationship with Llywelyn while ignoring the other rival members of the dynasty of Deheubarth. Perhaps by drawing attention to Rhys Gryg's descent from Rhodri Mawr, the genealogist was deliberately echoing the pseudo-history favoured by Rhys Gryg's father the Lord Rhys, as noted below, in order to imply that Rhys Gryg was his father's true heir. On this basis, it seems likely that the Rhys Gryg group assumed its present shape in the latter part of Rhys Gryg's life, within the period 1216–33. The death of Rhys Gryg provides a *terminus ante quem* for the creation of the underlying pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension, and, in this instance, would appear to place the recension in South Wales.

Interestingly, another source associates some of the historiographical ideas of the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension with Rhys Gryg's father, the Lord Rhys ap Gruffudd (d. 1197). Gerald of Wales, a contemporary and relative of the Lord Rhys, relates the following story

⁹² This was recognised, but not pursued, in Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, p. 474; cf. Sims-Williams, 'Historical Need', p. 25; Thornton, 'Power', p. 103; Thornton, *Kings*, pp. 114–15.

⁹³ See below, pp. 226–7.

⁹⁴ See above, pp. 108–9.

⁹⁵ *HW* II, 580, 649, 658 and 680; R. R. Davies, *Age of Conquest*, p. 243–4; *AWR* 10–11; Smith, "'Cronica de Wallia'", pp. 264–5; Smith, *Llywelyn*, pp. 21–4.

about Rhodri Mawr and his descendants in his *Descriptio Kambriae*, the first recension of which was completed around 1194.⁹⁶

Divisa est antiquitus Wallia totalis in tres partes tanquam aequales; plus equivalentiae tamen, quam iustae quantitatis et proportionis habita consideratione; Venedotiam scilicet, quae nunc Nortwallia, id est, Borealis Wallia dicitur; Sudwalliam, id est Australem Walliam, quae Kambrice Deheubarth, id est, Dextralis pars dicitur; cuius etiam portio septem cantaredis est conserta Demetia; et Powisiam, quasi mediam et orientalem.

Divisionis autem huius haec causa suberat. Rothericus magnus, qui Britannice Rotheri Maur dicebatur, totique Walliae praesidebat, tres filios habuerat, Mervinum, Anaraut, et Cadelh. Hi tres totam inter se Walliam diviserunt. Mervino cessit Nortwallia, Anaraut Powisia, Cadelh vero, cum populi totius et fratrum benedictione, Sudwallia. Ipsa nimirum, quanquam quantitate longe maior, propter nobiles tamen qui Kambrice Hucheilwer quasi superiores viri vocantur, quibus abundabat, qui et dominis rebelles esse solebant, dominumque ferre detrectabant, deterior esse videbatur. Cadelh autem, praemortuis fratribus, totius Walliae demum monarchiam obtinuit; et successores sui similiter, usque ad Theodorum. Descendentes enim a Theodoro tantum Sudwalliam obtinuerunt, sicut et pater eorum: hi scilicet, Resus filius Theodori, Griphinus filius Resi, et Resus filius Griphini qui hodie praeest.

All of Wales was anciently divided into three approximately equal parts, or, better, equivalent parts, rather than being equal with respect to size and proportion; thus, Venedotia, which is now called Nortwallia (i.e. North Wales); Sudwallia (i.e. South Wales), which in Welsh is called Deheubarth (i.e. the southern part), a portion of which, Demetia, is made up of seven cantrefs; and Powisia, roughly in the middle and to the east.

And this was the cause of this division. Rotheric the Great, who in British was called Rhodri Mawr, presided over the whole of Wales. He had three sons, Merfyn, Anarawd and Cadell. These three divided the whole of Wales between themselves. Nortwallia yielded to Merfyn, Powisia to Anarawd, and Sudwallia, with the blessing of the whole population and the other brothers, to Cadell. Without doubt, Sudwallia was seen to be the worst, notwithstanding its greater size, on account of the noblemen with whom it abounded, who in Welsh are called ‘Uchelwyr’, meaning ‘higher men’, and who were accustomed to be rebels against their lords, and refuse to bear lordship. And Cadell, whose brothers predeceased him, at length held the monarchy of the whole of Wales; and his successors did likewise, up until Tewdwr. For Tewdwr’s descendants held only Sudwallia, like their ancestor: they are Rhys ap Tewdwr, Gruffudd ap Rhys, and Rhys ap Gruffudd, who is preeminent today.

This is the first recorded instance of the ‘Rhodri Mawr origin story’, which purports to explain the political divisions of Wales and the origins of its most powerful dynasties. The story was created retrospectively to legitimise the political dominance of Rhodri’s descendants in what had become, by no earlier than the mid-twelfth century, the three leading kingdoms of native Wales.⁹⁷ It is very unlikely to preserve any element of historical truth. Firstly, Rhodri’s family probably did not rule Dyfed until about 904, after Rhodri’s death.⁹⁸ Secondly, there is no evidence that the ‘kingship of Powys’ was a political concept of any importance in the tenth century, contrary to what is sometimes claimed.⁹⁹ Thirdly, Merfyn’s role as one

⁹⁶ *Descriptio*, I.2.

⁹⁷ It is unlikely that Powys would have been considered one of the three major kingdoms of Wales prior to the early decades of the twelfth century, when the activities of the dynasty of Bleddyn ap Cynfyn became centred there: cf. Stephenson, *Medieval Powys*, ch. 1.

⁹⁸ See above, pp. 71–2.

⁹⁹ Charles-Edwards has suggested that Clydog ap Cadell, who is called *rex* in his obituary (*AC* (A) [920]),

of Rhodri's three chief heirs appears to have been invented for the purposes of the story. In Gerald's version, Merfyn is given Gwynedd and his brother Anarawd receives Powys, but this is probably an idiosyncrasy of Gerald's own making.¹⁰⁰ Later versions of the story generally place Anarawd in Gwynedd and Merfyn in Powys, as one would expect considering that Anarawd's descendants, including his son Idwal Foel, were kings of Gwynedd.¹⁰¹ This Merfyn is probably the Merfyn ap Rhodri whose obituary is recorded in the annals for the year 904.¹⁰² Although one chronicle (the late thirteenth-century Cottonian chronicle) terms Merfyn *rex*, possibly under the influence of the type of story told by Gerald, the other chronicles do not give him any title, suggesting that Merfyn had not previously been perceived as the equal of his brothers Cadell (d. 909) and Anarawd (d. 916), both of whom are termed 'king' in more reliable sources.¹⁰³ The early thirteenth-century Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies more plausibly claim that Merfyn's descendants lived in the Llŷn peninsula rather than Powys, implicitly as *uchelwyr* without any royal rights (LIIG 28.3).¹⁰⁴ Perhaps the emphasis on Merfyn ap Rhodri's supposed right to rule Powys in various versions of the story about Rhodri Mawr dividing his lands between his sons was intended to challenge the legitimacy of the dynasty that actually held power in Powys from approximately the second decade of the twelfth century, the dynasty of Bleddyn ap Cynfyn.¹⁰⁵

More revealing is the favour clearly displayed by Gerald's story for the Lord Rhys and his line as the premier rulers of Wales. The resultant construction was no doubt intended to glorify Gerald himself as a descendant of Rhys ap Tewdwr,¹⁰⁶ but one could equally suppose that a pseudo-history of this kind had currency in the Lord Rhys's own court. The Jesus 20 genealogies provide another clear example of a text that glorifies Rhys's family by means of a genealogical construction emphasising the importance of Rhodri Mawr. A particular parallel with Gerald's story may be found in the list of Rhodri's sons in JC 20, who are given in the order *Cadell, Meruyn, Anarawt, Aidan, Meuruc, Morgant*. The prominence of Cadell at the beginning of the list, and the relegation of Anarawd to third position after Merfyn, is a subtle way to emphasise the importance of Cadell's descendants (the family of Rhys Gryg and his father the Lord Rhys) over the descendants of Anarawd (Llywelyn ab Iorwerth and the princes of Gwynedd).¹⁰⁷ We may note too the seemingly

could have been king of Powys: 'Wales', p. 103; 'Dynastic Succession', pp. 73, 79 and 86, n. 20; *Wales*, pp. 495 and 509. But a more probable candidate for Clydog's kingdom would be Ceredigion, a ninth-century *regnum* that was probably seized, along with Dyfed, by Clydog's father Cadell in c. 904. Clydog was probably named from the earlier king of Ceredigion of that name: Thornton, 'Predatory Nomenclature', p. 11.

¹⁰⁰ HWI, 326, n. 27.

¹⁰¹ Examples of such later versions occur in Ieuan Brechfa's portion of Peniarth 131 (part viii, dated 1494 × 1509), at p. 217, and in Wiliam Llŷn's genealogical manuscript, CUL Mm.1.3 (dated 1566), at f. 14r. The version in Royal 18. A. lxxv (dated 1547 × 1553), at f. 5r, on the other hand, follows Gerald in attributing Merfyn to Gwynedd. For other late versions of the story, see Lloyd, 'Rhodri Mawr' and Dumville, "'Six' Sons', pp. 11–12.

¹⁰² AC (BC) [904]; BT (S) 901 [904]. BT (R) [904] records the obituary of 'mab Meruyn' ('the son of Merfyn') instead, probably in error.

¹⁰³ Cadell in AC (A) [909] and CS 909; Anarawd in AC (ABC) [916], BT (R) [916], BT (S) 913 [916] and CS 916.

¹⁰⁴ Charles-Edwards, 'Dynastic Succession', pp. 72–3; Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, pp. 362–3; cf. *Llyfr Iorwerth*, §4/16 (ed. Wiliam, p. 3; transl. Jenkins, *Laws*, p. 7). The Haearddur ap Merfyn who drowned in 955 may have been the son of Merfyn ap Rhodri, but he is not associated with any territory or kingship: BT (PS) 953 [955]; BT (R) [955]. In Brev. b977, Haearddur's father's name is given incorrectly as Meurig.

¹⁰⁵ Stephenson, *Medieval Powys*, p. 29.

¹⁰⁶ See Richter, *Giraldus*, p. 4, and the diagram in Bartlett, *Gerald*, p. 26.

¹⁰⁷ Dumville notes that the order of the brothers in later sources is often determined by the northern or southern orientation of the scribe: Dumville, "'Six' Sons', p. 12. Cf. Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, p. 474.

artificial precedence given to Merfyn, as in Gerald's story. Gerald's *Descriptio Kambriae* provides evidence for the existence of the Rhodri Mawr origin story, and possibly also for a pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension of the Gwynedd collection of genealogies, in the late twelfth century.

Comparison with other genealogical texts suggests a slightly earlier date for the formation of the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension of genealogies. It is shown in Chapter 4 that a version of the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension was used by the author of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, probably between 1216 and *c.* 1223. Furthermore, the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension was the source for the pedigrees found at the beginning of the *Vita Griffini filii Conani*, comprising Rhodri's maternal and paternal lines. This is significant because the composition of the *Vita Griffini* can be dated to an earlier time than either the relevant Jesus 20 pedigrees or the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. The *Vita Griffini* was composed after the death of Gruffudd ap Cynan in 1137 but before the Anglo-Norman conquest of Waterford in 1170, and thus during the reign of Gruffudd's son, Owain Gwynedd.¹⁰⁸ Closer dating is more problematic. Russell has suggested that the reference to St Davids as a 'sedes archiepiscopalis' ('archiepiscopal seat') indicates that the text was composed between 1137 and 1148, the period in which Owain Gwynedd lent his support to Bishop Bernard's attempt to elevate St Davids to archiepiscopal status.¹⁰⁹ The same possibility was also considered by Evans.¹¹⁰ The problem with this interpretation, however, is that the canons of St Davids did not cease to press the claims of St Davids to archiepiscopal status upon the death of Bernard in 1148, despite the guarantees of the two bishops who succeeded Bernard never to raise the issue again formally.¹¹¹ In the 1170s and 1180s especially, the canons of St Davids raised the issue in public forums on multiple occasions.¹¹² For this reason, 1148 cannot act as a firm *terminus ante quem* for the use of the evocative phrase 'sedes archiepiscopalis', especially if the writer of the *Vita Griffini* had been trained in St Davids, as Russell suggests;¹¹³ the writer may have felt just as strongly about the archiepiscopal claims of St Davids after Bernard's death in 1148 as before it. The dating of the *Vita Griffini* to between 1137 and 1148 and its proposed connection to St Davids have also been questioned on separate grounds by Beverley Smith, who has argued instead that the text's emphasis on the integrity of the kingdom of Gwynedd should be understood in the context of the tensions between Owain Gwynedd and his brother Cadwaladr between 1143 and 1157.¹¹⁴ But the apparent lack of sustained allusions to those political circumstances again causes one to doubt that the composition of the text can be so confidently attributed to such specific historical circumstances; why, for instance, if the writer of the text was so concerned about the integrity of the kingdom under Owain's rule, would the text fail to mention that Owain was Gruffudd's designated heir? Bearing in mind these various difficulties, for present purposes I prefer a broader time-bracket for the *Vita Griffini*'s dating, within the secure *termini* 1137 × 1170.

¹⁰⁸ HGK ccxliii–ccxlv; Russell, *Vita Griffini*, p. 46.

¹⁰⁹ Russell, *Vita Griffini*, pp. 46–7. For Bishop Bernard's efforts, see J. C. Davies, *Episcopal Acts* I, 190–208; Richter, *Giraldus*, pp. 40–61; HW II, 480–3; R. R. Davies, *Age of Conquest*, pp. 190–1.

¹¹⁰ HGK ccxlviii–ccxlix.

¹¹¹ The hostility of the canons of St Davids to David fitz Gerald, bishop of St Davids *c.* 1147–76, might be reflected in the anonymous *Vita Davidis Secundi*, an aggressive assault on David fitz Gerald's episcopal career. The authorship of the work is unknown, but it survives as a fifteenth-century addition to Cotton Domitian A. i, part ii, a St Davids manuscript of the late thirteenth century. For this text, see Richter, 'New Edition'.

¹¹² Richter, *Giraldus*, pp. 5 and 53; Bartlett, *Gerald*, pp. 46–7; cf. *Itinerarium*, I.1. The latter account only appears in the second and third recensions of the *Itinerarium Kambriae*.

¹¹³ Russell, *Vita Griffini*, p. 45.

¹¹⁴ Smith, 'Biography', pp. 365–9.

Whatever date is preferred for the *Vita Griffini*, the text undoubtedly preserves the earliest dateable version of the patriline of Rhodri Mawr, the original version of which must consequently have been created prior to 1170. Whether the same dating *terminus* can be applied to the other elements of the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension that were not used in the *Vita Griffini* is more difficult to determine. It was suggested above that the patriline was fabricated as part of the same process by which Rhodri Mawr was newly linked to three other pedigrees inherited from the Gwynedd collection of genealogies (JC 18, 19 and 21). The textual links highlighted in Appendix A.3.3 imply that both the *Vita Griffini*'s version of the patriline and its version of Rhodri Mawr's maternal pedigree are textually intermediate between the Jesus 20 genealogies and the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. Since both of the latter two texts contain related versions of the other three Rhodri Mawr pedigrees, as also shown in Appendix A.3.3, it might follow that the textually intermediate genealogical source of the *Vita Griffini* must have contained these same three pedigrees too, which could then be similarly dated to before 1170. However, it is suggested in Chapter 4 that the author of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies combined elements from both the *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* (the Welsh translation of the *Vita Griffini*) and a separate version of the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension, meaning that the textual correspondence between the *Vita Griffini* and the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies probably cannot be interpreted on a strictly stemmatic basis.¹¹⁵ In that case, the genealogical source of the *Vita Griffini* might not have been intermediary between the Jesus 20 genealogies and the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, and need not necessarily have contained the other three Rhodri Mawr pedigrees (compare Figure 3.1).

Before discussing the evolution of the version of the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension preserved in Jesus 20, it is important to consider the reasons for the formation of the recension in the first place. The recension has two chief features: (1) an increased emphasis on Rhodri Mawr as the nodal point of Welsh genealogical legitimacy; and (2) a new patriline for Rhodri (and implicitly for his descendants), traced back to Coel Hen. The significance of the first point is underlined by the Rhys Gryg group in the Jesus 20 genealogies, which seeks to demonstrate that Rhys Gryg and his overlord Llywelyn ab Iorwerth were both ultimately descended from Rhodri Mawr. An emphasis on Rhodri Mawr as the foremost genealogical crux only makes sense in the context of the continued significance of multiple, independent dynasties of which Rhodri was the ultimate common ancestor. Such a scenario had come into being no earlier than the second half of the tenth century, when Owain ap Hywel Dda ruled Deheubarth (c. 950–88)¹¹⁶ and the sons and grandsons of Idwal Foel ruled Gwynedd (c. 950–86).¹¹⁷ However, the creation of the St Davids recension (as witnessed by the Harleian genealogies) during this period suggests that, at that time, Rhodri had not yet acquired the genealogical centrality that would become evident in later centuries, and that there was not yet any necessity to foreground the agnatic pedigree of the Merfynion in a genealogical collection redacted in their favour. The period of Merfynion supremacy across North and South Wales ended with the death of Maredudd ab Owain in 998/9, who had ruled Gwynedd since 986 and Deheubarth from no later than 988 when his father Owain ap Hywel Dda died.¹¹⁸ Following Maredudd ab Owain's reign, the two dynasties descending from Rhodri

¹¹⁵ See below, pp. 227–8.

¹¹⁶ Owain ap Hywel Dda died in 988, though he may have resigned the kingship a few years earlier if his son Maredudd ab Owain was already king of Deheubarth when he conquered Gwynedd in 986: cf. Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, p. 548.

¹¹⁷ It is probable that the previous generation, that of Hywel Dda and Idwal Foel, grandsons of Rhodri, would not have felt themselves to belong to different dynastic 'segments'. For the politics of Gwynedd in the second half of the tenth century, see Maund, 'Dynastic Segmentation'.

¹¹⁸ Maredudd ab Owain's exact date of death is uncertain: cf. Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, p. 554, n. 86 and Gough-Cooper, 'Meet the Ancestors?'.

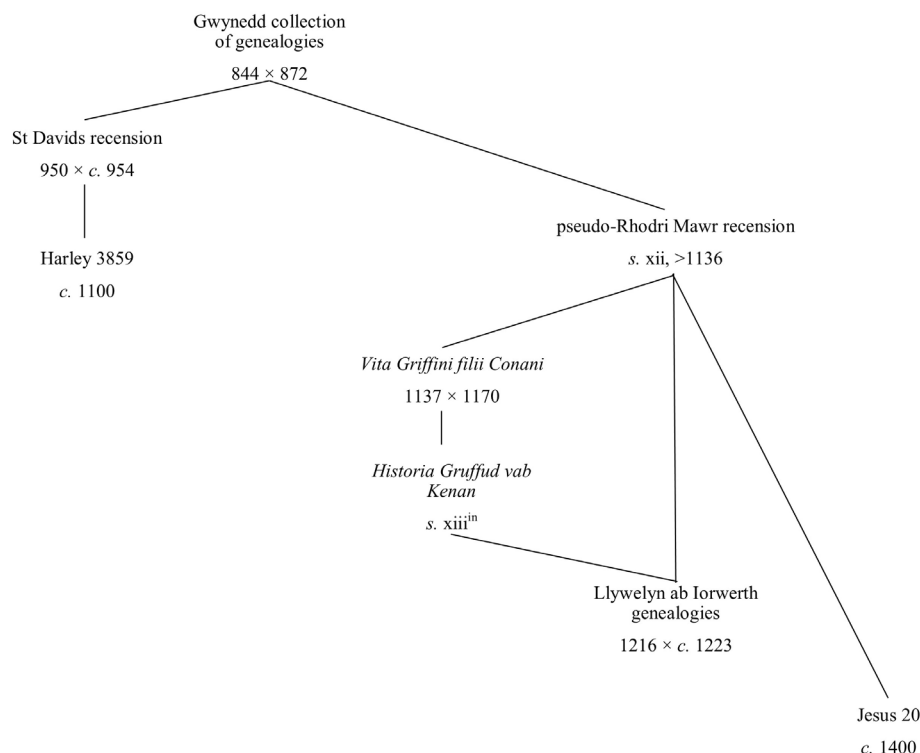


Figure 3.1: The textual connections of the elements of the Jesus 20 genealogies that derive from the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension

Mawr ceased to hold a monopoly on power in Gwynedd and Deheubarth.¹¹⁹ In Gwynedd, the only members of the Merfynion to hold the kingship during the eleventh century were Cynan ap Hywel (1000–3), Iago ab Idwal (probably ruled Anglesey from 1027 and then all Gwynedd from 1033 to his death in 1039) and Gruffudd ap Cynan, who established himself securely only between 1094 and 1114 and who then ruled to his death in 1137.¹²⁰ Within that period, only for a few brief years between 1033 and 1039 did the Merfynion securely rule both Gwynedd and Deheubarth.¹²¹ By the time that Gruffudd ap Cynan was establishing himself in Gwynedd in the mid-1090s, Rhys ap Tewdwr, king of Deheubarth, had been killed by the Normans in the battle at Brecon in 1093, and the Normans had overrun the south.¹²² Rhys's son Gruffudd escaped in exile to Ireland. Merfynion power in Deheubarth would not be revived before Gruffudd ap Rhys marched south in alliance with Owain and Cadwaladr, sons of Gruffudd ap Cynan, in 1136.

It is most likely that the emphasis of the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension on Rhodri's alleged pan-Welsh dominance and on his supposed division of Wales between his sons was designed to reflect the dominance in Wales achieved by the sons of Gruffudd ap Cynan in the north and the sons of Gruffudd ap Rhys in the south. This process began in earnest with

¹¹⁹ Cf. Maund, *Ireland*, pp. 7–10.

¹²⁰ For Cynan ap Hywel, see Sims-Williams, *Buchedd Beuno*, pp. 68–9; for Iago ab Idwal, see Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, pp. 560–1; for Gruffudd ap Cynan, see Lewis, 'Gruffudd', pp. 67–73.

¹²¹ Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, pp. 560–1.

¹²² *HW II*, 398–9; R. R. Davies, *Age of Conquest*, pp. 33–5.

the campaigns of the late 1130s, when the sons of Gruffudd ap Cynan worked in harmony with Gruffudd ap Rhys until the latter's death in 1137.¹²³ Similar coordination was displayed thirty years later when, in 1165, Gruffudd ap Rhys's son, the Lord Rhys, stood firmly with Owain Gwynedd in the face of Henry II's onslaught, and again in 1167, when the Lord Rhys helped Owain Gwynedd to destroy the castle of Rhuddlan and conquer Tegeingl in north-east Wales.¹²⁴ By the 1160s, following the death of Madog ap Maredudd of Powys in 1160, the dynasties of Owain Gwynedd and the Lord Rhys were undoubtedly the most powerful in Wales. The period of their rise in the twelfth century can be considered the most likely time for the formation of the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension. It is no accident that aspects of the genealogical recension and its accompanying origin story are first visible in the *Vita Griffini*, composed during Owain Gwynedd's reign in commemoration of his father, and in the story told by Gerald in his *Descriptio Cambriae*, focussed on the Lord Rhys.

The second of the recension's chief features might also agree with a twelfth-century date for the formation of the recension. At neither the time of the creation of the Gwynedd collection, probably in the third quarter of the ninth century, nor the time of the St Davids recension, in the mid-tenth century, does it seem to have been felt necessary to record the agnatic pedigree of Rhodri Mawr and present it as part of a consolidated collection of royal genealogies favouring the Merfynion. Rhodri Mawr and his relatives in the ninth century no doubt knew their own agnatic pedigree, but, considering the way that their lineage is recorded in HG 1, it was presumably thought to be more advantageous for them to foreground the dynasty's descent from the early kings of Gwynedd through a female link. By the time of the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension, witnessed earliest by the *Vita Griffini*, a recorded agnatic pedigree appears to have become a necessity. In both the St Davids recension and the *Vita Griffini*, the purpose of the pedigrees traced through Rhodri Mawr is to emphasise the royal status of their subject: Owain ap Hywel Dda in the St Davids recension, and Gruffudd ap Cynan in the *Vita Griffini*.¹²⁵ In early Welsh society, status was, in part, a matter of bilateral kinship, meaning that advantageous links to agnatic lineages of high status could be claimed through female no less than male relatives.¹²⁶ This may be seen in Owain ap Hywel Dda's pedigrees in HG 1–2. However, in Welsh genealogical texts of the twelfth century and later, although female relatives retained their importance as conduits for high status, it nevertheless became essential to foreground the subject's agnatic pedigree at the beginning of any genealogical exposition. It no longer appears to have been possible to claim high status without initial reference to the subject's agnatic pedigree, as had been possible for Owain ap Hywel Dda and, seemingly, his great-grandfather Rhodri Mawr. It would thus have been necessary to create a written agnatic pedigree for Rhodri Mawr, through whom the two most prominent native dynasties of the twelfth century traced their agnatic descent.¹²⁷ Had their common ancestor been seen to lack a high-status agnatic lineage of his own, the inherent regality of the dynasties of Owain Gwynedd and the Lord Rhys may have been rendered open to question.¹²⁸

It is not possible to determine with any certainty where the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension of the Gwynedd collection took shape. The cathedral church of St Davids is one candidate.

¹²³ HW II, 469–80; R. R. Davies, *Age of Conquest*, pp. 45–51.

¹²⁴ HW II, 514–20; R. R. Davies, *Age of Conquest*, pp. 52–3.

¹²⁵ EIWK 222–4.

¹²⁶ EIWK 173–4.

¹²⁷ The agnatic pedigree traced Rhodri's lineage to Coel Hen, and thence to Beli Mawr, solely through male links, though a female link remained present in the remoter Galfridian portion of the pedigree with Regau, daughter of King Leir. Even this remote female connection was noticed and circumvented in the fifteenth century: see Chapter 5 below, p. 260.

¹²⁸ Crouch comments on the increased importance of notions of antiquity for the concept of lineage in twelfth- and thirteenth-century society at large: *Birth of Nobility*, p. 161.

The formation of the St Davids recension demonstrates that a copy of the Gwynedd collection of genealogies was available at St Davids as early as the mid-tenth century, and Russell has argued that the author of the *Vita Griffini*, the earliest witness to the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension, was a scholar trained in the Latinity of St Davids.¹²⁹ Moreover, Gerald of Wales, who relates the earliest version of the Rhodri Mawr origin story, was closely involved with St Davids, and the Lord Rhys, whose power is placed centre-stage by Gerald's story, often enjoyed favourable relations with the church.¹³⁰ If Russell was correct to argue that the author of the *Vita Griffini* had particular links with St Davids, then it might not even be necessary to decide whether the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension was originally written in favour of the southern or the northern dynasty; perhaps the genealogist responsible had both in mind.

Rhys Gryg and Hywel ap Goronwy

The version of the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension that became Source II of the Jesus College genealogies was clearly revised in some centre between 1216 and 1233 in favour of Rhys Gryg son of the Lord Rhys. During this period, Rhys Gryg was confined primarily to Ystrad Tywi (Cantref Mawr and Cantref Bychan), following the partition of Deheubarth by Llywelyn ab Iorwerth in 1216.¹³¹ Within Rhys Gryg's sphere of activity during these years, two ecclesiastical centres suggest themselves as possible locations for the writing of royal genealogy. One is Talylychau (Talley) Abbey, a Premonstratensian house established by the Lord Rhys between 1184 and 1189.¹³² Talylychau Abbey was located near Dinefwr, at the centre of Rhys Gryg's domains, and was certainly a recipient of Rhys Gryg's patronage.¹³³ The second option, the ancient *clas* church of Llandeilo Fawr, located in the very shadow of Dinefwr castle, is related to the first inasmuch as the original foundation of Talylychau Abbey had been facilitated by the Lord Rhys's grant of a number of estates that had formerly belonged to Llandeilo.¹³⁴ Talylychau's appropriation of the church of Llandeilo Fawr itself was confirmed by the bishop of St Davids between 1215 and 1222, though for the remainder of the Middle Ages the rights to the church of Llandeilo Fawr were an occasional subject of dispute between Talylychau and St Davids.¹³⁵ The extent to which Llandeilo Fawr remained a centre capable of producing written literary texts in the early thirteenth century is unknown. In the ninth and tenth centuries, the church was probably the place where documents written in Latin and Old Welsh were entered into the margins of the Lichfield Gospels, but similar activity is not visible in the twelfth or

¹²⁹ Russell, *Vita Griffini*, pp. 43–5.

¹³⁰ Richter, *Giraldus*, pp. 90–124; Bartlett, *Gerald*, pp. 45–57; Pryce, 'Eglwys', pp. 168–9; Pryce, 'Dynasty', pp. 306–7. Rhys was buried in St Davids, but only after penance had been administered on his corpse. He died excommunicated because of the attacks of his sons on Peter de Leia, bishop of St Davids.

¹³¹ See the description by Lloyd in *HW* II, 649 and the map in R. R. Davies, *Age of Conquest*, p. 228. Compare the notice of Rhys Gryg in the thirteenth-century genealogical text on the children of the Lord Rhys in Exeter 3514: T. Jones, "'Cronica de Wallia'", p. 41; Bartrum, 'Plant', p. 101. For a detailed explanation of the divisions of power in Deheubarth in the thirteenth century, see Smith, "'Cronica de Wallia'".

¹³² R. R. Davies, *Age of Conquest*, p. 195; Pryce, 'Eglwys', p. 161; Griffiths, 'Tale', p. 210; Cowley, *Monastic Order*, pp. 35–7; Richards, 'Carmarthenshire Possessions', p. 110; Smith and O'Neill, *Talley Abbey*, p. 4.

¹³³ See *AWR* no. 49; Griffiths, 'Tale', p. 210.

¹³⁴ R. R. Davies, *Age of Conquest*, p. 195; Pryce, 'Eglwys', p. 161; Griffiths, 'Tale', pp. 207–8 and 210; Cowley, *Monastic Order*, p. 37; Richards, 'Carmarthenshire Possessions', p. 120. See the latter for a survey of the Carmarthenshire lands owned by Talylychau.

¹³⁵ Barrow, *St Davids Episcopal Acta*, pp. 108–9 (no. 89); Griffiths, 'Tale', pp. 210–11.

thirteenth centuries.¹³⁶ The site nevertheless continued to be important to Rhys Gryg; it was, indeed, where he died in 1233.¹³⁷

Evidence in favour of one of these options is provided by a document recording an agreement between Rhys Gryg and Bishop Iorwerth of St Davids (formerly abbot of Talylychau) in 1222.¹³⁸ The document records Rhys Gryg's agreement to recognise the right of the church of St Davids and the bishop to the lands of the commote of Llandeilo Fawr (i.e. Maenordeilo), with all its appurtenances. These were restored to the bishop and church with the exception of lands that Rhys or his men had given to Llandeilo Fawr church or to Talylychau Abbey and other lands that were retained by Rhys, for which Rhys and his sons gave the bishop homage, an oath on relics that they would support him and his church and an annual render of a goshawk. One of the named appurtenances to Maenordeilo was the lands of Abergwili, which had apparently hitherto been unjustly detained by Gwgon Sais, Cedifor ab Ynyr and other nobles. The lands of Abergwili were among the lands that Rhys agreed to restore to St Davids, with the condition that Rhys would warrant the lands against the aforementioned nobles.

Abergwili has the virtue of being the only place-name mentioned in the relevant section of the Jesus 20 genealogies. It is mentioned in the 'Hywel ap Goronwy' group (JC 30–33), which is presently sandwiched between the Rhys Gryg group (JC 24–29) and the Old North group (JC 34–38). The placement is not accidental, and there are strong hints that the Hywel ap Goronwy group was transmitted to Jesus 20 along with the material comprising the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension. The obvious connection between Rhys Gryg and Hywel ap Goronwy is that they were both prominent rulers of Ystrad Tywi. For three brief years, from 1102 to 1105, Hywel ap Goronwy was one of the most powerful men in South Wales, having been made lord of Ystrad Tywi, Gŵyr and Cydweli by Henry I, following the fall from power of Robert de Bellême and his brother Arnulf.¹³⁹ It has been suggested by David Stephenson that this is the most likely period for the compilation of the Hywel ap Goronwy group of pedigrees.¹⁴⁰ There is much to recommend this proposal, as is shown below.

The connection between the Hywel ap Goronwy group and the Old North group (the latter an integral part of the material inherited from the Gwynedd collection) is equally clear: the positioning of the Old North group is determined by the explicit identification of Cenau Menrudd, an ancestor of Hywel's cousin Seisyll ap Llywelyn of Buellt, as a grandson of Urien Rheged: 'Keneu Menrud oed hŷnŷ, m. Pascen m. Vrien Reget' ('That was Cenau Menrudd, son of Pasgen son of Urien Rheged') (JC 34). Thereafter follows the Old North group, beginning with Urien's pedigree. The Hywel ap Goronwy group evidently assumed its extant form in the presence of the Old North group, and it follows that the Hywel ap Goronwy group was transmitted alongside genealogical material from the Gwynedd collection from as early as 1105.

The text claims that Gwgon, son of Cenau Menrudd, was linked to Abergwili (JC 33):

[...] m. Gŷgaŷn vab¹⁴¹ Keneu Menrud, a vu neidyr vlŷdydyn am y vonŷgyl. Y Gŷgaŷn hŷnŷ a wnaeth Aber Gŷyli, ac yno y lladŷyt ef a Llewelyn m. Seissyll, tat Gruffud m. Llewelyn.

¹³⁶ Jenkins and Owen, 'Welsh Marginalia', pt 1, 38 and 48; Richards, "'Lichfield" Gospels', pp. 135–8. Cf. J. R. Davies, 'Saints', pp. 368–9.

¹³⁷ *HW* II, 680; *AWR* 11; Smith, "'Cronica de Wallia'", p. 266.

¹³⁸ *AWR* no. 52; Barrow, *St Davids Episcopal Acta*, pp. 176–7; for discussion, see Pryce, 'Dynasty', p. 311 and Griffiths, 'Tale', p. 210.

¹³⁹ *BT* (PRS) 1100 [1102]; *HW* II, 414–15; Maund, *Ireland*, pp. 44 and 51–2; Remfry, *Native Welsh Dynasties*, pp. 37–9.

¹⁴⁰ Stephenson, 'Mawl Hywel ap Goronwy', p. 48.

¹⁴¹ Note that this *vab* does not appear in the Jesus College manuscript; it is supplied from the copy of JC

[...] son of Gwgon son of Cenau Menrudd, who had a snake around his neck for a year. That Gwgon built Abergwili, and there he and Llywelyn ap Seisyll, father of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn, were killed.

Bartrum pointed out the chronological impossibility of both Gwgon and Llywelyn ap Seisyll having died on the same occasion, but it is not necessary to interpret the text in this way.¹⁴² Llywelyn ap Seisyll, king of Gwynedd, did indeed fight a battle at Abergwili in 1022, though he apparently did not die until the following year.¹⁴³ More important than Gwgon's death in the present context is the statement that he built Abergwili, which lends the passage the air of an origin legend. The curious decision by the genealogist to emphasise the descent of Hywel's cousin Seisyll ap Llywelyn from the builder of Abergwili through his mother's line only really makes sense in the context of Hywel's rule over Ystrad Tywi. Hywel's connection with Ystrad Tywi seems to have been entirely the product of Henry I's grant, because the activities of Hywel's family had previously been restricted to Brycheiniog and the lands between the Wye and the Severn, just as they continued to be following Hywel's death. For example, Seisyll ap Llywelyn, the focus of JC 32–33, was linked to Buellt, whilst the descendants of another cousin, Madog ab Idnerth, later ruled over Maelienydd and Elfael.¹⁴⁴ This adds weight to the suggestion that the genealogical statements in the Hywel ap Goronwy group were formulated during the period 1102–5.

The claim that Seisyll ap Llywelyn descended from Pasgen ab Urien is also important. As Bartrum noted, another medieval family based in Ystrad Tywi, the descendants of Einion ap Llywarch, claimed descent from Pasgen ab Urien.¹⁴⁵ In sixteenth-century genealogical manuscripts, Einion ap Llywarch's ancestry is described thus:¹⁴⁶

Einionn ap Llywarch ap Rrivid ap Mor ap Ynyr ap Pasgen (ap Ywain)¹⁴⁷ ap Urien Reged, iarll Reged, ac weddy hynny i bu ef vrenin yn Yssgottlo[n]d, ac ef a bioedd Kydweli a Charnwllon ac lssgennen a holl Wyr a'i fferthynau ac ef a wnaeth holl gestyll y tervynau hynny.

Einion son of Llywarch son of Rhrivid son of Mor son of Ynyr son of Pasgen (son of Owain) son of Urien Rheged, earl of Rheged, and after that he was king in Scotland, and he owned Cydweli and Carnwyllion and Is Cennen and all Gŵyr and its appurtenances and he built all the castles of those territories.

Among the recorded sons of Einion ap Llywarch is Gwgon Sais, one of the noblemen who held the lands of Abergwili at the time of the agreement of 1222.¹⁴⁸ Descent from Pasgen

33–34 in NLW 3042B. The latter is likely to preserve the better reading, considering that successive passages in JC 33–34 identify Gwgon and Cenau Menrudd as different people.

¹⁴² *EWGT* 141, n. 33. For analogues to the story about Gwgon and the snake, see the same note and F. Jones, 'Welsh Pedigrees', p. lxx; *DWH* 1, 209–10. Maund understood the text as saying that Gwgon was killed by Llywelyn ap Seisyll: *Ireland*, pp. 46 and 60. Presumably she read the *a* as the Latin ablative preposition rather than the Welsh conjunction.

¹⁴³ *BT* (PS) 1020 [1022] and 1021 [1023]; *BT* (R) [1022] and [1023]. The battle in question was fought against Rhain the Irishman: see Thornton, 'Who was Rhain the Irishman?'; Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, pp. 556–7; O. W. Jones, '*Brut y Tywysogion*', pp. 213–14.

¹⁴⁴ *HW* II, 406 (esp. n. 31); above, p. 107, n. 58; Remfry, 'Cadwallon'; Remfry, *Native Welsh Dynasties*, pp. 37 and 41.

¹⁴⁵ *EWGT* 141, n. 34; cf. G. P. Jones, 'Scandinavian Settlement', pp. 122–9.

¹⁴⁶ Bartrum, 'Pedigrees', pt 1, 109–10 (no. 24). Translation is my own.

¹⁴⁷ The brackets indicate that Bartrum suggested deleting this generation. The name does not occur in all of the manuscripts quoted by Bartrum.

¹⁴⁸ Meyrick, *Heraldic Visitations* I, 94; for other sources, see *WG* I VI, 283, s. Gwgon Sais. Bartrum did not originally include Gwgon Sais's supposed paternity in *WG* I IV, s. 'Rheinallt', but he later added it as a correction: see the version of the 'Rheinallt' sheet digitised for the 'Bartrum Project': <<https://>

ab Urien had evidently become a hallmark of local legitimacy in the vicinity of Abergwili, and this idea seems to have existed as early as the time of the composition of the Hywel ap Goronwy group of pedigrees.

The link between Abergwili and the commote of Llandeilo Fawr (Maenordeilo), as recorded in the 1222 agreement, provides a plausible context in which a group of pedigrees that strive to connect Hywel ap Goronwy's family with the founding of Abergwili might have been put into writing. The genealogy's emphasis on the connection between Hywel ap Goronwy and Abergwili may have arisen because it was Hywel, during his brief reign in Ystrad Tywi from 1102 to 1105, who had originally made the lands of Abergwili an appurtenance to Maenordeilo. This was probably achieved through a grant of the lands of Abergwili to the church of Llandeilo Fawr, since, prior to the acquisition of the lands of Maenordeilo by the bishop of St Davids, the land of the commote had probably belonged to the church of Llandeilo Fawr. It is not known when the bishop of St Davids first acquired the lands of Maenordeilo. A letter of Pope Innocent II, probably dating to 1130, shows that, by that time, *terminus de Lantelliau Maur cum pertinentiis suis* ('the territory of Llandeilo Fawr with its appurtenances'), no doubt encompassing Maenordeilo, was the subject of a dispute between St Davids and Llandaf.¹⁴⁹ Similarly, a charter in the Book of Llandaf that was probably edited around the same time calls the same territory *Lann Teliau Maur cum suis duobus territoriis* ('Llandeilo Fawr with its two *territoria*'), and claims it for Llandaf.¹⁵⁰ Although these references show that Llandeilo Fawr church and its lands were subject to predatory episcopal claims already in the 1130s, they nevertheless seem to indicate that the link between Llandeilo Fawr church and the territory of Maenordeilo had not yet been severed, as it evidently had by 1222; by the latter date, the lands of St Davids in 'the commote of Llandeilo Fawr' were apparently separate from the lands of the church of Llandeilo Fawr itself in the same commote, even though the 1222 charter claims that Rhys Gryg and his men had given those lands to the church of Llandeilo Fawr with the bishop's permission. This would suggest that, if it really were Hywel who made the lands of Abergwili an appurtenance of Maenordeilo, he would have done so by granting the lands to Llandeilo Fawr rather than to St Davids. The church of Llandeilo Fawr therefore becomes the leading candidate for the centre at which the genealogies associated with Hywel ap Goronwy were originally written between 1102 and 1105. Furthermore, since either Llandeilo Fawr or its later master Talyllychau are the most probable centres for the writing of a genealogical text focussed on Rhys Gryg, it is not at all unlikely that all the material identified as belonging to Source II of the Jesus 20 genealogies was assembled either in Llandeilo Fawr or in Talyllychau (using material gathered from its dependent church of Llandeilo Fawr), perhaps in the years 1216–33.

It is notable that the Ystrad Tywi material, comprising the Rhys Gryg and Hywel ap Goronwy groups (JC 24–29 and 30–33), is explicitly interlinked with (and indeed sandwiched inside of) the material identified as pertaining to the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension of the Gwynedd collection of genealogies (the Cunedda Wledig, Rhodri Mawr, Old North and Gwynedd groups; JC 6–7, 17–23, 34–38 and 39–42), but is not interlinked with any of the other material in the Jesus 20 collection. This helps to confirm the idea that the Jesus 20 genealogies incorporate a recension of the ninth-century Gwynedd collection that is independent of the tenth-century St Davids recension, because the material explicitly interlinked with the Rhys Gryg group (i.e. the Cunedda Wledig and especially Rhodri Mawr groups) and

cadair.aber.ac.uk/dspace/handle/2160/4026> [accessed 21 August 2019]. Bartrum estimated that Einion ap Llywarch was born c. 1150, which agrees well with Gwgon's floruit in 1222: Bartrum, 'Pedigrees', pt 1, 132, n. 24.

¹⁴⁹ LL 56; J. R. Davies, *Book of Llandaf*, pp. 43, 156 (no. 30) and 170. For a consideration of the later interest of St Davids in Abergwili, see James, 'Geography', p. 68.

¹⁵⁰ LL charter 253; Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, pp. 283–4 and n. 34.

the Hywel ap Goronwy group (i.e. the Old North group) is limited to the genealogies that are likely to have been composed originally in ninth-century Gwynedd, as discussed in Chapter 2. This implies, in turn, that all of this material was inherited as a unit by the final redactor of the Jesus 20 genealogies, probably in the thirteenth century. This unit is called here ‘Source II’. The proposed chronology of the development of Source II would be as follows:

1102 × 1105: A short tract focussed on Hywel ap Goronwy and his cousin Seisyll ap Llywelyn was interpolated into a copy of the ninth-century Gwynedd collection of genealogies, linking them to Pasgen ab Urien and the founding of Abergwili.¹⁵¹

1136 × 1233: Following the development of the two main elements of the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension (namely, the creation of Rhodri’s agnatic pedigree to Coel Hen and the explicit linking of the old pedigrees of Powys, Man and Ceredigion to Rhodri) probably at some point in the twelfth century after 1136 (i.e. after the resurgence of Merfynion power in Deheubarth), the copy of the Gwynedd collection with the interpolated tract on Hywel ap Goronwy was updated to reflect the doctrines of the new recension (this possibly occurred at the same time as the following stage).

1216 × 1233: Following the council of Aberdyfi in 1216, pedigrees of Rhys Gryg and Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, written from Rhys Gryg’s perspective, were inserted into the collection following the pedigrees of Rhodri Mawr, their common ancestor.

1216 × c. 1300(?): All this material (‘Source II’) was brought together with the other sections of the Jesus 20 compilation by the time that the final redactor was working (and possibly by the final redactor).

The Jesus 20 Genealogies, Source I

Excluding the material deriving from Source II, the remaining sections of the Jesus 20 genealogies fall into five groups: the ‘Plant Brychan’ (JC 1–3), ‘Cadog Sant’ (JC 4–5), ‘Brycheiniog’ (JC 8), ‘Morgan ab Owain’ (JC 9–16) and ‘Plant Ceredig’ (JC 43–50) groups. The subject matter of these five groups is very different in focus, date and origin from the matter of Source II. The twelfth- and thirteenth-century dynasties of Deheubarth and Gwynedd are nowhere in sight; instead, we are presented with material concerning saints and dynasties located primarily in south-eastern Wales. It is suggested below that all of the five groups were inherited from a single source associated with the old *clas* church of Llancarfan. I refer to this source as ‘Source I’ of the Jesus 20 genealogies.

The best point of comparison for Source I is Cotton Vespasian A. xiv.¹⁵² This manuscript was probably written in the last third of the twelfth century, almost certainly in St Mary’s Priory, Monmouth. It is discussed in more detail in Chapter 2, where it is emphasised that many of the hagiographical texts in the manuscript were either composed by those associated with Llancarfan (such as Lifris and Caradog of Llancarfan) or were transmitted through Llancarfan, where they were used as sources (as with *De situ Brecheniauc*). It was also

¹⁵¹ It is possible that *Mawl Hywel ap Goronwy*, one of the earliest surviving Welsh vernacular court poems, was written down at the same time and place. The poem is preserved in the Black Book of Carmarthen (*LIDC* 50–1) and has been edited by R. Geraint Gruffydd in CBT I, poem 1, and by Joseph Vendryes in ‘Le poème’, pp. 280–2; see too N. A. Jones, ‘Golwg Arall’; Stephenson, ‘*Mawl Hywel ap Goronwy*’; Guy, ‘Rheinwg’; for its transmission, see N. A. Jones, ‘Ffynonellau’, pp. 98–9.

¹⁵² A similar observation is made in Thornton, ‘Power’, p. 83.

argued that Caradog of Llancarfan may well have been responsible for the St Cadog genealogies in the form in which they are preserved in the same manuscript.

In addition to the St Cadog genealogies, Vespasian A. xiv contains two other texts with major genealogical content: *De situ Brecheniauc* ('Concerning the Establishment of Brycheiniog') and *Progenies Keredic* ('The Kindred of Ceredig'). *De situ Brecheniauc* is the earliest and best witness to the text that I call the 'Brychan Tract'. *Progenies Keredic* is a short text on the descendants of Ceredig ap Cunedda Wledig, which follows directly on from *De situ Brecheniauc* in the manuscript, and is the earliest and best witness to the text that I call the 'Ceredig Tract'. The two groups in the Jesus 20 genealogies called the 'Plant Brychan' and 'Plant Ceredig' groups are essentially versions of these same two texts.

The Brychan Tract

Six independent versions of the Brychan Tract are extant today: two full texts in Latin and four partial texts in Welsh. The two Latin texts are known as *De situ Brecheniauc* and *Cognacio Brychan*, each surviving in only one manuscript.¹⁵³ *De situ Brecheniauc* is extant in Vespasian A. xiv (ff. 10v–11v), as mentioned above; in many ways it presents a text that is likely to approximate to the archetype more closely than the other versions. *Cognacio Brychan* is extant in the hand of the sixteenth-century antiquarian and royal agent Sir John Prise (1502–55). Prise copied the text on some leaves that came to be bound at the end of Cotton Domitian A. i, part ii (ff. 56–160), a manuscript originally written at St Davids late in the thirteenth century, which had been acquired by Prise probably by 1539.¹⁵⁴ Much of this manuscript is given over to the works of Gerald of Wales, though folios 138r–155r contain the Cottonian chronicle (the C-text of *Annales Cambriae*).¹⁵⁵ Prise may have found his exemplar for *Cognacio Brychan* in Brecon Priory, which he began to lease in 1537 and subsequently bought in 1542.¹⁵⁶ *De situ Brecheniauc* and *Cognacio Brychan* are closely related, containing pseudo-historical narratives explaining the circumstances surrounding the births of Brychan, eponymous founder of Brycheiniog, and St Cynog his son. Following the narratives are lists of Brychan's sons, daughters and wives, and a list of the burial places of Brychan, his sons Rhain and Cynog and his father Anlach (see Table 3.6).

The narrative about Brychan and St Cynog is otherwise found only in one of the four partial Welsh versions of the text, which was copied twice by Thomas Wiliems into NLW 16962–3A (written 1578–1612), apparently from an exemplar in the hand of Gruffudd Hiraethog. This text, headed *Sarth Marthin gynt, ynawr Brycheiniawc* in the manuscript, comprises a short summary of the narrative without the attendant lists, and it is edited and discussed for the first time in Appendix A.3.4. The other three Welsh texts preserve only the listing and genealogical elements of the Brychan Tract, without the accompanying narrative. One is the Plant Brychan group of the Jesus 20 genealogies (JC 1–3), which has the

¹⁵³ Diplomatic editions are provided in Wade-Evans, 'Brychan Documents', pp. 24–30 (transl. pp. 31–7). An inaccurate edition of *De situ Brecheniauc* had previously appeared in Rees, *Lives*, pp. 272–5 (transl. pp. 602–8). Wade-Evans published both texts on two further occasions: Wade-Evans, 'Brychan Brycheiniog', pp. 13–18 (transl. pp. 20–3) and *VSBG* 313–18. The lists of children, alongside extracts from the main narratives, were reprinted in *EWGT* 14–19, and translations, excluding the lists of sons and daughters, were included in Thomas, *And Shall these Mute Stones Speak?*, pp. 137–41.

¹⁵⁴ Ker, 'Sir John Prise', pp. 7, 10 and 21–2; Huws, *Repertory*, s. Cotton Dom. i.

¹⁵⁵ For the manuscript as a witness to Gerald's work, see Rooney, 'Manuscripts', pp. xi, 80, 87, 103, 112, 158 and 207. For the C-text of *Annales Cambriae*, see now Gough-Cooper, *Annales Cambriae: The C Text*; Gough-Cooper, 'Decennovenal Reason'; Gough-Cooper, 'Meet the Ancestors?'.

¹⁵⁶ Ker, 'Sir John Prise', p. 4 and n. 4; G. Williams, 'Sir John Pryse', p. 55. Note that Prise also owned Vespasian A. xiv; he annotated his copy of *Cognacio Brychan* with forms drawn from *De situ Brecheniauc* and copied passages of *De situ Brecheniauc* into Domitian A. i following *Cognacio Brychan*: Ker, 'Sir John Prise', p. 22; Phillimore, 'Fragment', p. 106, n. 1; *VSBG* xxi–ii.

genealogy of St Cynog and the lists of Brychan's son and daughters. Within the context of the Jesus 20 genealogies, the omission of the narrative about Brychan and Cynog can be readily understood. It was suggested above that the final redactor attempted to arrange most of the material relating to 'dynastic ancestors' towards the front of the collection, where indeed the Plant Brychan group is found. A cross-reference appended to JC 8, listed above in Table 3.3, indicates that Brychan was envisaged as one such dynastic ancestor.¹⁵⁷ Presumably the final redactor included only those sections of the original Brychan Tract that sufficed to illustrate the genealogical connections of Brychan as a dynastic founder.

The other two Welsh texts are found only in later manuscripts. One, commonly known as *Plant Brychan*, is edited in Appendix B.4 as part of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies (§1), and is discussed in Chapter 4.¹⁵⁸ The other, identified here for the first time, is called *Llyma Frychan Brycheiniog a'i blant*, and is extant in five manuscripts of the sixteenth century or later. It is a composite text and is discussed and edited in Appendix B.7.¹⁵⁹

It is not possible to depict the relationships between the six versions of the Brychan Tract on a stemma because of the significant degree of conflation that has produced the extant texts.¹⁶⁰ Although there is considerable overlap between the contents of the lists of sons and daughters in five of the six versions (the exception being *Sarth Marthin gynt, ynawr Brycheiniawc*, which does not have the lists), no two versions are the same. Certain variants are shared by some versions against others, but these variants do not resolve themselves into any consistent pattern of textual development. Successive acts of conflation have obscured the process. This is highlighted by the occurrence of doublets in some witnesses, which are the result of divergent variants of the same original item having been copied into the texts from more than one exemplar. For instance, *Cognacio Brychan* has both 'Koneidon apud Kydwely in monte Kyfor' (*CB* 15.20) as well as 'Kenedlon apud Mynyd Kymorth' (*CB* 15.24) for Cynheiddon of Llangynheiddon near Mynydd Cyfor, while *Llyma Frychan Brycheiniog a'i blant* has both 'Tŷdvyll [...] yMerthyr Tŷdvyll yMorganwc' (*LIFB* 3.10) and 'Euvail [...] yn lle a elwir Merthyr Euvail' (*LIFB* 3.2) for Tudfyl of Merthyr Tydfil.¹⁶¹

Nevertheless, some trends can be observed. *Cognacio Brychan* and the Plant Brychan group of Jesus 20 have both been subject to processes of abbreviation. For example, *Cognacio Brychan* is the only version to omit Arianwen's marriage to Iorwerth Hirflawdd (see Table 3.7). Similarly, only Jesus 20 omits Clydwyn's conquest of Deheubarth (see Table 3.8).

Some versions of the text have been subject to successive rounds of translation as well as conflation. The matrix language of the original text was probably Latin, as in *De situ Brecheniauc*; it is therefore probable that the sections appearing in *Sarth Marthin gynt, ynawr Brycheiniawc*, Jesus 20, the Llywelyn ap Iorwerth genealogies and *Llyma Frychan Brycheiniog a'i blant* are the result of an attempt, or more probably several attempts, to translate the relevant sections of the text into Welsh. In the case of Jesus 20, it seems unlikely that the Plant Brychan group was translated into Welsh as late as the time when Source I was combined with Source II, sometime after 1216. A hint of an earlier phase of translation may survive in the second part of JC 2.3, as shown in Table 3.8. It can be seen that JC 2.3

¹⁵⁷ JC 8: '[...] m. Brachan, val y mae vchot' ('[...] son of Brychan, as it is above').

¹⁵⁸ Modern knowledge of this text is largely due to Bartrum's composite edition: *EWGT* 81–4; cf. Bartrum, 'Late Additions', pp. 88–90 and 95–6. Note that the texts of *Plant Brychan* in Llanstephan 28 and Peniarth 127i were edited individually by Wade-Evans in 'Bonedd y Sant, E', p. 174 and 'Bonedd y Saint, F', pp. 374–8 respectively.

¹⁵⁹ See also below, p. 198.

¹⁶⁰ This was not sufficiently recognised in David Thornton's earlier attempt to discuss the relationships between the versions of the Brychan Tract: 'Brychan'.

¹⁶¹ Both variants stem from a corrupt reading like that of *DSB* 12.2: 'Tudeuel filia Brachan in Merthyr Euineil'.

Table 3.6: The ordering of the six versions of the *Brychan Tract*

<i>DSB</i>	<i>CB</i>	<i>Sarth Marthin gynt, ynawr Brycheiniawc</i>	JC 1–3	LIIG 1	<i>LIFB</i>
		Genealogy of Brychan			
Main narrative	Main narrative	Main narrative			
Genealogy of Cynog	Genealogy of Cynog		Genealogy of Cynog	Genealogy of Brychan	Genealogy of Brychan
	Brychan's wives				
Brychan's sons	Brychan's sons		Brychan's sons	Brychan's sons	Brychan's sons
Brychan's daughters	Brychan's daughters		Brychan's daughters	Brychan's daughters	Brychan's daughters
Burial places	Burial places				
Brychan's wives				Brychan's wives	
				The three lineages of the saints of Wales	Brychan's titles

Table 3.7: *Arianwen in the Brychan Tract*

<i>DSB</i> 12.10	<i>CB</i> 15.10	JC 3.2	LIIG 1.3.2	<i>LIFB</i> 3.12
Arianwen filia Brachan in Powis, uxor Gereuerth regis de Powis, inde dicitur loruerthiaun	Arganwen apud Powys	Urgmggen verch Brachan, gwreic Ioroereth Hirblaut	Arianwen ferch Brychan, gwreic Ierwerth Hirvlawt, o hwnnw Iorwerthiaun	Rianwen verch Brychan a vŵ wraic Ierwerth Hirvlawdd o Bowys

Table 3.8: *Clydwyn in the Brychan Tract*

<i>DSB</i> 11.3	<i>CB</i> 14.3	JC 2.3	LIIG 1.2.2	<i>LIFB</i> 2.2–3
Clytguin filius Brachan, qui inuasit totam terram Sudgwalliae	Clytwyn, a oresgynnaud Deheubarth	Clitwin m. Brachan	Kletwyn mab Brychan a oresgynnwys Deheubarth Gymry	Glewyn ap Brychan ysydd yn sant ac a orysgynawdd Ddylheubarth
Clydouc sanctus et Dedyu sanctus filii illius Clytguein	qui pater erat sanctorum Clydauc et Dettu	Clytaŵc sant he Dettu sant meibyon Clytwin		Kyledawc ap Brychan ysydd yn sant yGhaer Gledawc yn Lloegr

has *he* where *DSB* 11.3 and *CB* 14.3 both have Latin *et*; *he* clearly represents OW *ha*, the conjunction now spelled as *a* ('and'), which seems to have lost its initial *h* after the twelfth century.¹⁶² It follows that elements of the Brychan Tract in Jesus 20 had been translated into Welsh no later than the twelfth century. The items of *Cognacio Brychan* have probably been subject to translation in both directions. One of its exemplars may have been written in Welsh, as is suggested, among other examples, by *CB* 14.3 in Table 3.8, which has 'a oresgy-nnaud Deheubarth' for *DSB* 11.3's 'qui inuasit totam terram Sudgwalliae' ('who conquered all the land of South Wales'). *Cognacio Brychan*'s use of a Welsh exemplar might also account for its tendency to translate place-names into Latin which are written in Welsh in *De situ Brecheniauc*, as if there were no clear linguistic boundaries between the main text and the place-names in one of *Cognacio Brychan*'s exemplars. For instance, one of the doublets of Cynheiddon cited above (*CB* 15.20) has the geographical identifier *in monte Kyfor*, while all other versions of the same item, including the other doublet in *Cognacio Brychan*, have some variation of *DSB* 12.22's vernacular *in y minid Cheuor*.¹⁶³ Perhaps *CB* 15.20's *in monte Kyfor* and other examples like it were the result of a Welsh exemplar being translated into Latin as part of the process of conflation that produced *Cognacio Brychan*.

The ordering of the lists is somewhat variable, as might be expected. *De situ Brecheniauc* and *Cognacio Brychan* mostly follow the same order. This order may reproduce an aspect of the archetype, though it should be remembered that the scribe of *Cognacio Brychan*, John Prise, had access to *De situ Brecheniauc*, and may have deliberately emulated its order. The Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies and *Llyma Frychan Brycheiniog a'i blant* follow this order less consistently, though some comparable sequences can be observed. In the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, the difference in ordering is, in part, deliberate, since all the daughters whose husbands are specified have been moved to the beginning of the list.¹⁶⁴ In Jesus 20, the ordering of the sons mirrors that of *De situ Brecheniauc*, whereas the ordering of the daughters does not, possibly due to copying difficulties. Table 3.9 shows that the daughters listed in *JC* 3.5–11 equate to the daughters numbered 14–16 and 7–9 (in *italics*) in *De situ Brecheniauc* and *Cognacio Brychan*. *JC* 3.5–11 has merged the two latter sequences into one by drawing on each of them alternately. This might be explained by the compiler of the version in Jesus 20 having read as a single column of text a page written in two columns. This does not explain the erratic ordering of the other daughters in Jesus 20, though it seems likely that misinterpretation of a cramped and busy exemplar lies behind the placement of at least some of the other items.

Can anything be said of the date of the archetype of the Brychan Tract? Egerton Phillimore once claimed of *De situ Brecheniauc* that 'the Welsh forms and glosses in that MS. show it to have been copied, by someone who did not understand Welsh, from an earlier MS. at least as old as the eleventh century'.¹⁶⁵ We shall see below that the latter part of his conclusion may be broadly correct. Patrick Sims-Williams has similarly stated that 'there is no real proof that the tracts had reached anything like their present form before the Norman conquest of Brycheiniog in the late eleventh century'.¹⁶⁶ But the only previous sustained attempt to date the Brychan Tract was undertaken by Charles Thomas in 1994, who asserted that the original text was written by a priest of Llangasty Tal-y-Llyn during the sixth century.¹⁶⁷ Thomas explains that his account 'presents conclusions only', and he refers his readers to a

¹⁶² See the examples cited in *GPC Online* s.v. *a*^s, *ac*.

¹⁶³ Cf. *apud mynyd Kymorth* (*CB* 15.24); *yMynydd Kyuor* (*JC* 3.21); *yMynydd Kymorth* (*LIIG* 1.3.18). There is no equivalent item in *Llyma Frychan Brycheiniog a'i blant*.

¹⁶⁴ As noticed in *EWGT* 81.

¹⁶⁵ Phillimore, 'Fragment', pp. 105–6.

¹⁶⁶ Sims-Williams, 'Provenance', p. 56.

¹⁶⁷ Thomas, *And Shall these Mute Stones Speak?*, p. 132.

forthcoming book ‘for fuller explanations’.¹⁶⁸ The latter was unfortunately never published. Nevertheless, it seems clear that Thomas’s views were based on the untenable proposition that the Brychan Tract ‘forms a coherent and credible account’, despite its being largely hagiographical and pseudo-historical in outlook.¹⁶⁹ Needless to say, it is abundantly clear that the Brychan Tract was never intended to be ‘a coherent and credible account’, in the modern positivist sense; it is an imagined account of the origins of Brycheiniog and its

Table 3.9: The ordering of Brychan’s daughters in *Jesus 20*

JC	DSB	CB
(3.)1	(12.)1	(15.)1
2	10	10
3	17	17
4		
5	14	14
6	7	7
7	7	7
8	8	8
9	15	15
10	9	9
11	16	16
12	13	13
13	5	4
14	2	5
15	3+4	2+3
16	12	12
17	18	19
18	?19	
19	6	6
20	21	21
21	22	20+24
22	23	22
23	24	23
24	25	
	11	11
	20	18

major churches, cast in readily graspable genealogical terms. The following discussion about dating proceeds from first principles, notwithstanding Thomas’s unsubstantiated assertions.

It is clear that *De situ Brecheniauc* in *Vespasian A.* xiv reproduces the archetype most closely, even though the other versions sometimes preserve isolated spellings that are earlier than their counterparts in *De situ Brecheniauc*.¹⁷⁰ Several factors suggest that the archetype

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 157, n. 11.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

¹⁷⁰ As shown in Table 3.7 above, where *DSB* 12.10 has *Aranwen* against *Arganwen* in *CB* 15.10 and the more corrupt *Ugrnggen* in *JC* 3.2, both of which preserve OW *g* for /j/: cf. *LHEB* 466–9. The second *g* of *JC* 3.2’s *Ugrnggen* probably also preserves the *g* of OW *gu* for /w/.

of all surviving versions of the Brychan Tract took shape in the century c. 1050–c. 1150. Nothing in the orthography of any version necessitates the view that the text predates the late Old Welsh period, c. 950–c. 1150. For example, following the diphthongization of /ɔ:/ to /au/, old spellings in *o* gradually gave way to spellings in *au*, which became popular by c. 860 and ubiquitous by c. 910.¹⁷¹ *De situ Brecheniauc* contains many relevant spellings in *au*, but none in *o*.¹⁷² Similarly, orthographic representation of the change of pretonic /ð/ > /ə/ started to be shown in the late eighth century, becoming dominant by the second half of the ninth century and ubiquitous by c. 960.¹⁷³ In *De situ Brecheniauc*, the change is always written, spelled as either *y* or *e*.¹⁷⁴ Overall, the orthography of Welsh proper nouns in *De situ Brecheniauc* is very similar to the orthography of *Braint Teilo* in the Book of Llandaf, parts of which have been dated variously to the eleventh or early twelfth centuries.¹⁷⁵ Both texts, for example, use a *h* to mark diphthongs.¹⁷⁶

An aspect of the Latin style of *De situ Brecheniauc* suggests a late eleventh- or early twelfth-century context for the redaction of the extant text.¹⁷⁷ The short main narrative of *De situ Brecheniauc* makes comparatively frequent use of the enclitic conjunction *-que* in second position in main clauses, especially when the first component of the clause is a finite indicative verb.¹⁷⁸ This conjunction is entirely absent from *Cognacio Brychan*, which has probably been reworked in transmission. John Reuben Davies has noticed that the construction ‘finite verb + *-que*’ is a distinctive feature of the Latin hagiography of Wales in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.¹⁷⁹ The construction is common in Rhygyfarch’s Life of St David, Lifris’s Life of St Cadog and the Llanbadarn Life of St Padarn, but had fallen out of fashion by the time that Caradog of Llancarfan and the compilers of the Book of Llandaf were working in the second quarter of the twelfth century. For instance, the construction was edited out of the Life of St David in the mid-twelfth-century Nero-Digby version, just as it may have been edited out of *Cognacio Brychan*.

The text’s political outlook supports this conclusion. *De situ Brecheniauc* employs Norman-influenced terms for major political divisions: these include *Sudgwalliae* (§11.3), *Nordwalie* (§12.9) and *Cor[n]wallia* (§11.10), which were not generally used by the native Welsh before the second quarter of the twelfth century.¹⁸⁰ In Cambro-Latin writing of the second half of the eleventh century, one might expect forms such as *regnum Uenedocie* and *dextralem Britanniam* for the major kingdoms of North and South Wales.¹⁸¹ More significantly, *De situ Brecheniauc* alludes to three major dynasties ruling in Wales: those of

¹⁷¹ Sims-Williams, ‘Emergence’, p. 69.

¹⁷² E.g. *Brecheniauc* (§§1, 9 and 13), *Portmaur* (§3), *Mainaur* (§6), *Kynauc* (§§8–10 and 13), *Kenwaur* (§12.9), *Schitrauc* (§12.9), *Ioruerthiaun* (§12.10), *Meirchiaun* (§12.14), *Coscoruaur* (§12.14) and *Cathraut* (§12.16). The forms *Clydouc* (§11.3) and *Bradouc* (§12.12) may attempt to render the suffix *-wg*, which is a south-eastern dialectal variant of *-awg/-og*: Russell, *Celtic Word-Formation*, pp. 25–8; cf. Sims-Williams, ‘Emergence’, pp. 70–1.

¹⁷³ Sims-Williams, ‘Emergence’, pp. 45 and 47.

¹⁷⁴ E.g. *Kynauc* (§§8–10 and 13), *Kenken* (§12.9), *Kenwaur* (§12.9) and *Kenuarch* (§12.14).

¹⁷⁵ Wendy Davies: first half of the text c. 1110 × c. 1129, second half of the text c. 950 × c. 1090 or perhaps 1022 × 1045 (‘*Braint Teilo*’, pp. 131–3); John Reuben Davies: possibly 1023 × 1033 or 1120s/30s (*Book of Llandaf*, pp. 17–18 and 68–70); Paul Russell: second quarter of twelfth century (‘*Priiilegium Sancti Teliaui*’, pp. 62–3). For texts and translations, see Russell, ‘*Priiilegium Sancti Teliaui*’, pp. 41–4, 46–7, 48–50 and 63–4.

¹⁷⁶ *Kehingayr* (DSB 12.7); *Mahelgun* (DSB 12.9); cf. *luhyn* (ModW llwyn, ‘grove’) in *Braint Teilo*.

¹⁷⁷ Aspects of the Latin style of *De situ Brecheniauc* and *Cognacio Brychan* are briefly discussed in Thomas, *And Shall these Mute Stones Speak?*, p. 157, n. 11.

¹⁷⁸ With finite verbs: *abiitque* (§2); *uocauitque* (§5); *directusque est*, *stetitque*, *dixitque* (§7). With other words: *indeque* (§2); *ibidemque*, *illoque* (§3); *ceruusque* (§7); *ipsaque* (§9).

¹⁷⁹ Davies, ‘Some Observations’, pp. 157–8.

¹⁸⁰ Insley, ‘Kings’, p. 148; Pryce, ‘British or Welsh?’, pp. 780–4.

¹⁸¹ As found in Cott. c397 [1075].

‘Clytguin filius Brachan, qui inuasit totam terram Sudgwalliae’ (‘Clydwyn son of Brychan, who conquered all the land of Deheubarth’, §11.3), ‘Mahelgun rex Nordwalie’ (‘Maelgwn, king of Gwynedd’, §12.9) and ‘Gereuerth rex de Powis, inde dicitur Iorwerthiaun’ (‘Iorwerth, king of Powys, from whom the Iorwerthion are named’, §12.10). The first two are unremarkable: Clydwyn had been claimed as an ancestor of the kings of Deheubarth from no later than the middle of the tenth century, while Maelgwn had long been known as an archetypal early king of Gwynedd.¹⁸² Iorwerth, king of Powys, is more interesting. This is a reference to Iorwerth Hirflawdd, ancestor of the dynasties associated with Arwystli and Rhwng Gwy a Hafren. Dynasties claiming descent from Iorwerth Hirflawdd do not appear in records before the last quarter of the eleventh century. For a time they were dominant players in Welsh politics, particularly during the reigns of Trahaearn ap Caradog (fl. 1075–d. 1080) and Hywel ap Goronwy (fl. 1098–d. 1106). Thereafter their power became restricted to Arwystli and Rhwng Gwy a Hafren, particularly following the growth in the dominance of Bleddyn ap Cynfyn’s dynasty across Powys in the early decades of the twelfth century. The prominence afforded to Iorwerth Hirflawdd as ‘king of Powys’ in *De situ Brecheniauc*, which recurs in some respects in all five of the versions including the relevant item (see Table 3.7), suggests again that the archetype of the Brychan Tract was written in the political milieu of the late eleventh or early twelfth century. Although it is possible that aspects of the text could be considerably older than this date, there is nothing to suggest that the written archetype lying behind all extant versions of the text should be dated earlier than that time. Any suggestion that the text had undergone a longer history of development prior to the creation of the archetype would need to be supported on independent grounds.

What implications do these conclusions have for the textual development of the Jesus 20 genealogies? The Brychan Tract clearly circulated widely and was composed long before the final redactor was working (probably in the thirteenth century). It almost certainly originated from somewhere in Brycheiniog, but where exactly is uncertain. Patrick Sims-Williams and Charles Thomas independently suggested that the early monastery at Llan-gors had a role in its composition, which is entirely possible.¹⁸³ Sims-Williams also made the important point that Llan-gors was among the earliest possessions gifted to Bernard de Neufmarché’s new foundation of Brecon Priory at the beginning of the twelfth century.¹⁸⁴ It is therefore possible that Brecon Priory played a significant role in the transmission, and perhaps also the composition or redaction, of the extant Brychan Tract.¹⁸⁵ But wherever the text originated, what is more important for present purposes is that the text seems to have been known at Llanancarfan in the first half of the twelfth century, when the St Cadog genealogies were probably composed. It was argued in Chapter 2 that the Brychan Tract was used as a source for the St Cadog genealogies.¹⁸⁶ For now, it is enough to note that the Jesus 20 genealogies parallel Vespasian A. xiv by preserving both a version of the Brychan Tract and genealogical material linked to St Cadog, all of which seems to have been available together at Llanancarfan in the first half of the twelfth century. These points are developed below.

¹⁸² See respectively Guy, ‘Earliest Welsh Genealogies’, pp. 482 and 485 and below, p. 201.

¹⁸³ Sims-Williams, ‘Provenance’, p. 58; Thomas, *And Shall these Mute Stones Speak?*, pp. 131–2.

¹⁸⁴ As shown by the extant copy of the foundation charter: Banks, ‘Cartularium’, pt 3, 141–2; cf. Cowley, *Monastic Order*, pp. 13–14, 99, 172 and 175–6.

¹⁸⁵ Compare the interest in St Cadog in the Benedictine priory of Monmouth, where Vespasian A. xiv was written: Guy, ‘Explaining the Origins’. I argued in a paper delivered at the ‘Cult of Saints in Wales’ conference in Carmarthen on 17 September 2014 that the Brychan Tract was composed in Brecon Priory in the early twelfth century, as referred to in Guy, ‘Gerald’, p. 49. This remains possible, though I would now be more reluctant to dismiss a slightly earlier composition in Llan-gors.

¹⁸⁶ See above, pp. 82–3.

The Ceredig Tract

A short text beginning ‘Hec est progenies Keredic regis de Keredigan’ (‘Here is the kindred of Ceredig, king of Ceredigion’) follows on immediately from *De situ Brecheniauc* on folio 11v of Vespasian A. xiv.¹⁸⁷ The text comprises a list of thirteen men and one woman descended from the eponymous Ceredig through one to four generations. Their pedigrees are listed one after another: the first (that of St David) ending with *Keredic filii Cuneda*, the others all ending simply with *Keredic*. Where they can be identified, the subjects of the pedigrees are almost always patrons of church sites in and around Ceredigion. Thus, for example, the eighth pedigree, which reads ‘Karanouc filius Keredic’, pertains to the church of Llangrannog in Ceredigion. Overall, the text seems to offer a statement of the unity and interconnectedness of the churches of Ceredigion, expressed through the imagined genealogical relationships between the churches’ saintly founders, all cast as the descendants of the territorial eponym, Ceredig.

The correspondence between *Progenies Keredic* and Jesus 20’s Plant Ceredig group is much less widely acknowledged than that between *De situ Brecheniauc* and Jesus 20’s Plant Brychan group.¹⁸⁸ In Appendix A.3.5, the items in the two texts have been collated, along with relevant items from two versions of *Bonedd y Saint*. The resultant table serves to demonstrate a number of important points.¹⁸⁹ Firstly, it is evident that much of the material in the Plant Ceredig group of the Jesus 20 genealogies stems from a text that looked very like *Progenies Keredic*. Where the material overlaps, as much of it does, it is given in exactly the same order, and much of the detail is identical. Secondly, the first section of *Bonedd y Saint* is equally clearly based on a text like *Progenies Keredic*. To a degree, the material has been rearranged by the compiler of that text, but enough agreement remains to permit confidence regarding the relationship. There are therefore three witnesses of varying quality to an original Ceredig Tract.

Some of the corresponding items shared by *Progenies Keredic* and the Plant Ceredig group are sufficiently different to allow one to say something about the common exemplar of the two texts. One example is the seeming correspondence between *Auan Buelh filius Kedic* (PK 2) and *Kynan Buellt m. Cedic Traß* (JC 44).¹⁹⁰ The former item probably reflects the original most closely, as the figure intended is St Afan of Llanafan-Fawr in Buellt and Llanafan in Ceredigion.¹⁹¹ Consequently, the most likely explanation for the form *Kynan* is that it is a misreading of *auan* as *cinan*, as Anscombe once suggested.¹⁹² Such a misreading is only likely to have occurred while a scribe was copying an exemplar in which he expected to see *i* for *ə*/. This is a typical feature of Old Welsh orthography. In North Wales in the second half of the thirteenth century, *i* was generally avoided as a spelling for *ə*/, since *e*, and increasingly *y*, were much preferred.¹⁹³ In the first half of the thirteenth century, manuscripts from North Wales probably did use *i* for *ə*/.¹⁹⁴ In South

¹⁸⁷ *Progenies Keredic* has been edited four times: Wade-Evans, ‘Brychan Documents’, pp. 27 and 34; Wade-Evans, ‘Essay’, pp. 131–2 (includes the most detailed notes); *VSBG* 319–20; *EWGT* 20; cf. Anscombe, ‘Indexes’, pt 1, 520. The text is also available below in Appendix A.3.5. I am grateful to Barry Lewis for discussing this text with me in detail.

¹⁸⁸ It is tacitly acknowledged by Bartrum in *EWGT* 142, nn. ‘43–49’, 1, 2, 3a, 4 and 6. The only explicit acknowledgement of the relationship of which I am aware is Thornton, ‘Power’, p. 196.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. Thornton, ‘Power’, p. 196.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. Anscombe, ‘Indexes’, pt 3, 101, n. 10; *EWGT* 142, n. 44.

¹⁹¹ Wade-Evans, ‘Essay’, p. 132, n. 1.

¹⁹² Anscombe, ‘Indexes’, pt 3, 101, n. 10.

¹⁹³ Charles-Edwards and Russell, ‘Hendregadredd Manuscript’, p. 431; Russell, ‘Scribal (In)competence’, pp. 140, 146, 148, 150, 152, 154, 156 and 167–9; Russell, ‘What Did Medieval Welsh Scribes Do?’, pp. 87–95; Russell, ‘Scribal (In)consistency’, pp. 158–60; Roberts, *Brut*, p. xl.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. Russell, ‘Scribal (In)competence’, p. 169; Russell, ‘What Did Medieval Welsh Scribes Do?’, p. 95.

Wales, however, where our exemplar was probably written, the position is less clear. The only vernacular manuscript surviving from thirteenth-century South Wales is the Black Book of Carmarthen, which exhibits considerable variation between spellings for /ə/ in *i* and *y*.¹⁹⁵ Only in manuscripts of the fourteenth century is *y* visible as the regular spelling for /ə/ in South Wales.¹⁹⁶ The evidence of *Kynan Buellt* is thus of limited use, because all that it indicates is that, in a South Walian context, the mistake in JC 44 is the product of misreading an exemplar that predated the fourteenth century.

A potentially more profitable example is the seeming correspondence of *Kenider Gell filius Kynon* (PK 4) and *Cenuur m. Einyon* (JC 45).¹⁹⁷ Again, *Progenies Keredic* probably preserves the better reading, and it has been suggested that the figure concerned is St Cynidr of Glasbury.¹⁹⁸ If the reading *Cenuur* for *Kenider* is to be explained as a palaeographical mistake, then perhaps the common exemplar had a form such as *cenitir*, with *i* for the epenthetic vowel and a flat-topped *t* for /d/.¹⁹⁹ The latter could easily become indistinct among a row of minims. The resulting reading, *ceniiir*, would have borne a marked resemblance to spellings for Cynfor like *Cinuur*.²⁰⁰ A similar palaeographical mistake may account for the name in the patronymic. *Einyon* is presumably a misreading of a form of Cynon spelt *Cinon*; a comparable error can be seen in *Eleothen* (JC 12) for *Cloten* (HG 2). The common exemplar of *Progenies Keredic* and the Plant Ceredig group presumably used initial *k* less frequently than the extant text in Vespasian A. xiv (suggested too by JC 44's *Kynan* for *Auan*, via *Cinan*). This is an indication that the date of the common exemplar might not be later than the first half of the twelfth century, since *k* seems to have been introduced into Welsh orthography from Old French orthography during the twelfth century.²⁰¹ If the common exemplar did indeed contain a form such as *Cinon* for Cynon, then it may further be observed that *Einion*, the form behind JC 45's corresponding *Einyon*, contains one too many minims (*ciion* vs *iiiion*). Unless the *yod* (spelled *y* in *Einyon*) was deliberately inserted for dialectal reasons, which one would not expect in a southern manuscript such as Jesus 20, the additional minim might indicate not only that *c* was misread as *e*, but also that the resulting '*e*' was interpreted as OW *e* for /ei/.²⁰² The latter was regularly rendered in Middle Welsh as *ei* rather than *e*. If the scribe responsible expected to find this feature in his exemplar, then perhaps the exemplar predated the twelfth century. Such a date would also accommodate the forms *Cledyburdh* and *Dogmael* (PK 6 and 12), which correctly use *b* for /v/ < /β/ < /b/ and *m* for /v/ < /μ/ < /m/. Such spellings were frequently confused in the first half of the twelfth century and dropped out of use thereafter.

There are some items in these two Ceredig texts, particularly in Jesus 20's Plant Ceredig group, which appear in only one of the two versions. The extra items in the Plant

¹⁹⁵ Russell, 'Scribal (In)consistency', pp. 158 and 160.

¹⁹⁶ Charles-Edwards and Russell, 'Hendregadredd Manuscript', p. 431. For the probable origins of the use of *y* in Welsh orthography, see Kitson, 'Old English Literacy'. Note that *y* is used for /ə/ in the prefix *try-* three times in the Old Welsh englyn to St Padarn, preserved in a late-eleventh-century manuscript written in Llanbadarn Fawr in Ceredigion: Russell, 'Englyn', pp. 8–9.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. EWGT 142, n. 45.

¹⁹⁸ Wade-Evans, 'Essay', p. 132, n. 4. A different view of Cynidr's relations is presented by another short text in Vespasian A. xiv, entitled *Generatio sancti Egwini*: VSBG 319; EWGT 21 and 131. For an analysis of this text, see Smith, *Walter Map*, pp. 128–30, who argues convincingly that it reflects the interests of St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester. I am grateful to Joshua Byron Smith for sharing parts of his book with me prior to publication.

¹⁹⁹ Epenthetic vowels were occasionally written from the ninth century onwards, and had become commonplace by the time of the Book of Llandaf: CIB 288; LHEB 337–8.

²⁰⁰ For this form, see LL 195. For other early occurrences of the name, see Guy, 'Breton Migration', pp. 141–2.

²⁰¹ Rodway, 'Cymraeg', pp. 128–30; cf. HGK ccxciii.

²⁰² For OW *e* for /ei/, cf. Jenkins and Owen, 'Welsh Marginalia', pt 2, 118.

Ceredig group fall into two pairs. The first pair, JC 46 and 50, are unrelated to Ceredig and his descendants, and indeed to the contents of *Progenies Keredic*. JC 46 preserves a pedigree found in both the north-eastern material in the Harleian genealogies (HG 20) and the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies (LIIG 45). In the latter, the pedigree is linked to Rhufoniog.²⁰³ JC 50, a line descending from Dogfael ap Cunedda, presumably traces a dynasty linked to Dogfeiling, and is only otherwise found in the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies as LIIG 46.1. It is striking that, in the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, these two pedigrees (LIIG 45 and 46.1) appear in the same relative order immediately following the three pedigrees of Meirionydd (LIIG 42), Dunoding/Ardudwy (LIIG 43) and Rhos (LIIG 44), all of which derive ultimately from the ninth-century Gwynedd collection of genealogies. A similar arrangement occurs in the Jesus 20 genealogies, where, discounting the rest of the Plant Ceredig group, the Rhufoniog (JC 46) and Dogfeiling (JC 50) pedigrees follow those of Rhos (JC 39), Dunoding/Ardudwy (JC 40), Meirionydd (JC 41) and Ceredigion (JC 42), all of which, again, derive from the ninth-century Gwynedd collection of genealogies. The similar structural patterning in the Jesus 20 genealogies and the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies may stem from a common source. The Rhufoniog and Dogfeiling pedigrees probably did not occur in the ninth-century Gwynedd collection, considering the absence of the Dogfeiling pedigree from the Harleian genealogies and the appearance of the Rhufoniog pedigree in the Harleian genealogies (HG 20) among the north-eastern material, outside of the sequence common to the Harleian genealogies (HG 3, 17, 18, 26) and the Jesus 20 genealogies (JC 39–42).²⁰⁴ However, the Rhufoniog and Dogfeiling pedigrees may have been present in the same structural position in the version of the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension underlying both the Jesus 20 genealogies and the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies (see Figure 3.1 above).²⁰⁵ This might account for the similar placement of the Rhufoniog and Dogfeiling pedigrees in the Jesus 20 genealogies and the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. Furthermore, it might help to elucidate the nature of the relationship between JC 46/50 and the Plant Ceredig group. At the point in the development of the Jesus 20 genealogies when a version of the Ceredig Tract (from ‘Source I’) was combined with the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension (from ‘Source II’), possibly by the final redactor, it would appear that the items derived from the Ceredig Tract (JC 43–45 and 47a–49c) were inserted immediately after the pedigree of the kings of Ceredigion (JC 42), so that all of Ceredig ap Cunedda’s alleged descendants were addressed together. A consequence of this act of conflation was that the Rhufoniog pedigree (JC 46) was, for whatever reason, stranded within the Ceredig Tract material, while the Dogfeiling pedigree (JC 50) was left to follow it.

The other two pedigrees in Jesus 20’s Plant Ceredig group that are not in *Progenies Keredic* concern descendants of Ceredig and are paralleled in *Bonedd y Saint*. These are the pedigrees of *Kynuelyn* (JC 47b) and *Bangar* (JC 49a). Two explanations could account for these pedigrees. Either they were present in the archetype of the Ceredig Tract but omitted at some stage from *Progenies Keredic* or one of its antecedents; or they were not in the archetype and were introduced later into *Bonedd y Saint* and the Jesus 20 genealogies. The *Bangar* entry favours the latter interpretation. The names of *Bangar* and his father *Gardan* are not widely attested and may well be corruptions of the names *Kyngar* and *Garthawc*, as found in *Bonedd y Saint*.²⁰⁶ Initial *b* and *k* were easily confused, and such confusion could have been compounded by *Kyngar* being spelled as *Kangar*, as seen, for instance, in *GM* 3 (compare *Cangan* for Cyngen

²⁰³ Comparison with these latter two pedigrees shows that *Brochuael* in JC 46 is an error for something like HG 20’s *Brechialul*. The same mistake is found in LIIG 45 in manuscripts LC.

²⁰⁴ See above, pp. 64–6 and 114.

²⁰⁵ Though note that the *text* of the Rhufoniog pedigree in LIIG 45, as opposed to its structural positioning, might derive from the St Davids recension: see below, p. 229, and Table A.4.7.4.

²⁰⁶ Other instances of confusion between the names *Bangar* and *Cyngar*, deriving from misinterpretations of the *Bangar* ap Caw in LIIG 4, are highlighted in Phillimore, ‘Notes’, p. 535.

in HG 3).²⁰⁷ Similarly, *Garthawc* could previously have been spelt ‘*Gartauc*’, which could easily have been wrongly updated to *Gardan* if its final -c had been overlooked. If JC 49a’s *Bangar* and *Gardan* do indeed derive from *Bonedd y Saint*’s *Kyngar* and *Garthawc*, there are interesting implications for the relationship between the Jesus 20 genealogies and *Bonedd y Saint*. In Appendix A.3.5, readings have been provided from two versions of *Bonedd y Saint*, known as the A and D texts.²⁰⁸ The earliest copy of *Bonedd y Saint* is found in Peniarth 16, part vi (the A text), a detached part of the Dingestow manuscript (NLW 5266B), belonging to the second half of the thirteenth century.²⁰⁹ Along with its sister text in Peniarth 45 (the B text), the Peniarth 16vi *Bonedd y Saint* preserves the text that is in many ways closest to the original, and, together, Peniarth 16vi and Peniarth 45 form the primary witnesses to the ‘first branch’ of *Bonedd y Saint*’s textual tradition (see Figure 3.2).²¹⁰ The D text, on the other hand, is a witness to the ‘second branch’ of *Bonedd y Saint*’s textual tradition. D appears in Cardiff 3.242 (Havod 16), part ii, a detached quire of Llanstephan 27, the Red Book of Talgarth, written in the hand of Hywel Fychan.²¹¹ The text of D is closely related to C, from the White Book of Rhydderch.²¹² One of the chief characteristics of the D text and its relatives is the appearance of a separate item for *Kyngar m. Garthawc*. Although this item is absent from C itself, owing to the corrupt and abridged state of that text,²¹³ its appearance in C’s sister text, in Peniarth 132i, proves that it was present in the common exemplar of C and D.²¹⁴ In other versions of *Bonedd y Saint*, Cyngar ap Garthog is present only as the father of Gwynllyw; his appearance in his own right in D is a product of the erroneous omission of the first name (Gwynllyw) from Gwynllyw’s pedigree.²¹⁵ Consequently, if *Bangar m. Gardan* of JC 49a is to be explained as a corruption of *Kyngar m. Garthawc*, this indicates that the Plant Ceredig group of the Jesus 20 genealogies has been influenced by a copy of *Bonedd y Saint* close to D, the version found originally in the Red Book of Talgarth and its relatives. Such a conclusion would agree well with the other indications of a close connection between Jesus 20 and the Red Book of Talgarth, as established above.²¹⁶ Consequently, it is also quite possible that the other item common to the Plant Ceredig group and *Bonedd y Saint* but absent from *Progenies Keredic* (*Kynuelyn*, JC 47b) may have been taken into the Jesus 20 genealogies from the same

²⁰⁷ See Sims-Williams, ‘Emergence’, pp. 44–7, for names spelled with initial *Can-* (representing the element derived from Brittonic *Kuno-*) in charters thought to date from between c. 850 and c. 1020.

²⁰⁸ Wade-Evans, ‘Bonedd y Saint, D’; *VSBG* xix, n. 2; Bartrum, ‘Late Additions’, p. 76; *EWGT* 52–3. My thanks to Barry Lewis for many productive conversations about *Bonedd y Saint*.

²⁰⁹ Huws, *Repertory*, s. Peniarth 16 (note his use of ‘part vi’, earlier designated ‘part iv’); *MWM* 58; *TYP* xvi; Russell, ‘What Did Medieval Welsh Scribes Do?’, pp. 92–3.

²¹⁰ A and B are both edited in *LBS* IV, 369–73. Bartrum was of the opinion that ‘the best text is undoubtedly that of Hafod MS. 2 [i.e. Cardiff 1.363] (DD)’, which does indeed contain a very good text, though it includes a number of innovations that would come to characterise the ‘third branch’ of the *Bonedd y Saint* textual tradition (which included the archetype of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies; see Figure 3.2). Bartrum, ‘Late Additions’, p. 76; cf. *VSBG* xix–xx. Version Dd is edited in *VSBG* 320–3.

²¹¹ *MWM* 60. D is edited in Wade-Evans, ‘Bonedd y Saint, D’.

²¹² C is edited in Phillimore, ‘Fragment’, pp. 133–4. C appears in quire 22 of the White Book, which for a time was detached from the White Book proper and included in the composite Peniarth 12, whence it was restored to its original place in the White Book in 1940: *MWM* 259 and 263; Bartrum, ‘Late Additions’, p. 76; *EWGT* 52–3.

²¹³ Cf. Anscombe, ‘Indexes’, pt 2, 148 and 150–2.

²¹⁴ Barry Lewis has assigned the siglum N to Peniarth 132i.

²¹⁵ This mistake was realised by one copyist, who added a Gwynllyw item back into the text but positioned it before rather than after Afan Buellt. The accidentally created ‘*Kyngar m. Garthawc*’ item was still, nevertheless, maintained. The additional Gwynllyw item appears only in D and in the closely related Harley 2414i, on which see below, p. 185. Barry Lewis has assigned the siglum O to Harley 2414i.

²¹⁶ See above, pp. 105–6.

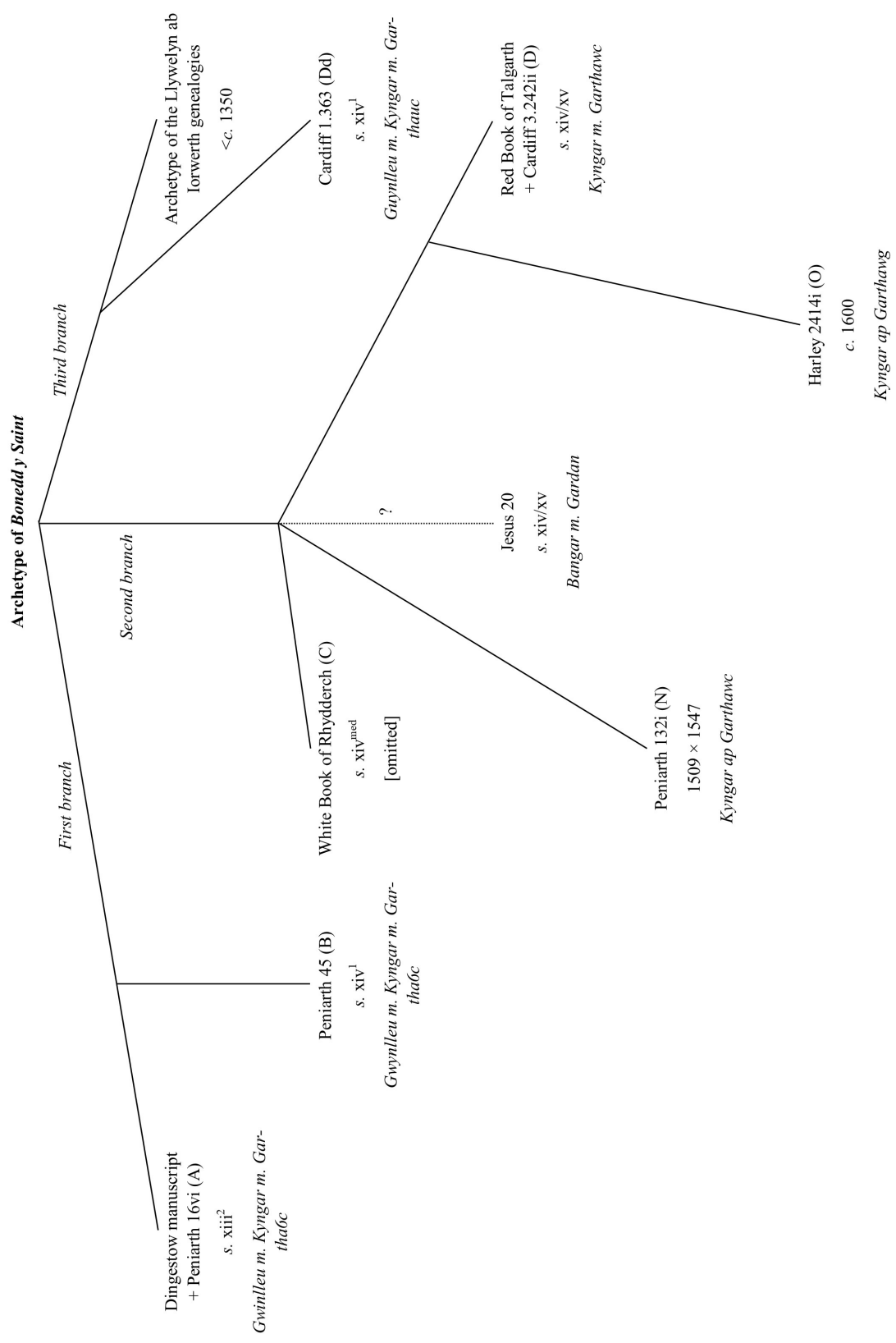


Figure 3.2: The possible derivation of Bangar m. Gardan from Bonedd y Saint

source, especially since, in *Bonedd y Saint*, Cynfelyn's pedigree immediately follows the *Kyngar m. Garthawc* pedigree(s).²¹⁷

Several items appear in *Progenies Keredic* that are absent from the Plant Ceredig group. Almost all these items have secure Ceredigion credentials. Nevertheless, those items which are unique to *Progenies Keredic* and which are also absent from *Bonedd y Saint* might have been added to *Progenies Keredic* at a later stage, rather than lost from the other versions: these include *Ina* (PK 7), *Karanouc* (PK 8) and the obscure *Gugan filius Samson* (PK 11). Note, however, that Carannog's appearance in *Bonedd y Saint D* is an idiosyncrasy of the second branch of *Bonedd y Saint's* textual tradition, probably textually unrelated to Carannog's appearance in *Progenies Keredic*.

The comments above serve to account for most of the major instances of variation between *Progenies Keredic* in Vespasian A. xiv and the Plant Ceredig group of the Jesus 20 genealogies. We are now in a position to say something about the archetype of the text. The evidence for the orthography of the common exemplar indicates that the archetype is likely to have been written earlier than the second half of the twelfth century, but how much earlier is very difficult to say. The text was presumably composed in Ceredigion, given the strong focus on figures, and most especially saints, associated with that region.²¹⁸ Perhaps the positioning of St David in first place implicates a foundation dedicated to him, such as Llanddewibrefi, unless his positioning is a product of his general regional pre-eminence among native Welsh saints. It is clear that the archetype laid more emphasis on Ceredig than Cunedda Wledig as the apical ancestor of the Ceredigion saints. Cunedda appears only once in *Progenies Keredic*, in David's pedigree; the other pedigrees are traced only so far as Ceredig. The items that have been accidentally run together in the Jesus 20 genealogies (JC 47a–b and 49a–c) show the same feature; namely, pedigrees ending with Ceredig rather than Cunedda, implying that the Plant Ceredig group pedigrees that have not been accidentally run together (perhaps apart from David's) have had Cunedda added to them at a relatively late stage. The archetype of the Ceredig Tract would therefore appear to have been designed to show the interconnections between the saints of Ceredigion, united by their descent from the 'Ceredig' eponym, but not necessarily also by their descent from Cunedda.

St Cadog and the Morgan ab Owain Genealogies

The putative 'Source I' of the Jesus 20 genealogies therefore contained at least two genealogical texts that are also found in Vespasian A. xiv. The third major genealogical text in Vespasian A. xiv is the St Cadog genealogies. These are analysed in detail in Chapter 2, where it is suggested that they did not form a part of Lifris's original Life of St Cadog but were instead composed as an accompaniment to the text in the twelfth century, possibly by Caradog of Llancarfan. The St Cadog genealogies include a pedigree of Cadog's grandmother Marchell that is traced back through the early line of Glywysing and on, through Meurig son of Enynny, to Coel Hen and thence to Beli and Anna. It was pointed out in Chapter 2 that all of the material required for the construction of this pedigree may be found in JC 5 and JC 9. Within the Jesus 20 genealogies, these latter two sections are, respectively, parts of the Cadog Sant and Morgan ab Owain groups (JC 4–5 and 9–16). JC 9 is the first pedigree in the Morgan ab Owain group, tracing Morgan's descent from the kings of Glywysing as far back as Meurig and his parents Enynny and Caradog Freichfras. JC 5,

²¹⁷ For this reason, it is more probable that Cynfelyn's grandfather in JC 47b, *Ceredic*, is an error for *Bonedd y Saint's* Tybion, than vice-versa. This is substantiated by the appearance of Meirion, Tybion's son, in the next generation. Ceredig was probably substituted, deliberately or otherwise, for Tybion at the time when JC 47b was first copied into its present 'Plant Ceredig' context.

²¹⁸ For a list of churches in Ceredigion dedicated to native saints, see Wade-Evans, 'Essay', p. 129.

meanwhile, begins by listing the sons of Glywys Glywysing, grandfather of St Cadog and supposed founder of Glywysing,²¹⁹ and goes on to explain that a daughter of Glywys, named *Doulbn*, married Meurig son of Enynny, whose pedigree back to Beli and Anna is then given. The same connection between Cadog's aunt, *Dibunn*, and Meurig son of Enynny is made in the Life of St Cadog:²²⁰

Orauit igitur sanctus Cadocus ad Dominum, ut daret ei regem, qui pro eo suam gentem regeret, et datus est ei Mouric filius Enhinti. Sanctus quoque Cadocus exiuit obuiam ei, deditque illi amitam suam, nomine Dibunn, cum tota regione, excepto Gundliauc, et benedixit eis, mandauitque quo conseruarent refugium suum pro pacto, quod antea cum Mailguno et Arthurio atque Rein pepigerat.

Then St Cadog prayed to the Lord to give him a king who could rule his people for him, and Meurig son of Enynny was given to him. And St Cadog went out to meet him, and gave him his aunt, called *Dibunn*, with the whole region except Gwynllŵg, and he blessed them, and commanded that they should keep his sanctuary in accordance with the pact which he had previously concluded with Maelgwn and Arthur and Rhain.

The passage is formulated as an origin story of a typical ecclesiastical kind. The saint is presented as holding complete power over the region and as maintaining the right to grant temporal power over it to others. In this case, Cadog grants temporal power in Glywysing to Meurig son of Enynny, who, as we know from JC 9, was claimed as the chief ancestor of the later kings of Glywysing and Morgannwg. The Life of St Cadog thus suggests that the dynasty's power was dependent on the favour of St Cadog and, implicitly, his church at Llancarfan.

JC 5 and JC 9 work in unison to prompt much the same conclusion: that the dynasty of Morgan ab Owain derived its legitimacy from St Cadog, whose aunt *Doulbn* had married the dynastic founder Meurig son of Enynny. Considering this, alongside the fact that materials closely related to JC 5 and JC 9 were accessible to the author of the St Cadog genealogies, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that both the Cadog Sant group and the Morgan ab Owain group stem from a collection of genealogical texts that were present together in Llancarfan probably no later than the first half of the twelfth century, when the St Cadog genealogies seem to have been composed. The same conclusion might be extended to the Plant Brychan and Plant Ceredig groups. Just as the Cadog genealogical material is present in both Jesus 20 and Vespasian A. xiv, so too are the Brychan and Ceredig texts present in both manuscripts, suggesting that they shared the same lines of transmission.²²¹ These lines of transmission must lead back to Llancarfan, where indeed a version of the Brychan Tract (perhaps in addition to a version of the Ceredig Tract) was used to create the St Cadog genealogies, as already discussed. It would appear that Source I of the Jesus 20 genealogies could be described as a collection of genealogical texts that were available in Llancarfan no later than the time at which the St Cadog genealogies were composed, probably in the first half of the twelfth century. The texts on the descendants of Brychan and Ceredig were probably composed elsewhere and had been brought to Llancarfan by that date. The Morgan ab Owain group (JC 9–16), on the other hand, could conceivably have been first written down in Llancarfan.

²¹⁹ *VS Cadoci*, pref.; cf. Appendix A.3.6.

²²⁰ *VS Cadoci*, §25. I have altered Wade-Evans's translation.

²²¹ Barry Lewis points out to me that both *Progenies Keredic* and JC 47a present a version of Gwynllyw's pedigree that would have been acceptable in Llancarfan, as shown by the St Cadog genealogies (see Appendix A.2.2), whereas *Bonedd y Saint*, probably innovatively, presents a contradictory arrangement (*ByS* 7).

Morgan ab Owain was king of Glywysing from c. 930 until his death in 974. From 931 he is regularly recorded as a witness to the charters of English kings. Following the death of Idwal Foel ab Anarawd in 942, Morgan became second among Welsh witnesses only to Hywel Dda, and after Hywel's death in 950, Morgan became the foremost Welsh witness, being accorded precedence over both Owain ap Hywel Dda of Deheubarth and Iago ab Idwal of Gwynedd in a charter of 955.²²² Morgan seems to have maintained dominance across the whole kingdom, from Gower to Gwent, throughout this period, though outlying parts of the realm maintained their own underkings. His brothers Gruffudd (d. 935) and Cadwgon (d. 951) may have been deliberately positioned as underkings in Gower and Margam respectively as bulwarks against aggression from the west, though it does not seem that their descendants inherited these positions.²²³ Traditions of independent kingship in the east, however, were evidently much stronger.²²⁴ Judging by charter evidence in the Book of Llandaf, three generations of a dynasty beginning with a certain Nowy ap Gwriad ruled in Gwent in the half century between c. 950 and c. 1000.²²⁵ Presumably they were subject to Morgan and his sons, especially during the heyday of Morgan's power after the death of Hywel Dda. Another Gwent king, called Edwin ap Gwriad, may have succeeded Nowy ap Gwriad's dynasty, but he was clearly unacceptable to King Meurig ap Hywel, great-grandson of Morgan ab Owain, who apparently had him seized and blinded in about 1035.²²⁶ However, a greater threat to the royal status of Morgan ab Owain's descendants came from a different dynasty, which also seems to have originated in Gwent. This was the dynasty of Rhydderch ab Iestyn (d. 1033), which rose to prominence dramatically when Rhydderch seized the kingship of Deheubarth in 1023 (see Figure 3.3).²²⁷ In doing so, he apparently reduced Hywel ab Owain (d. 1043), king of Morgannwg and grandson of Morgan ab Owain, to the status of a sub-king.²²⁸ Morgan ab Owain's dynasty never truly recovered its paramount status thereafter, as the descendants of Rhydderch ab Iestyn remained the most powerful kings in the south-east until the Norman conquest of the region. In 1066, in the wake of the killing of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn in 1064, Cadwgon ap Meurig, great-great-grandson of Morgan ab Owain, apparently still ruled the western half of his ancestor's kingdom, the half that acquired the name Gwlad Morgan, or Glamorgan, while two grandsons of Rhydderch ab Iestyn ruled in Gwent and neighbouring territories in the east.²²⁹ But by 1071, the only remaining king of Morgannwg was Caradog ap Gruffudd (d. 1081), grandson of Rhydderch ab Iestyn.²³⁰ Nothing more is heard of the royal line descending from Morgan ab Owain. A junior branch of his descendants, including Iestyn ap Gwrgan and his sons and grandsons, retained their status as prominent noblemen in the west of Glamorgan in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, but they did not claim the royal title.²³¹

How does our view of the political development of Morgannwg in the tenth and eleventh centuries affect our ability to understand the Morgan ab Owain group of genealogies? The Morgan ab Owain group consists of five pedigrees traced back from Morgan ab Owain: firstly his patriline back to Meurig son of Eynny and Caradog Freichfras, followed by four pedigrees traced back through various female ancestors to other high-status royal lineages.

²²² See the table in Keynes, 'Welsh Kings', p. 84.

²²³ Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, pp. 253, 517 and 537–8; Charles-Edwards, 'Dynastic Succession', pp. 75–6.

²²⁴ W. Davies, *Early Welsh Microcosm*, pp. 95–8.

²²⁵ *LL* 252 and charters 217, 218, 221, 243, 244 and 251.

²²⁶ *LL* charters 249b and 255; cf. Crouch, 'Slow Death', p. 21. Maund doubts the story: *Ireland*, p. 190.

²²⁷ Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, pp. 557–60; Maund, *Ireland*, pp. 20–22.

²²⁸ *LL* 252; cf. W. Davies, 'Consecration' pp. 60–1.

²²⁹ *LL* 278–9.

²³⁰ Crouch, 'Slow Death', p. 23.

²³¹ Smith, 'Kingdom', pp. 7–8, 25–7 and 36–9; Crouch, 'Slow Death', pp. 30–4; *AWR* 18–21.

The text is clearly designed to emphasise Morgan's own royal status.²³² The question is whether the text was put together for this purpose during Morgan's lifetime or afterwards in honour of his descendants. Morgan must have remained prominent in the minds of his descendants as a key dynastic ancestor, because his name became attached to the territory that they ruled: 'Morgannwg' or 'Gwlad Morgan' ('Glamorgan'). This is highlighted by a comment in the extant text of JC 9.²³³ A factor that may have prompted this development is the disintegration of the unity of the kingdom during the eleventh century, during which time the power of Morgan's descendants became restricted to the western half of the kingdom. In the eleventh century and later, therefore, Morgan may have been remembered, especially by his struggling descendants, as the last great king of a united Glywysing.²³⁴

However, there are reasons to doubt that the Morgan ab Owain pedigrees were produced on behalf of his descendants. In neither Jesus 20 nor *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* (discussed below) are Morgan ab Owain's pedigrees associated with any pedigrees of later figures traced back to Morgan; in this way they differ significantly from the pedigrees of Jesus 20's Rhodri Mawr group, which are pointedly associated with pedigrees of Rhys Gryg and Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, traced back to Rhodri. This also distinguishes them from genealogical records associated with Iestyn ap Gwrgan and his descendants, as found in the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies (LIIG 35.1) and the tract *Brenhinllwyth Morgannwg*.²³⁵ Furthermore, the Morgan ab Owain pedigrees have been transmitted alongside another genealogy that may have been associated with them from the start: the genealogy of Tewdwr ap Griffri (JC 8), last known member of the ruling family of Brycheiniog, to the north of Glywysing, who would have lived sometime around the middle of the tenth century.²³⁶ Perhaps for some portion of the tenth century Tewdwr ap Griffri was subordinate to Morgan ab Owain, prompting his pedigree to be recorded alongside Morgan's. Overall, while it would no doubt have been in the interest of Morgan's descendants in the eleventh century and later to maintain copies of these pedigrees, it seems most probable that they were first written down in some form during Morgan's own lifetime. They may have been written down in Llanccarfan, though another possibility is Llanilltud Fawr (Llantwit Major), a few miles to the west, where several of Morgan's recent ancestors were commemorated on stone monuments.²³⁷

²³² Cf. *EIWK* 173–5 and 207–8.

²³³ See above, p. 103.

²³⁴ Guy, 'Rheinwg'.

²³⁵ The latter is edited below in Appendix B.11. In NLW 3067Bi and Harley 4181, aspects of *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* are found combined with the pedigree of *Brenhinllwyth Morgannwg*: see Appendices B.3 and B.11.

²³⁶ Guy, 'Earliest Welsh Genealogies', pp. 475–6. See further below, p. 153.

²³⁷ Namely Hywel and his father Rhys, Morgan's grandfather and great-grandfather respectively (G63; *Corpus* I, 369–73), possibly in addition to Ithel (G65; see the discussion in *Corpus* I, 381–2). Sims-Williams thinks it 'unlikely' that Morgan ab Owain's genealogies were first recorded during his lifetime: *Book of Llandaf*, p. 118 (and p. 126; cf. Sims-Williams, 'Kings', pp. 75–7). He argues that, just as the absence of Rhodri Mawr's patriline from the Harleian genealogies arouses the suspicion that it was a later invention, so too is Morgan ab Owain's patriline 'suspiciously absent' from the Harleian genealogies, perhaps because it was a twelfth-century invention. But the absence of Rhodri Mawr's patriline from the Harleian genealogies is only suspicious because the St Davids recension was redacted in favour of Rhodri's agnatic great-grandson, Owain ap Hywel Dda. By contrast, the St Davids recension shows very little interest in the south-east (as noted by Sims-Williams himself in 'Kings', p. 69). Elements of Morgan's recorded patriline (and indeed the other Morgan ab Owain genealogies) may well be fictitious, as Sims-Williams maintains, but that has little bearing on the question of whether it was first recorded during his lifetime.

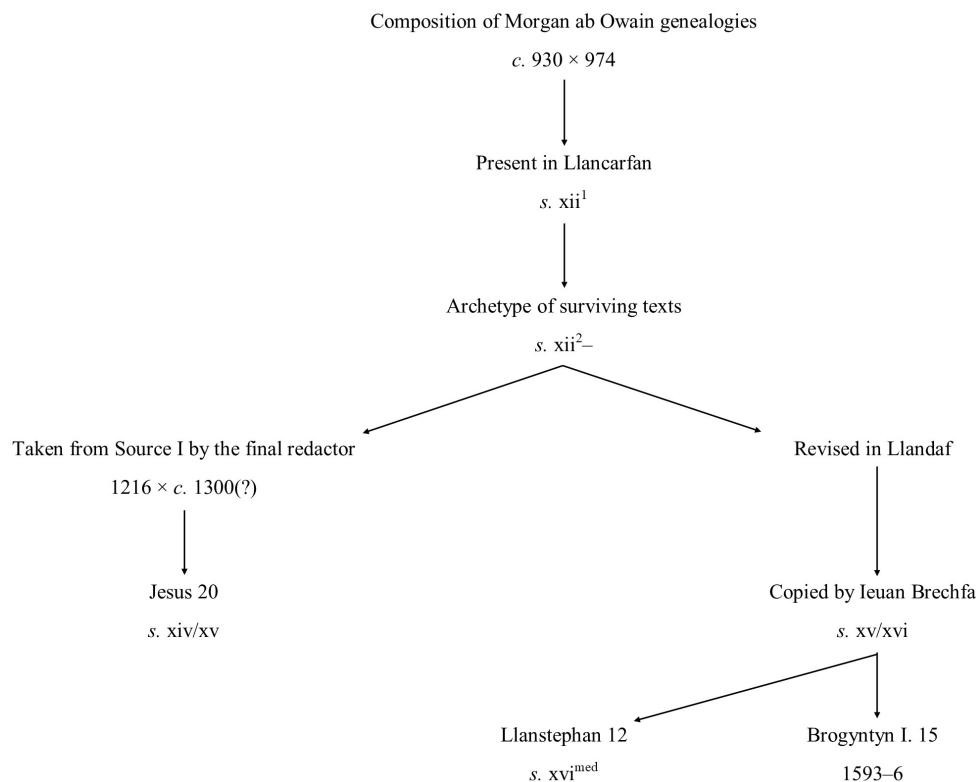


Figure 3.4: The transmission of the Morgan ab Owain genealogies

Gwehelyth Morgannwg

Considerable light is thrown on Jesus 20's Morgan ab Owain group by a newly discovered text named *Gwehelyth Morgannwg*. This is preserved in two closely related sixteenth-century manuscripts: Llanstephan 12, written in the middle of the sixteenth century, and Brogyntyn I. 15 (transcript 7), written between 1593 and 1596. These manuscripts are discussed in detail in Chapter 4, where it is suggested that they are both witnesses to a lost manuscript of Ieuan Brechfa (fl. $c. 1490$ – $c. 1520$).²³⁸ *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* preserves a version of the same genealogical text that informed the Morgan ab Owain group, but it does not derive from Jesus 20 (see Figure 3.4). It presents five pedigrees traced back from Morgan ab Owain. *GM* 1 and 3–5 directly parallel JC 9–10 and 12–15. *GM* 2, JC 11 and JC 16, on the other hand, are all found in only one of the two texts. The relationship between Jesus 20's Morgan ab Owain group and *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* is demonstrated by their numerous shared readings. For instance, JC 12 and *GM* 3 uniquely give one name in the Dyfed pedigree as Gwgon, even though all other sources give this name, probably correctly, as Cadwgon.²³⁹ In some respects, however, *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* is more conservative than Jesus 20, suggesting that Jesus

²³⁸ See below, pp. 185–6 and Appendix A.4.1.

²³⁹ E.g. *Indarba na nDéisi*, HG 2, LIIG 38.1 and JC 8.

20 was not its source. This is especially apparent in *GM* 2, which shows Morgan's descent from Cunedda Wledig via his mother, Nest ferch Rhodri Mawr, through the pedigree of the kings of Gwynedd. Unlike *JC* 6 (the corresponding Cunedda pedigree in the Jesus 20 genealogies), *GM* 2 does not display the features that became typical of the version of the Cunedda pedigree transmitted with the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension: namely, the presence of Iago and Geneddog between Tegid and Cain and the omission of *Amguoloyt* (see Table A.3.3.2), as found in the *Vita Griffini*, *LIIG* 11.1, Harley 673, and other witnesses. In these respects, *GM* 2 is closer to the earlier version of the Cunedda pedigree, preserved in *HG* 1 and the Lives of Saints Cadog and Carannog.²⁴⁰ In the same pedigree, however, *GM* 2 does uniquely share with *JC* 6 the reading *Prydain* for *Brithguein*. This demonstrates that *JC* 6 is a conflation of elements from a pedigree like *GM* 2, transmitted alongside the Morgan ab Owain genealogies, and a Cunedda pedigree of the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension, presumably inherited from Source II of the Jesus 20 genealogies.²⁴¹

The independent value of *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* is also shown by its ability to reveal sources of textual error in Jesus 20. In a confused passage, *JC* 10 describes the ancestry of Morgan ab Owain's alleged female ancestor, *Kenedlon*:²⁴²

Kenedlon merch Biuael Vrydic m. Llywarch m. Teŵdwr m. Pibiaŵn Glaŵraŵc m. Arbeth m. Deuric Sant merch Peibiaŵn, mam Theudu m. Peredur m. Cado m. Gereint m. Erbin.

Kenedlon daughter of *Biuael* Frydig son of Llywarch son of Tewdwr son of Peibio Glafrog son of *Arbeth* son of St Dyfrig daughter of Peibio, mother of *Theudu* son of Peredur son of Cado son of Geraint son of Erfyn.

Kenedlon was apparently the daughter of *Biuael Vrydic* son of Llywarch, who can probably be equated with the Briafael ap Llywarch found in the entourage of King Morgan ab Athrwys in at least two of the Llandaf charters, nominally dated to c. 675 (*LL* charter 151b) and c. 680 (*LL* charter 149).²⁴³ The text is clearly corrupt, since it bizarrely makes St Dyfrig the grandmother of Peibio Glafrog (king of Eryng), rather than Peibio Glafrog's grandson, as in the Life of St Dyfrig.²⁴⁴ This can be compared with the corresponding passage in *GM* 5:

Geneddlon merch Briauayl Vredig ap Llywarch ap Tewdwr ap Angwarat ap Pybyaw tad Ayrddyl mam Dyfrig sant, archesgob pennaf Ynys Brydain, a goronawdd Arthur.

Geneddlon daughter of Briafael Frydig son of Llywarch son of Tewdwr son of Angwarad son of Peibio father of Efrddyl mother of St Dyfrig, chief archbishop of the island of Britain, who crowned Arthur.

²⁴⁰ For the development of the Cunedda pedigree, see Chapter 5.

²⁴¹ Note too that the pedigree of Coel Hen in *GM* 1 has the reading *Elyydd*, paralleling *JC* 5's *Elud*, against *Ebiud* in *HG* 10 and the St Cadog genealogies and 'En(e)id' uel *sim.* in texts deriving from the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension (*HGK*, *LIIG* 11.1.4, Exeter 3514, etc.). Curiously, the only other version of the pedigree with the reading *Elud* is that in *Buchedd Beuno*, §23 (ed. Sims-Williams, p. 153).

²⁴² The name *Kenedlon* might be a corruption of Cynheiddon, as is certainly the case for the *Kenedlon* in *CB* 15.24: see above, p. 131.

²⁴³ W. Davies, *Llandaff Charters*, pp. 99–100; cf. W. Davies, *Early Welsh Microcosm*, pp. 114 and 119; *EWGT* 139–40, n. 10; *WCD* 57; Guy, 'Life', p. 31, n. 89; Sims-Williams, *Book of Llandaf*, pp. 131, 147 and 149–50. He is probably also the Briafael, appearing without a patronymic, in *LL* charter 145, nominally dated to c. 695: Davies, *Llandaff Charters*, pp. 44 and 97–8. Davies also assumes that he is the Briafael, appearing again without a patronymic, in two charters of Morgan ab Athrwys's grandfather, Meurig ap Tewdrig, nominally dated to c. 660 (*LL* charter 143) and c. 665 (*LL* charter 147): *ibid.*, pp. 41–2 and 97–9. Our ignorance of any reliable dates for the relevant families makes it impossible to judge the likelihood of these identifications.

²⁴⁴ *LL* 78–9.

In this version, in addition to the name forms being less corrupt (*Briauayl* rather than *Biuael*, *Ayrddyl* rather than *Arbeth*), the relationships appear correctly, and correspond with the Life of St Dyfrig. If the common archetype of the two versions looked more like *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* than Jesus 20, one could surmise that the latter's corruption came about through a misreading of an abbreviation for *mam* (mother) as *mab* (son); thus, 'Efrddyl *mam* Dyfrig' could have been misunderstood as 'Efrddyl *mab* Dyfrig' by someone unaware of the story and the female name Efrddyl.²⁴⁵ The absence from *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* of JC 10's further extension of the pedigree back to Geraint ab *Erbin* may also imply that this was a later addition, though it is difficult to decide how the addition was originally intended to relate to the preceding pedigree (which may already have been corrupt when the addition was made).²⁴⁶

Certain readings suggest that the Morgan ab Owain group and *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* both derive from a version of the source text that post-dated the final phase of the Old Welsh period in the first half of the twelfth century. Both contain the same mistakes caused by misunderstandings of the older orthography. Thus, JC 9 has *Nud Hael* and GM 1 has *Haddhail* or *Hyddheyl* for *Ithel*, which was spelt *Iudhail* in Old Welsh (cf. HG 28).²⁴⁷ Again, JC 6 has *Prydein* and GM 2 *Prydain* for OW *Brit(h)guein*; presumably a *t* for */θ/* in the latter was taken as a *t* for */d/*, and the Old Welsh *gu* for */w/* was ignored rather than updated to *w* or *u*. Like the Morgan ab Owain group and the related Cadog material in JC 5, *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* also shows the influence of Cadog hagiography, particularly in its naming of 'Taithfalch' rather than 'Llywarch' as Meurig ap Tewdrig's grandfather, and in its portrayal of Marchell as sister of Meurig ap Tewdrig and wife, rather than mother, of Brychan.²⁴⁸ Both of these features resulted from the conflation of the pedigrees of Marchell ferch Tewdrig (of Brycheiniog) and Meurig ap Tewdrig (of Glywysing), as seen in the St Cadog genealogies and discussed in Chapter 2. However, unlike Jesus 20's Morgan ab Owain group, additional passages in *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* imply that it was revised at some point from the perspective of the episcopal church of Llandaf. In GM 1 it is emphasised that it was Meurig ap Tewdrig who granted Llandaf its lordship and privileges,²⁴⁹ and in GM 5 the role of St Dyfrig is embellished, by comparison with JC 10, by having him crown Arthur, as in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *De gestis Britonum*.²⁵⁰ It is difficult to say when these elements were introduced between the twelfth century and the time at which Ieuan Brechfa copied the text in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

The antiquity of the Morgan ab Owain pedigrees in Jesus 20 and *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* may account for the corrupt form in which they are now preserved. A number of generations appear to have been accidentally omitted from them. For example, in their current state, four of the five pedigrees in Jesus 20 furnish Morgan's great-great-grandfather Arthfael with no fewer than two mothers and two fathers, prompting Bartrum to offer some more

²⁴⁵ For alternative emendations, see EWGT 45 and 139–40, n. 10, and Sims-Williams, *Book of Llandaf*, p. 131. The form *Arbeth* is probably a corruption of an Old Welsh spelling of 'Efrddyl' like *Ebrdil* (e.g. LL 78), perhaps also influenced by the name of Peibio's father *Erb*. An exemplar of JC 10 may once have read something like '[...] Peibia/vn Gla/vra/c m. Erb, tad Ebrdil *mam* Deuric Sant' ('[...] Peibio Glafrog ab Erb, father of Efrddyl mother of St Dyfrig'), instigating an eye-skip between *Erb* and *Ebrdil*.

²⁴⁶ Possibly the following passage, after *Deuric Sant*, was intended to start a new sentence: 'merch Peibia/vn [oed] *mam* Theudu m. Peredur [...]' ('Peibio's daughter [was] mother of *Theudu* son of Peredur [...]').

²⁴⁷ Sims-Williams argues that *Nud Hael/Haddhail/Hyddheyl* is a mistaken rendering of an original *Nud* or *Einud*, and that it is entirely coincidental that the mistake arose in a generation that it is possible to understand as equivalent to *Iudhail*: 'Kings', pp. 77–8; *Book of Llandaf*, pp. 124–6. This seems highly unlikely to me, but I shall address the question elsewhere.

²⁴⁸ GM 1; see above, p. 83, and Appendix A.2.2 (esp. Table A.2.2.3).

²⁴⁹ Cf. LL 69 and 132.

²⁵⁰ DGB IX.157.356–9.

or less plausible emendations.²⁵¹ In *Gwehelyth Morgannwg*, these have been rationalised to a certain extent; *GM* 3–5 attribute pedigrees to the mothers of Morgan's grandfather, great-grandfather and great-great-grandfather respectively. The neat arrangement of the latter may, however, be a later attempt to repair an already corrupt text, because the implied chronology seems somewhat strained. For example, *GM* 3 makes Morgan's father, Owain (fl. 927), into a grandson of Maredudd ap Tewdos, who died in 796.²⁵² Each of the Morgan ab Owain pedigrees in *Jesus* 20 and *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* was probably linked to Morgan in some way in the common source text, but it is now impossible to know exactly how.

The Sources of the Morgan ab Owain Genealogies

Some of the pedigrees found among the Morgan ab Owain genealogies are difficult to criticise from a textual point of view because the material that they contain is unique. This applies particularly to *JC* 16, traced back through an otherwise unknown line to Casnar Wledig.²⁵³ Even *JC* 9/*GM* 1, which trace the line of the kings of Glywysing, would appear to be independent of the Glywysing pedigrees in the *St Davids* collection (*HG* 28–9), perhaps reflecting Morgan's own family 'archive', oral or otherwise. Only three pedigrees derive from known textual sources: *GM* 2/(*JC* 6 and 22), tracing the line of the early kings of Gwynedd; *JC* 12–13/*GM* 3, tracing the line of the early kings of Dyfed; and *JC* 14–15/*GM* 4, tracing the line of the early kings of Buellt. Aspects of *GM* 2's Gwynedd pedigree have already been noticed above, where it was pointed out that *GM* 2 agrees with other derivatives of the *St Davids* recension (*HG* 1 and the *Lives of Saints Cadog and Carannog*) against later versions of the pedigree. The final section of this chapter addresses the nature of the other sources, allowing for a better understanding of the construction of the Morgan ab Owain genealogies, probably in the tenth century.

The Dyfed Pedigree and the St Davids Recension

It is very probable that *Jesus* 20's version of the Dyfed pedigree (*JC* 12–13) is a conflation of elements from the two other versions of the Dyfed pedigree, preserved as *HG* 2 and *LIIG* 38.1.²⁵⁴ It is arguable that both of these other versions existed no later than the tenth century: *LIIG* 38.1 seems to represent best the form of the pedigree originally incorporated into the *St Davids* recension, while *HG* 2 represents a revision undertaken shortly thereafter for the purpose of expunging the Irish elements from the pedigree and emphasising instead its *romanitas*.²⁵⁵ The act of conflation witnessed by *JC* 12–13 must have occurred before Source I of the *Jesus* 20 genealogies came into contact with Source II, because exactly the same conflated pedigree appears in *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* (*GM* 3). The conflation might have taken place in Llanccarfan in the middle of the twelfth century, considering the evidence discussed below for the deliberate harmonisation of *JC* 12–13/*GM* 3 with Cadog's own pedigree. It was established in Chapter 2 that a copy of the *Historia Brittonum* accompanied by a collection of genealogies very similar to the Harleian genealogies was being used by writers connected with Llanccarfan during the twelfth century, who show especial interest in the Dyfed pedigree. It is possible, therefore, that the Morgan ab Owain

²⁵¹ *EWGT* 45–6 and 139–40, nn. 9–16.

²⁵² Owain is named as king of Gwent in *ASC* (D) 926 [927].

²⁵³ For a brief discussion of *JC* 16, see Bartrum, 'Noë', although there is now serious doubt as to whether *JC* 16's *Noë* can be identified with the *Nougoy* in *HG* 15, as Bartrum maintained: see Dumville, 'Late-Seventh- or Eighth-Century Evidence', pp. 48–9.

²⁵⁴ For this view, see Guy, 'Earliest Welsh Genealogies', p. 484.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 481–4.

genealogies had originally incorporated a Dyfed pedigree like LIIG 38.1, which had then been conflated with the updated version like HG 2 at Llancarfan in the twelfth century.

The ending of the Dyfed pedigree in the Morgan ab Owain genealogies (JC 13/*GM* 3) is different from the Dyfed pedigrees of HG 2 and LIIG 38.1, but the last five generations are paralleled exactly within the Jesus 20 genealogies by JC 4, in the pedigree of Cynan ab Eudaf Hen. In JC 13, the sequence of names runs thus:

[...] m. Custennin m. Maxen Wledic m. Maximianus m. Constantinus Ma'vr m. Cusenint o Elen.

The same appears in *GM* 3. Compare this with the ending of LIIG 38.1, which probably best reflects the ending of the Dyfed pedigree as it was when it was first incorporated into the tenth-century St Davids recension:

[...] ap Kwstennin ap Maxen Wledig.

It is striking that the last two names of the version in the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies are identical only to the first two of the last five names in JC 13/*GM* 3. Moreover, from *Maximianus*, the first of the three names in JC 13/*GM* 3 that are absent from LIIG 38.1, the forms used are predominantly Latinate (contrast *Custennin* with *Constantinus*). Since the switch to Latinate names in JC 13/*GM* 3 coincides with the ending of the Dyfed pedigree in LIIG 38.1, the names from *Maximianus* onwards may have been drawn from another source. The only other genealogical sources that place a 'Maximianus' in relation to the family of Constantine in this way are the St Cadog genealogies and the related genealogies at the beginning of the Life of the Breton saint Gurthiern.²⁵⁶ The relevant section of the St Cadog genealogies appears thus:²⁵⁷

[...] Galerius genuit Constantinum magnum, filium Helene. Constantinus genuit Constantium. Constantius genuit Maximianum, cum quo milites Brittonum exierunt a Britannia, et occidit ipse Gratianum, imperatorem [*sic*] Romanorum, tenuitque imperium totius Europe, et non dimisit pugiles, quos secum a Britannia adduxit, repatriare propter strenuitatem illorum, sed tribuit eis plures prouincias et regiones, quippe a stagno, quod est super uerticem Montis Iouis, usque ad ciuitatem, nomine Cantguic, et usque ad cumulum occidentalem, id est, *Cruc Ochideint*, atque ex illis equitibus orta est gens, que uocatur Lettau. Maximianus itaque genuit Ouguein. Ouguein genuit Nor. Nor genuit Solor. Solor genuit Gliuguais. Gliuguais genuit Gundleium. Gundleius genuit beatissimum Cadocum, de quo nobis sermo.

[...] Galerius begot Constantine the Great, son of Helena. Constantine begot Constantius. Constantius begot Maximianus, with whom the soldiers of the Britons left Britain, and he killed Gratian, emperor of the Romans, and he held the empire of all Europe, but he did not send the fighters that he had brought with him from Britain back to their own country, on account of their strength; instead, he granted them many provinces and regions, namely, from the pool on the summit of Mount Jupiter as far as the town called Quentovic and as far as the western mound, that is, *Cruc Ochideint*, and from those horsemen was born the nation which is called Llydaw. And so Maximianus begot Owain. Owain begot *Nor*. *Nor* begot *Solor*. *Solor* begot Glywys. Glywys begot Gwynllyw. Gwynllyw begot the most blessed Cadog, of whom we are speaking.

As shown in Chapter 2, this section of the St Cadog genealogies draws heavily on a version of the St Davids recension, with the exception that the direct filial link between Maximianus and

²⁵⁶ See above, p. 89.

²⁵⁷ *VS Cadoci*, §45. Wade-Evans's text has been slightly emended against the manuscript. Translation is my own.

Constantius son of Constantine is an innovation, intended to link Cadog's own pedigree to that of the Roman emperors.²⁵⁸ This would appear to imply that the final three names of the Dyfed pedigree in JC 13/GM 3 derive in some way from a version of the St Cadog genealogies.

The opposite process seems to have occurred in JC 4. This begins with St Cadog's pedigree. A few lines later, in Cynan ab Eudaf Hen's pedigree, the names *Maximianus m. Constantinus m. Custeint* are given, again reflecting the connection made by the St Cadog genealogies between a *Maximianus* and the family of Constantine. However, immediately before these three names, the two names from the end of the Dyfed pedigree, *Custenin m. Maxen*, appear, causing Cynan ab Eudaf Hen's pedigree to contain the same string of five names as the end of the Dyfed pedigree in JC 13. The fact that the names are found combined in the same way in both JC 4 and JC 13 suggests that, at some point, a redactor attempted to harmonise these two sections by crudely running together the Roman names from the Dyfed pedigree and the Cadog genealogies (see Table 3.10 below).²⁵⁹ This must have occurred before Source I of the Jesus 20 genealogies was brought together with the material from Source II, because the five names are combined in the same way in *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* (GM 2).

This act of harmonisation entailed the intrusion of the names *Custennin m. Maxen Wledic* into the text now represented by JC 4, copied from the end of the Dyfed pedigree. Striking evidence that this has indeed taken place is provided by the pedigree of Gurthiern in the Life of St Gurthiern, part of which appears thus:²⁶⁰

[...] f. Beli f. Outham senis f. Maximiani f. Constantii f. Constantini f. Helene, que crucem Christi habuisse refertur [...] Beli et Kenan duo fratres erant, filii Outham Senis.

[...] son of Beli son of Eudaf the Old son of Maximianus son of Constantius son of Constantinus son of Helena, who is said to have had the cross of Christ [...] Beli and Cynan were two brothers, sons of Eudaf Hen.

Table 3.10: Harmonisation in JC 4 and JC 13

<i>VS Cadoci</i> , §45	JC 4 (1)	<i>VS Gurthiern</i> , §§2–4	JC 4 (2)	JC 13 (Dyfed)	LHG 38.1 (Dyfed)
Cadocus	Cattŵc				
Gundleius	Gwynlliŵ				
Gliuguais	Gliŵs				
Solor	Filur	[...]			
Nor	Nor	Beli/Kenan	Kynan		
Ouguein	Owein	Outham Senis	Eudaf	[...]	[...]
			Custenin	Custennin	Kwstennin
			Maxen	Maxen Wledic	Maxen Wledig
Maximianus	Maxen	Maximianus	Maximianus	Maximianus	
Constantius		Constantius			
Constantinus		Constantinus	Constantinus	Constantinus	
Magnus				Maŵr	
Helena		Helena	Custeint & Elen Luedyaŵc	Custenint & Elen	

²⁵⁸ See above, pp. 81–2.

²⁵⁹ The same conclusion was reached on similar grounds by Thornton, 'Power', pp. 83–4.

²⁶⁰ *VS Gurthierni*, §§2–4 (ed. Maître and de Berthou, *Cartulaire*, p. 42).

As is discussed in Chapter 2, the Life of St Gurthiern contains genealogical material that derives ultimately from the St Davids collection of genealogies, via the version of that collection current in Llancarfan in the first half of the twelfth century.²⁶¹ The connection with the St Cadog genealogies can be seen in the link between Maximianus and Constantius, and in the selection of Constantius rather than Constans as the son of Constantine (HG 16 has Constans: see Table A.2.2.1). In addition, the Life of St Gurthiern links the father of Cynan (and of the mysterious Beli), Eudaf Hen, with Maximianus. The resultant construction is identical to JC 4, with the exception that the Life of St Gurthiern omits *Custennin m. Maxen Wledic*, the two names posited to have been drawn into JC 4 from the Dyfed pedigree. JC 4 also omits Constantius, making Maximianus the son (rather than grandson) of Constantine. Presumably Cynan ab Eudaf Hen's ancestry, which does not appear in the St Cadog genealogies themselves, was current in Llancarfan prior to the writing of the Cartulary of Quimperlé in the 1120s and early 1130s, and was transmitted from Llancarfan to both Jesus 20 and the Life of St Gurthiern along with other St Cadog material.²⁶² Before reaching Jesus 20, however, Cynan ab Eudaf's ancestry was augmented, probably in Llancarfan, with additional names taken from the Dyfed pedigree. The evidence for the harmonisation of these genealogies is summarised in Table 3.10.

However the confused Dyfed pedigree in JC 12/13 and *GM* 3 came about, it at least remains clear that the genealogist responsible for the Morgan ab Owain genealogies, working probably during Morgan's reign in the tenth century, had access to at least one pedigree that had either been taken directly from the St Davids recension or from the St Davids recension's own genealogical source for Dyfed. One of the same two sources could also account for another genealogy probably written by the same tenth-century genealogist. It was noted above that the pedigree of Tewdwr ap Griffri (JC 8), the sole candidate for inclusion in a putative 'Brycheiniog' group, had probably been transmitted alongside the Morgan ab Owain genealogies since their inception in the tenth century. JC 8, however, is not an independent composition. It has long been recognised that JC 8 is textually related to HG 15, an equivalent, though earlier, genealogy preserved in the Harleian genealogies.²⁶³ Both JC 8 and HG 15 stem ultimately from a genealogical tract assembled in Dyfed in the early ninth century.²⁶⁴ The evident textual confusion in JC 8 and HG 15 can be explained as the product of different miscopyings of a single gloss written above the name 'Elise' in the common source, a gloss which read something like 'regis Pouis'.²⁶⁵ What is not clear, however, is whether the common source was an earlier copy of the St Davids recension or the latter's own genealogical source for Dyfed. A point in favour of the former is the presence of a Gwynedd pedigree in *GM* 2 that seems to derive from the St Davids recension, as mentioned above. If this, combined with the affiliations of the Dyfed and Brycheiniog pedigrees, can be taken to indicate that Morgan ab Owain's genealogist drew directly upon a version of the St Davids recension, one could posit that the genealogist was working in the latter part of Morgan's reign, following the creation of the St Davids recension between c. 950 and 954. However, since it has also been shown that the Morgan ab Owain genealogies were brought into contact with a version of the St Davids recension in Llancarfan in the twelfth century, the nature of any earlier influence from the St Davids recension is rendered uncertain.

²⁶¹ See above, pp. 86–90.

²⁶² This is explored further in Guy, 'Explaining the Origins'.

²⁶³ Guy, 'Earliest Welsh Genealogies', p. 475; Dumville, 'Late-Seventh- or Eighth-Century Evidence', pp. 48–9; Bartrum, 'Noë'.

²⁶⁴ Guy, 'Earliest Welsh Genealogies', pp. 474–7.

²⁶⁵ See especially Dumville, 'Late-Seventh- or Eighth-Century Evidence', pp. 48–9.

The Buellt Pedigree and the Historia Brittonum

Outside of the Morgan ab Owain genealogies (JC 14–15/*GM* 4), the Buellt pedigree otherwise occurs only in the *Historia Brittonum*, where it is the only pedigree dedicated to a royal Welsh dynasty ruling at the time of the text's composition, in 829/30.²⁶⁶ Versions of the pedigree survive in three different branches of the *Historia Brittonum*'s textual tradition: in the Harleian recension, the Vatican recension and the Irish *Lebor Bretnach*.²⁶⁷ The pedigrees in all these sources can be set out in parallel, as is done in Table 3.11.

Table 3.11: *Versions of the Buellt pedigree*

JC 14–15	GM 4	HB (Harl. 3859), §49	HB (Vat.), §26	Leb. Bret., §41 (ed. Van Hamel, pp. 66–8)
Morgant	Morgan Mwynfawr			
Ewein	Ywain			
Howel	Howel			
Rees				
y Vraustud	Brawst	Fernmail	Fernmail	Fermael
Gloud	Kloudd	Teudubir	Teudor	Teudubri
Pascen Buellt	Pasgen Byellt	Pascent	Pascent	Pascent
Gwedgad	Gweddgat	Gaidcant	Guoidcant	Guodicant
Morvo	Merini	Moriud	Moriud	Morut
Elaed	Elayth	Eldat	Eltat	Eldat
		Edoc	Eldoc	Eldoc
Paŵl	Peul	Paul	Paul	Paul
Idnerth	Idnerth	Mepurit	Meuprit	Meprit
Riagath	Riagath	Briacat	Briacat	Briacat
Pascen	Pasgen	Pascent	Pascent	Pascent
Gŵrtheyrn	Gwrtheyrn	Guorthigirn	Guorthegirn	Gorthigern
Gŵrthenev	Gwrthenev	Guortheu		
			Guortheneu	
Gwidaŵl	Gwyddawl	Guitataul	Guitaul	Guitail
Gŵdoleu	Gyddoley	Guitolin	Guitolion	Guittolin
Gloyŵ Gŵalltir	Gloyw amherodyr	Gloiu	Gloiu Da	Glou
	Rhyfein			

Paul Merion

It has been suggested by Molly Miller that the *Historia Brittonum* copied the Buellt pedigree from an external source.²⁶⁸ She noted that the pedigree seems to have two beginnings.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁶ For other genealogies in the *Historia Brittonum*, see Chapter 5 below, pp. 235–40. For the Anglo-Saxon genealogies in the same text, see Dumville, 'Anglian Collection'.

²⁶⁷ See Guy, 'Origins', pp. 48–9.

²⁶⁸ Miller, 'Date-Guessing and Dyfed', pp. 51–2; Dumville, 'Textual History' III, 691.

²⁶⁹ *HB* (Harl. 3859), §49. The text has been emended against the manuscript.

Hec est genealogia illius, que ad initium retro recurrit: Fernmail (ipse est qui regit modo in regionibus duabus Buelt et Guorthigirniaun) filius Teudubir; Teububir (ipse est rex Buelitie regionis) filius Pascent, filii Gaidcant²⁷⁰ [...]

This is his genealogy, which runs backwards to the beginning: Ffernfael (it is he who reigns now in the two kingdoms of Buellt and Gwerthrynion) son of Tewdwr; Tewdwr (he is king of the kingdom of Buellt) son of Pasgen, son of Gwyddgan [...]

Miller suggested that Ffernfael was the king ruling when the *Historia Brittonum* was written in 829/30, whereas Tewdwr, Ffernfael's father, was the king ruling when the external source was written, accounting for why both are described, in the present tense, as ruling kings. The quotation of the source would therefore begin with the second mention of Tewdwr.

Miller additionally postulated that the *Historia Brittonum*'s genealogical source could have been written in Welsh. She pointed in particular to two generations which appear in the genitive case in the Harleian recension as *fili Mepurit filii Briacat*. The equivalent generations in JC 14 are *m. Idnerth m. Riagath* (similarly in *GM* 4). Comparing the two, Miller suggested that the two names in the *Historia Brittonum* arose due to a misreading of an Old Welsh genealogical source, in which the relevant generations were written as *map Idnerth* (more properly *Iudnert(h)*) *map Riacat*. In the first case, *map* had been taken as part of the name, resulting in *map Iudnert(h)* being corrupted to *Mepurit*, while in the second case, the *p* of *map* (for /b/) had become prefixed to *Riacat*, perhaps because of the homophony of *map Riacat* and *map Briacat*. However, the unstated premise of Miller's argument is that JC 14 transmits the correct name forms. This is impossible to verify. The homophony of *map Riacat* and *map Briacat* could have encouraged change in either direction, meaning that JC 14's *Riagath* could just as easily have been produced from *Briacat* in the course of copying.²⁷¹ There is perhaps greater reason to suppose that the *Mep-* element of the *Historia Brittonum*'s *Mepurit* derives from *map* in an Old Welsh source, but it is by no means clear that *Mepurit* must be a corruption of *map Iudnert(h)*. One could equally suppose that *Idnerth* is a rationalization of *Mepurit*, since the latter is so clearly corrupt. While the *Historia Brittonum*'s Buellt pedigree may therefore have been copied from an external source, perhaps written in Welsh, it is by no means certain that JC 14 (alongside *GM* 4) reflects this source, rather than being derived somehow from the *Historia Brittonum*.

A positive indication that Morgan's genealogist did employ the *Historia Brittonum* is provided by the statements appended to the pedigrees. The Harleian recension of the *Historia Brittonum* declares the following immediately after the pedigree:

Bonus, Paul, Mauron, Guotolin²⁷² quattuor fratres fuerunt, filii Gloiu, qui edificauit urbem magnam super ripam fluminis Sabrine, que uocatur brittannico sermone Cair Gloiu, saxonice autem Gloecestre. Satis dictum est de Guorthigirno et de genere suo.

Bonus, Paul, Mawron and Gwydolin were four brothers, the sons of Gloyw, who built the great city on the bank of the River Severn, which is called in the British tongue *Caer Loyw*, but in English Gloucester. Enough has been said about Gwrtheyrn and his lineage.

Similarly, JC 15 makes the following statement at the end of the pedigree:

²⁷⁰ Emended by Dumville to *G<u>idcant*: 'Textual History' I, 223; III, 691.

²⁷¹ Both were conceivably real names, from **brīgo-katos* and **rīgo-katos* respectively. For the former, see Russell, 'Old Welsh *Dinacat*', pp. 449–50; for the latter, see *CIB* 210 and n. 1299. A *Riacat* appears as a witness in a charter in the Book of Llandaf (*LL* 140).

²⁷² Emended by Dumville to *Gu<i>tolin*: 'Textual History' I, 225; III, 691.

[...] m. Gloyv Gvalltir. Y gŵr hŷnnv a wnaeth ar ymyl Hafren tref, ac o'e env ef y gelwir yn Gaer Loev.

[...] son of Gloyw Gwallthir. That man built a town on the bank of the Severn, and from his name it is called Caer Loyw.

Although the passages are not identical, their structural positioning is the same, and the phrasing of the statements with regard to the city being built on the bank of the Severn is suggestively similar. This might be evidence that Morgan's genealogist did indeed use a version of the *Historia Brittonum*, though there remains the possibility that the *Historia*'s source for this pedigree contained a comparable statement, and that this source was used for JC 15. If Morgan ab Owain's genealogist did use a copy of the St Davids recension as a source for the Gwynedd, Dyfed and Brycheiniog pedigrees, then it is a reasonable assumption that the same genealogist knew the *Historia Brittonum* too, to which the St Davids recension was appended. On the other hand, the above analysis indicates that Morgan's genealogist could conceivably have had access instead to an earlier stratum of Welsh genealogical records, of which scant external traces survive.

The structure and textual affiliations of the Jesus 20 genealogies indicate that the extant collection was formed from a combination of two main sources. One (Source I) was a collection of genealogical texts assembled at Llancarfan no later than the mid-twelfth century, which included texts composed at Llancarfan (the Cadog Sant and possibly the Morgan ab Owain groups) and texts composed elsewhere (the Plant Brychan and Plant Ceredig groups). This collection of genealogical texts was combined with another collection (Source II) that had probably been assembled in either Llandeilo Fawr church or Talylychau Abbey between 1216 and 1233. Sources I and II were combined together no later than the time of the 'final redactor', perhaps working in the thirteenth century, who rearranged the material and added some cross-references that functioned to bind the text together as a whole. The work of the final redactor was then copied into Jesus 20 by hand A of that manuscript around the year 1400. The scribes of Jesus 20 worked in the same milieu as Hywel Fychan and his associates, who were active around 1400 in the area of Cwm Tawe, a location appropriately equidistant between Llandeilo Fawr/Talylychau and Llancarfan. Perhaps the final redactor worked in the same vicinity some century or more earlier.

The details of the process of textual formation and transmission outlined in this chapter can be summarised best in diagrammatic form, as is done below in Figure 3.5.

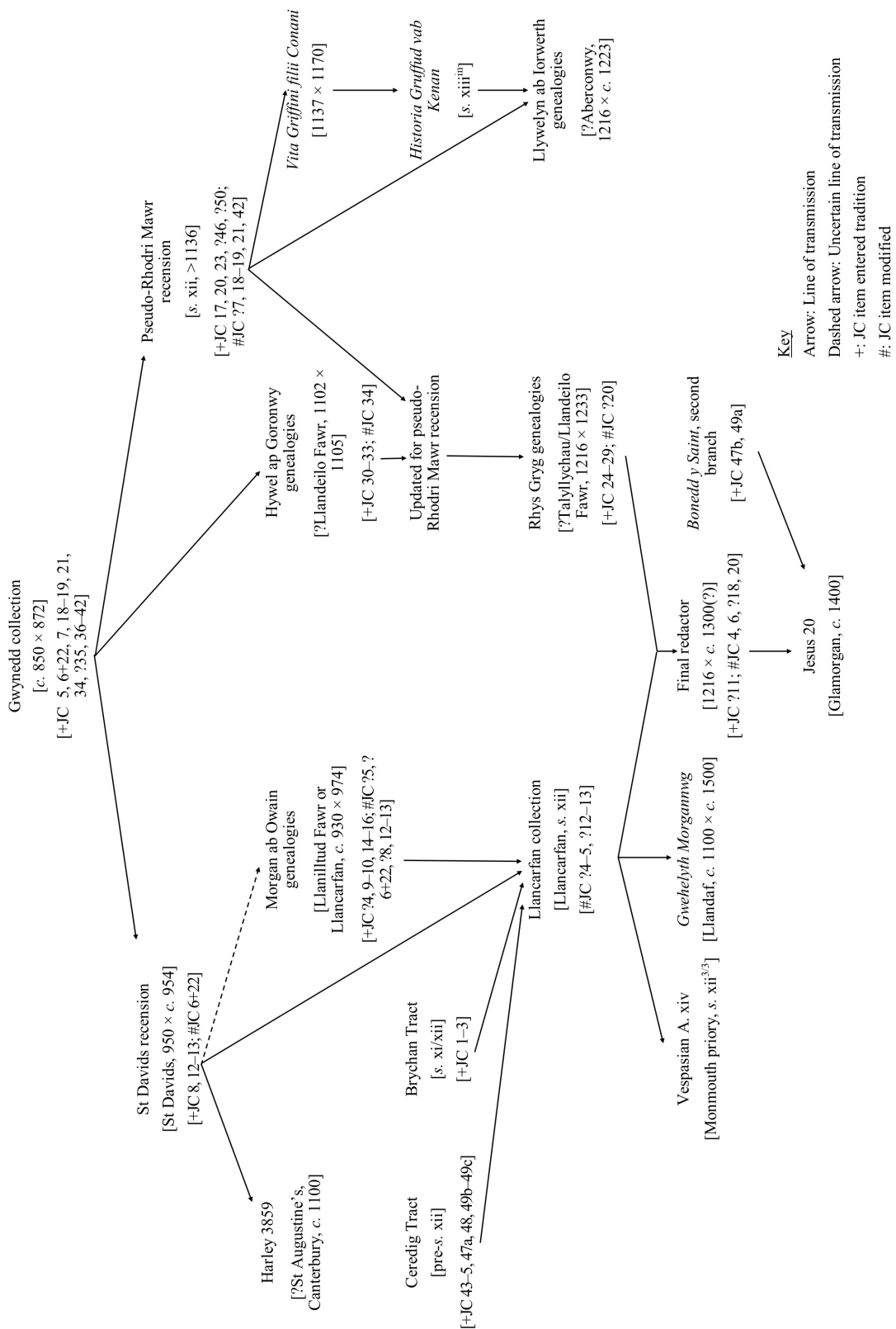


Figure 3.5: Summary of the textual development of the Jesus 20 genealogies

REFRAMING THE WELSH PAST IN
EARLY THIRTEENTH-CENTURY GWYNEDD:
THE LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH GENEALOGIES

The Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies were in many ways the culmination of the medieval Welsh genealogical tradition. This collection was the longest genealogical text ever produced in medieval Wales. It drew on a large number of pre-existing written sources, including many earlier genealogical texts, and also incorporated a substantial amount of original material. Perhaps most significantly, it exercised an enormous influence on the burgeoning Welsh genealogical tradition of the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, becoming, in its proliferating number of versions, almost the sole source of early modern knowledge about medieval Welsh genealogy.

Despite its considerable importance, Peter Bartrum is the only scholar previously to have granted this text any sustained attention. Bartrum recognised that a large proportion of the text as found in its fifteenth- to eighteenth-century manuscripts dates from the thirteenth century, and he realised the value of placing its contents at the disposal of modern scholars.¹ But less attention was given to the status of the material as a cohesive textual product, with a date and place of composition, an organised internal structure and *raison d'être*. Consequently, Bartrum felt at liberty to rearrange the text as he saw fit, group together sections of different recensions that came into being at different times, and divide the text into four separate editions, to which he gave the titles 'Plant Brychan', 'Bonedd yr Arwyr', 'Achau Brenhinoedd a Thywysogion Cymru' and 'Hen Lwythau Gwynedd a'r Mars'.² Only the first of these titles is present in the manuscripts. The result was a *mélange* of portions of text composed between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, granting scholars access to a significant amount of genealogical information whilst obscuring completely the various contexts to which that information properly pertained.

A different approach has been taken during the production of the editions appearing in Appendix B of this book. The overriding concern has been to treat the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies and their derivative recensions as *texts* rather than as miscellaneous repositories of genealogical exposition. All aspects of the texts have been treated as of equal value: not only names and relationships, but also structure, phraseology and orthography. In the first instance, textual accuracy has been treated as more important than genealogical accuracy. Three texts have been edited in this way: the archetype of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies; Gutun Owain's 1497 recension; and a tract from Peniarth 127i that I have named *Llyma Dalm o Weheliaethau a Llwythau Cymru*, following the title used in BL Add. 14916.

The present chapter seeks to explain and analyse the text and its various recensions, and is divided into two halves. The first half is a comprehensive catalogue of the manuscripts containing the text, grouped according to the different branches of the textual tradition. This is accompanied by commentary concerning the relationships between those manuscripts, in addition to digressions on various codicological issues. Space does not permit the wholesale

¹ EWGT 78.

² Bartrum, 'Bonedd yr Arwyr'; Bartrum, 'Achau'; Bartrum, 'Hen Lwythau'; EWGT 75–120.

inclusion of the vast amount of textual evidence provided by a thorough comparison of all the witnesses, and so direct discussion of the textual evidence is limited to key indicators. The second half of the chapter offers an analysis of the original text of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, so far as it can be recovered, and includes discussion about its structure, date, provenance, origin and sources. It is suggested that the text was composed on behalf of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth between 1216 and *c.* 1223 in Aberconwy Abbey, possibly by or in association with Llywelyn's poet and functionary Einion ap Gwalchmai.

Textual History

The textual tradition of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies divides into two main branches, which I have called the 'X-branch' and the 'Y-branch'. The labels are based on Bartrum's discussion of the important set of transcripts written by John Jones of Gellilyfdy in 1640, now comprising Cardiff 3.77.³ In this manuscript, Jones made copies of two medieval witnesses to the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies that are no longer extant: one, on pages 1–22, from a manuscript that Bartrum labelled X, and the other, on pages 32–100, from a manuscript that Bartrum labelled Y. Bartrum convincingly identified X as the missing Hengwrt 33, but the identity of Y remains unknown.⁴

An examination of the entire tradition has confirmed that Hengwrt 33 and Y belong to different branches of the textual tradition, deriving independently from the archetype. The X-branch is the more limited of the two, its manuscripts being primarily restricted to relatives of Hengwrt 33 and its lost sister copy Λ , and it is treated first below.⁵ The Y-branch is far more extensive, and is itself subdivided into two further branches: one headed by Π , which includes Y itself in addition to Δ and Σ (other lost early copies), and a second that led to Gutun Owain's distinctive recension. There are also three conflated recensions, each of which warrants separate treatment. The first is called 'the southern tradition', on account of most of its manuscripts hailing from South Wales. The early stages of this recension are associated with Ieuan Brechfa. The recension is characterised by its conflation of an X-branch text and a Y-branch text of the Π sub-branch. The second conflated recension is associated with 'Sir' Thomas ab Ieuan ap Deicws's influential compilation in Peniarth 127i, which is, in essence, a conflation between the two sub-branches of the Y-branch. The third is a conflation of the texts of four or more different manuscripts, including NLW 3032Bi and the lost book of William Salesbury, and seems to have been the work of Henry Salesbury (d. *c.* 1637). This recension was particularly popular around the beginning of the eighteenth century. All of these recensions and sub-branches receive treatment below under separate headings. Each heading is followed firstly by a list of the manuscripts pertaining to that particular branch or recension of the tradition, ordered by date, and secondly, in most cases, by a stemma displaying the textual relationships between the manuscripts listed.

In order to facilitate description of the contents of each manuscript, various shorthand references have been used to describe particular sections of text, including sections that were early additions to the original text ('A' sections) and sections composed by Gutun Owain ('G' sections). These references are as shown in Table 4.1, which also provides cross-references to the relevant sections of Bartrum's editions (following the abbreviations in *EWGT*).

³ Bartrum, 'Achau', pp. 201–5.

⁴ See Guy, 'Lost Medieval Manuscript'.

⁵ Note that I have labelled all major lost manuscripts mentioned in the text with Greek capital letters. The only exception is Y, a label which has been inherited from Bartrum and maintained here for consistency.

Table 4.1: Shorthand references to the contents of the *Llywelyn ab Iorwerth* genealogies

§§	Shorthand reference	Bartrum's editions
1	<i>Plant Brychan</i> [PB]	PB 1–2m, 3a–u, 4–5
2–10	<i>Oes yr Arwyr</i> [OyA]	ByA 1–7, 9–11, 13, 16–20, 22, 25–26
11	<i>Llywelyn ab Iorwerth</i> [LlaI]	ABT 1
12	<i>Plant Owain Gwynedd</i> [Plant OG]	ABT 2
13–14	<i>Plant Cadwaladr/Cadwallon</i> [Plant CC]	ABT 3–4
15–16	<i>Plant/Mam Gruffudd ap Cynan</i> [Plant/Mam GaC]	ABT 5–6h
17–26	<i>Mammau</i>	ABT 6i–l, ByA 28a–g
27	<i>Tri lle</i>	ByA 27
28	<i>Meibion Rhodri Mawr</i> [Meib RM]	ABT 7
29–46	<i>Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru</i> [BGC]	ABT 10–14, 8h, 15–27
47	<i>Meibion Cunedda Wledig</i> [Meib CW]	ByA 29
48–61	<i>Bonedd y Llwythau</i> [ByLI]	HL 1–2k, 10c, 2m–5a, 6–7a, 7c–9, 12a, 13a–b, 13d–e, 7b, 10a–b, 11
A1–3	<i>Plant Bleddyn ap Cynfyn</i> [Plant BaC]	ABT 8i, 8d, 8a–g
A4	<i>Llwyth Marchudd</i> [LIM]	ABT 9
G1	<i>Arthur</i>	ByA 30b–31, MP 1, ByA 32
G12	<i>Lloegr</i>	–
G13–16	<i>Plant Cynfyn</i>	–
G40	<i>Plant Iorwerth Drwyndwn</i> [Plant ID]	–
G41	<i>Plant Ricard</i>	–
G72–8	<i>Gweheliaethau y Mars</i> [GyM]	–

Although these sections are often either rearranged or taken as individual items in the many copies of the *Llywelyn ab Iorwerth* genealogies, there is comparatively little rearrangement of the text within each of the sections, making them useful units of analysis.⁶

A further text that is significant for analysis of the *Llywelyn ab Iorwerth* genealogies is *Bonedd y Saint*. This text is found immediately preceding *Plant Brychan* in witnesses to the X-branch in addition to John Jones's copy of Y in Cardiff 3.77, making it likely that *Bonedd y Saint* was effectively the first major section of the genealogical compilation in the archetype of the *Llywelyn ab Iorwerth* genealogies. It is doubtful, however, that *Bonedd y Saint* had the same function in the original early thirteenth-century compilation lying behind the archetype, as is discussed below.⁷ Aside from in witnesses to the X-branch, *Bonedd y Saint* did not consistently accompany the rest of the compilation in the textual tradition, and for this reason it is not given much attention in the textual discussion below. This was probably because it was perceived as an independent textual unit to a greater extent than other constituent components of the *Llywelyn ab Iorwerth* genealogies, and was afforded separate treatment in copying accordingly.

In terms of the textual tradition of *Bonedd y Saint*, the version of the text found in the archetype of the *Llywelyn ab Iorwerth* genealogies was a copy of the 'third branch' of the tradition, most closely related to the fourteenth-century copy in Cardiff 1.363.⁸ The

⁶ Cf. my comments in 'Second Witness', p. 78.

⁷ See below, pp. 200–1.

⁸ The latter is *Bonedd y Saint* version 'Dd', edited in *VSBG* 320–3. The textual tradition of *Bonedd y Saint*

immediate descendants of the version of *Bonedd y Saint* in the archetype of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies include the copies in Cardiff 3.77 (copied from Y), Peniarth 182 and Llanstephan 28, as well as other witnesses to the X-branch.⁹ It seems to have been Hengwrt 33 (within the X-branch of the tradition of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies) that was the source for Gutun Owain's version of *Bonedd y Saint*. For this reason, copies of *Bonedd y Saint* deriving ultimately from Hengwrt 33 circulated in sixteenth-century genealogical manuscripts that otherwise contain versions of Gutun Owain's recension of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, which belongs to the Y-branch of the latter's tradition.¹⁰ It is not necessary to consider these derivative versions of *Bonedd y Saint* in the present context.¹¹

The X-Branch

Llanstephan 28, pp. 75–86 (Gutun Owain, 1455–6).
Peniarth 182, pp. 13–24 and 39–41 (Huw Pennant, 1509 × 1513).
Peniarth 137, part iii, pp. 197–8 and 204 (John ap Rees, s. xvi²).
Peniarth 183, part ii, pp. 266–8 (Wiliam Dyfi, 1586).
Cardiff 3.77 (*RMWL* 25), pp. 1–19 (John Jones, 1640).
NLW 21001B, part ii, ff. 190v–193v (1701).
Harley 4181, ff. 25v–26v (Hugh Thomas, 1710–18).

As mentioned above, Bartrum argued that pages 1–22 of Cardiff 3.77 were copied from the lost manuscript known as Hengwrt 33.¹² The suggestion is based on the colophon on page 22 of the manuscript, which explains that John Jones had copied the contents of the preceding pages from an old vellum manuscript belonging to Robert Vaughan.¹³ Thanks to the catalogue of manuscripts in the Hengwrt library compiled by William Maurice in 1658, it is known that the only vellum manuscript belonging to Robert Vaughan with the relevant contents was the manuscript listed as number 33.¹⁴ Bartrum went on to identify two further copies of the genealogical material in Hengwrt 33: those in Peniarth 182 and Llanstephan 28.¹⁵ After Cardiff 3.77, Peniarth 182 is the best copy of Hengwrt 33. It was written sometime between 1509 and 1513 by Huw Pennant, curate of Dolwyddelan and probably brother or nephew of Thomas Pennant, the abbot of Basingwerk Abbey.¹⁶ Another copy is Llanstephan 28, an early paper

is elucidated in the introduction to Barry Lewis's new edition. For further discussion, see Chapter 3 above, pp. 139–42.

⁹ The version in Peniarth 182 is edited as *Bonedd y Saint* version 'H' in Wade-Evans, 'Bonedd y Saint, F', pp. 378–84; the version in Llanstephan 28 is edited as *Bonedd y Saint* version 'E' in Wade-Evans, 'Bonedd y Saint, E', pp. 163–70.

¹⁰ These include *Bonedd y Saint* version 'G' in Peniarth 127i, published by Wade-Evans, 'Bonedd y Saint, F', pp. 368–74, in addition to versions 'J' (Peniarth 128), 'K' (Peniarth 75) and 'Ga' (Peniarth 74ii) which informed Bartrum's edition in *EWGT* 51–67.

¹¹ See too Chapter 5 below, p. 262.

¹² Bartrum, 'Achau', pp. 203–4; *EWGT* 75–6. For a more detailed discussion of the X-branch, see Guy, 'Lost Medieval Manuscript'.

¹³ For the text of the colophon, see Jarman, *Ymddiddan*, p. 21; Bartrum, 'Bonedd yr Arwyr', p. 230; Guy, 'Lost Medieval Manuscript', p. 72.

¹⁴ For the contents list of Hengwrt 33 in the 1658 catalogue, see Jarman, *Ymddiddan*, p. 20; it is translated into English in Wynne, 'MSS.', p. 130.

¹⁵ *EWGT* 75.

¹⁶ Cartwright, 'Middle Welsh Life', pp. 164–7; Matonis, 'Gutun Owain', p. 164; Chotzen, 'La "Querelle des Femmes"', p. 46. The date of the manuscript is that of Huws, *Repertory*, s. Peniarth 182, which is preferable to the date 1514 given in *MWM* 63 and 99. For Thomas Pennant, see Thomson, 'Cistercians'; Bachellery, *L'œuvre poétique*, pp. 184–5. Thomas Pennant's pedigree, along with genealogical information about his son, Edward Pennant, is found in Meyrick, *Heraldic Visitations* II, 305, but nobody called Huw Pennant appears there. Huw Pennant is usually identified as the brother of Thomas Pennant on the

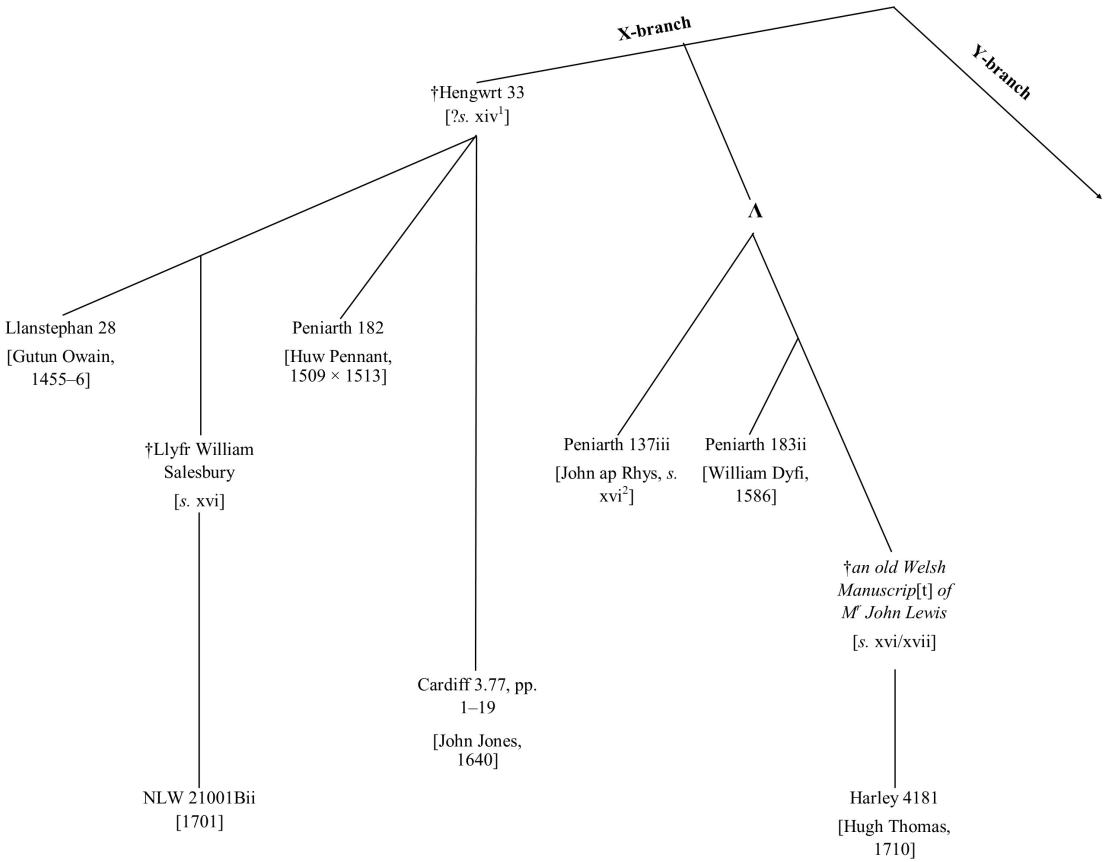


Figure 4.1: The X-branch

manuscript in the hand of Gutun Owain, written for his patron Phylip ap Madog. There has been some dispute about the date of this manuscript. In three different dating colophons the dates 1455 and 1456 appear, but it has been argued that these colophons were copied from Gutun Owain's exemplar.¹⁷ Daniel Huws, on the other hand, considers it unlikely that Gutun Owain would have copied these dates mechanically had they not pertained to his own time of writing.¹⁸ The date 1455–6 would place the manuscript at the beginning of Gutun Owain's career, since he seems to have died shortly after 1500.¹⁹ Even if the date is not accepted, the poor state of its genealogical texts would suggest that it is a product of an early stage in Gutun's career, especially when compared with the competence, control and accuracy displayed in Rylands Welsh 1, Gutun's 1497 manuscript.²⁰

basis of the genealogy in Griffith, *Pedigrees*, p. 214. Jane Cartwright, however, prefers to identify him as the Huw Pennant, son of Thomas Pennant's brother Rhys, whom Bartrum includes in his family tree of the Pennant family: *WG* 2 X, s. 'Tudur Trefor 11(C₁)' and 'Tudur 11(C₂)'; Cartwright, 'Middle Welsh Life', pp. 164–5. My thanks to Jane Cartwright for sharing her work with me prior to its publication.

¹⁷ Roberts, 'Llawysgrifau', pp. 101–5; *GP* xlvi. Bachellery (*L'œuvre poétique*, pp. 11–12) argues that the colophons were not simply copied mechanically from the exemplar.

¹⁸ Huws, *Repertory*, s. Llanstephan 28; cf. Guy, 'Writing Genealogy', p. 109, n. 45.

¹⁹ Bachellery, *L'œuvre poétique*, p. 16; Daniel Huws *apud* *MMBL* III, 470.

²⁰ See below, p. 172.

It is clear that Llanstephan 28 is not a direct copy of Hengwrt 33, as Bartrum thought. This is because some, but not all, of its textual innovations are shared with NLW 21001Bii, another derivative of Hengwrt 33.²¹ NLW 21001B is a collection of transcripts made for Edward Lhwyd, and part ii of the manuscript, written in 1701, is a complete transcription of a lost manuscript by William Salesbury (c. 1520–c. 1584), the first translator of the New Testament into Welsh.²² At the end of the seventeenth century, William Salesbury's manuscript was in the Wynn residence at Bodysgallen, as shown by the colophon of NLW 21001Bii (f. 180r) and by references in Lhwyd's *Parochialia*.²³ Only the texts of *Plant Brychan* and *Oes yr Arwyr* in Salesbury's manuscript derived from Hengwrt 33, although, as is shown below, the manuscript also contained other sections of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies deriving from the southern tradition.²⁴

The genealogical contents of Hengwrt 33 comprised *Bonedd y Saint*, *PB*, *OyA*, *LlaI*, *Plant OG*, *Tri lle* and *LIM*. Bartrum thought that these sections formed the core 'text' of what is here called the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, while the sections present in Y but absent from Hengwrt 33 were considered by Bartrum to be later additions.²⁵ I would strongly disagree with this interpretation; the consistency and internal logic of Y's full text, as is discussed below (pp. 200–11), suggest that the text of Y, rather than Hengwrt 33, best represents the original text. It seems that Hengwrt 33 contained only selections from the original Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, in the same way that many later manuscripts contain only selections of the greater compilation. This is implied too by manuscripts of the southern tradition, which may have readings taken from the X-branch for sections which were not present in Hengwrt 33.²⁶

Three other manuscripts of the X-branch share a common exemplar (Λ) that was either a sister copy of Hengwrt 33 or derived from such a sister copy. The kinship of Hengwrt 33 and Λ is shown particularly by certain variant readings in *Plant Brychan* which are shared by the descendants of both (e.g. *Tuthal*/*Tythal* for *Tathal* in §1.1; *Keyndereg*/*Kederig* etc. for *Ceinddrec* in §1.3.16).²⁷ The three Λ manuscripts are united by a number of innovations in their texts of *Plant Brychan*, such as their omission of the item about Marchell/Mechyll (§1.3.4). Each of these three manuscripts is closely associated with the environs of Llanfihangel Nant Melan in Radnorshire, where Λ must have been available in the second half of the sixteenth century. One is Peniarth 137iii, written by John ap Rees of Llanfihangel Nant Melan sometime in the second half of the sixteenth century.²⁸ The second is Peniarth 183ii, written by Wiliam Dyfi in 1586, which received additions from the residents of Glasgwm and Pilleth in Radnorshire in the seventeenth century.²⁹ The third is Harley 4181, written by Hugh Thomas (1673–1720), deputy-herald for Wales, who in 1710 copied onto folios 25v–27r texts of *Bonedd y Saint* and *Plant Brychan* 'taken out of an old Welsh manuscript [*sic*] of Mr John Lewis of Lhuynweney in Radnorshire wrote about the time of Queen Elizabeth'.³⁰ John Lewis (d. 1615/16) was a Catholic scholar like Hugh Thomas, and he wrote a *History of Great-Britain* that was later edited by Thomas and published posthumously in 1729.³¹ Lewis became a resident of Llanfihangel Nant Melan parish around 1596,

²¹ For details, see Guy, 'Lost Medieval Manuscript', pp. 74–5.

²² Bartrum, 'Notes', pt 2, 102. For Salesbury, see R. B. Jones, *William Salesbury*, and below, p. 186, n. 144.

²³ Lhuyd, *Parochialia*, pt 1, 154–5; pt 2, 12, n. 1. For the text of the colophon, see Guy, 'Lost Medieval Manuscript', p. 75. For the Bodysgallen manuscripts, see *MWM* 305 and 314.

²⁴ See below, p. 186.

²⁵ Bartrum, 'Achau', p. 205; *EWGT* 78.

²⁶ See below, p. 181.

²⁷ Guy, 'Lost Medieval Manuscript', pp. 73–4.

²⁸ *RMWL* I, 861–7.

²⁹ Huws, *Repertory*, s. Peniarth 183; *RMWL* I, 1007–8; Rejhon, *Cân Rolant*, pp. 8–10.

³⁰ Cf. Bartrum, 'Late Additions', p. 81. For Hugh Thomas, see Chapter 3 above, p. 105, n. 40. For Harley 4181, see Owen, *Catalogue* II, 415–25. These texts from Harley 4181 are edited in Rees, *Lives*, pp. 269–71.

³¹ Payne, 'John Lewis', p. 13.

though he had maintained landed interests in the area for some time beforehand.³² The only part of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies shared by these three manuscripts is *Plant Brychan*. The texts of *Plant Brychan* in Peniarth 183ii and Harley 4181 are particularly close and must stem from a common intermediary.

Some peculiar features of the copies of *Plant Brychan* in derivatives of Hengwrt 33 and Λ have certain implications for the common exemplar of Hengwrt 33 and Λ. It is clear that Hengwrt 33's text of *Plant Brychan* was defective, since it skipped from the beginning of the item about Cynog, the first son in the list of Brychan's children (§1.2.1), to the middle of the item about Brychan's daughter Nefydd, wife of Tudwal Befr (§1.3.10), the first full item being that of Ceingar (§1.3.11).³³ In the same way, the texts of *Plant Brychan* in Peniarth 137iii and Peniarth 183ii skip from the introductory item about Brychan (§1.1) to the item about Ceingar. Harley 4181 skips a little further still to Gwawrddydd (§1.3.13).³⁴ In Λ, however, unlike in Hengwrt 33, most of the intervening items (§§1.2.1–1.3.8) appeared elsewhere in the text, showing in the process that Λ cannot have derived from Hengwrt 33.³⁵ The daughters that are usually listed prior to Ceingar (excepting Nefydd [§1.3.10] and the preceding daughter Lleian [§1.3.9], who are omitted) have been moved in copies of Λ to the end of the list of Brychan's daughters. The sons are completely absent from Peniarth 183ii and Harley 4181, but in Peniarth 137iii they are present but separated from the rest of *Plant Brychan* by the text of *Bonedd y Saint*. It cannot be a coincidence that the same blocks of Brychan's sons and daughters had been omitted in Hengwrt 33 and displaced in Λ. One possibility is that their common exemplar was unbound at some point. The list of sons following Cynog may have occupied one loose leaf, while the list of daughters prior to Nefydd and Ceingar may have occupied another. Perhaps at one stage these loose leaves were ordered incorrectly, resulting in a copy like Λ, whilst at another stage the loose leaves were missing entirely, resulting in a copy like Hengwrt 33.

An approximate date for Hengwrt 33 can be suggested thanks to the list of the manuscript's contents preserved in William Maurice's 1658 catalogue of the Hengwrt library.³⁶ The manuscript contained a short chronicle called *Oed yr Arglwydd*, which finishes with the coronation of Edward II in 1307, providing a *terminus post quem* for the writing of Hengwrt 33.³⁷ The orthography of the copy of Hengwrt 33's genealogical contents made by John Jones in Cardiff 3.77 would suggest that Hengwrt 33 is unlikely to post-date the first half of the fourteenth century. Indicative features include the relative prevalence of spellings in *y* for the front vowels; the occasional use of *e* for /æ/; and the occasional use of *t* for final -ð/.³⁸ Overall, the orthography of Hengwrt 33 would appear to have been very similar to that of scribe B of Peniarth 20, who was working in Valle Crucis in the years around 1330.³⁹ Hengwrt 33 may have been written at a similar date. Bartrum's estimated date of *c.* 1400

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 7–9; cf. Phillimore, 'Fragment', p. 106, n. 2.

³³ The partial item about Cynog was only copied into Llanstephan 28 and the partial item about Nefydd only into Cardiff 3.77. Llanstephan 28's text of *Plant Brychan* is available in Wade-Evans, 'Bonedd y Saint, E', p. 174. Hengwrt 33's text of *Plant Brychan* is reconstructed in Guy, 'Lost Medieval Manuscript', pp. 93–4.

³⁴ See Rees, *Lives*, p. 270.

³⁵ It is very unlikely that Λ's versions of the intervening items (§§1.2.1–1.3.8) were taken from another, separate source, because these items bear the same type of relationship to copies of the southern tradition as do the sections that copies of Λ and Hengwrt 33 share. It is far more probable that the intervening items in Λ derive from the common source of Λ and Hengwrt 33. See below, p. 181.

³⁶ See above, p. 162. The arguments for the dating of Hengwrt 33 are set out fully in Guy, 'Lost Medieval Manuscript', pp. 84–5.

³⁷ *Oed yr Arglwydd* is edited and translated in *ibid.*, pp. 101–4.

³⁸ Charles-Edwards and Russell, 'Hendregadredd Manuscript', pp. 431–3; Russell, 'Scribal (In)competence', pp. 140 and 142; Russell, 'What Did Medieval Welsh Scribes Do?', pp. 88–9.

³⁹ G. and T. M. Charles-Edwards, 'Continuation', esp. pp. 298–9.

should be rejected, being based on nothing more than a rounding down of John Jones's faulty dating of the manuscript to 400 years before 1640.⁴⁰

The Y-branch: The II Sub-Branch

Peniarth 126, pp. 13, 15–16 and 26 (s. xvi¹, >1505).

Peniarth 131, part ii, pp. 13–19, 21–3 and 25–43 (Ieuan ap Madog ap Rhys, 1509 × 1536).⁴¹

Peniarth 181, pp. 4 and 45–9 (Ieuan ap Madog ap Rhys, 1509 × 1536).

NLW 732B, pp. 9–18, 21–38, 40–1 and 56 (Richard Longford, s. xvi^{med}).

NLW 16962–3a, ff. 7v–10r, 11v, 46r, 94v–95r and 115r–117v (Thomas Wiliems, 1578–1612).

Peniarth 283, ff. 1r, 3r, 31r, 33r, 44r, 45r, 46r, 54r, 58r, 63r and 72r (Robert Vaughan, c. 1620).

Cardiff 3.77 (RMWL 25), pp. 40–100 (John Jones, 1640).

The early stages of the II sub-branch of the Y-branch are represented by the lost manuscripts Y and Δ. Y was the name given by Bartrum to the exemplar copied by John Jones into Cardiff 3.77, pp. 32–100. Y contained the entirety of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies in something like its original form, as well as two early additional sections: *Llwyth Marchudd*, which is also found in Hengwrt 33 and which may have been present in the archetype, and *Plant Bleddyn ap Cynfyn*. The addition of the latter section is a distinctive characteristic of the II sub-branch, found in descendants of Y, Δ and Σ. Both additions are discussed further below.⁴² By the seventeenth century, Y may have been the only surviving full early copy of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. It was at one time present in Robert Vaughan's library at Hengwrt, as attested by the extracts from Y written by Robert Vaughan himself into Peniarth 283.⁴³ Peniarth 283 is a miscellany of older genealogical tracts copied from a number of different sources. For example, on folio 3r there is a reference to 'Gutun Owain'; this follows a section on *Plant Riccart ap Cadwaladr* (§G41) containing additions characteristic of Gutun Owain's portion of Peniarth 131 (part iii), which may have been Robert Vaughan's source.⁴⁴ Of most interest presently, however, are Vaughan's references to a certain 'MS' that appear scattered throughout Peniarth 283. He refers to text taken from this source as 'Ex MS' ('from MS') (ff. 3r, 31r, 46r), 'or hen lyfr membrwn MS' ('from the old vellum book MS') (ff. 33r, 44r), 'or hen lyfr' ('from the old book') (f. 54r), and 'ex libro antiquissimo MS' ('from the very ancient book MS') (f. 72r). Errors shared by these extracts in Peniarth 283 and Cardiff 3.77, pp. 32–100 (e.g. *Berochfaelan* for *Brochfaelan* in §42; 'R' followed by a gap for *Rhahawt* in §54.4), show that this *hen lyfr membrwn* was Y.

Bartrum suggested that the lost manuscript Y should be identified with the missing Hengwrt 141, the description of which in William Maurice's 1658 catalogue reads as follows:⁴⁵

⁴⁰ EWGT 77.

⁴¹ My thanks to Gruffudd Antur for providing additional information about the dating of Ieuan ap Madog ap Rhys's manuscripts. Both Peniarth 131ii and Peniarth 181 were written after the accession of Henry VIII, and Antur has located a document showing that Ieuan was dead by 20 July 1536: Antur, 'Ieuan', pp. 84–5.

⁴² See below, pp. 212–13 and 218–19.

⁴³ Cf. EWGT 78, n. 2; Bartrum, 'Notes', pt 1, 96. Gwenogvryn Evans thought that three hands were responsible for Peniarth 283, including that of Robert Vaughan, but Daniel Huws affirms that Robert Vaughan was the sole scribe: RMWL I, 1100; Huws, *Repertory*, s. Peniarth 283.

⁴⁴ Peniarth 131iii belonged to Robert Vaughan as part of Hengwrt 113: see Bartrum, 'Notes', pt 1, 77.

⁴⁵ EWGT 76; cf. Wynne, 'MSS.', p. 135.



Figure 4.2: The Π sub-branch

Llyfr Achau o hên lâr gwedy ei glyttio y gan John Jones: Ag y mae ynddo bethau am Gynwyd Cefn Blaidd Cynllaith. In Qu. 1 Fodf.

A book of pedigrees in an old hand repaired by John Jones; and there are things in it about *Cynwyd Cefn Blaidd Cynllaith*. Quarto. 1 inch.

John Jones is the only link between Y and Hengwrt 141; this is not enough to prove that the two should be equated. It is more likely that Hengwrt 141 derived from Rylands Welsh 1, Gutun Owain's 1497 manuscript, which displays the title *kymwd kefn blaidd kynllaith* prominently at the top of folio 12r. There is no evidence that Robert Vaughan or John Jones ever saw Rylands Welsh 1, but, since the latter manuscript was much copied in the sixteenth century, Hengwrt 141 may have derived from it.

It is very difficult to estimate the date of Y. Bartrum suggested a date in the first half of the fifteenth century, but, whilst that date is not impossible, his reasoning was predicated on the demonstrably false assertion that Y was 'actually based on Hengwrt 33'.⁴⁶ It is likely that Y predated c. 1450, on account of its use of vellum; the latest extant manuscript written partially on vellum that contains any genealogy is Peniarth 50, *Y Cwtta Cyfarwydd*, written in the 1440s and 1450s.⁴⁷ Certain aspects of the orthography of the copy of Y in Cardiff 3.77 also suggest a pre-1450 date, such as the frequent use of *t* for /d/. The survival of a number of examples of *e* for /ə/ might suggest an even earlier date, though it is clear that Y's usual spelling for /ə/ was *y*, meaning that *e* for /ə/ was merely a relic of an earlier stage in the textual history of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. It does not seem possible to assign a date to Y any more precise than 'pre-1450', although a date in the fourteenth or even thirteenth century is not out of the question.

Cardiff 3.77's copy of Y is undoubtedly the best candidate for the base text of an edition of the original Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, and it is used as such in Appendix B.4. Important supporting evidence to supplement this base text comes from two derivatives of another lost manuscript (Δ), a close relative of Y. Distinctive readings of Δ's descendants include *Diwc Lych* for *Dwywg Lyth* in §11.1.2 and *Cadwallawn* for *Idwallawn* in §35.1. The best copy of Δ is NLW 732B, a manuscript written by Richard Longford in the mid-sixteenth century.⁴⁸ A colophon on page 234 explains that the first half of NLW 732B 'a scrivennes i yn re ddiinbech allan o lyfre a gowsen i yn Ryvonioc a Rros' ('I wrote in the town of Denbigh out of books which I had found in Rhufoniog and Rhos') and the latter half 'a scrivenes i yn refalun allan o lyvyr a scrivennasse Gvttvn Owain' ('I wrote in Trefalun [Allington] out of a book which Gutun Owain had written').⁴⁹ A note on page 117 shows that the Gutun Owain book was written in 1498; it was evidently a version of the genealogical compilation in Gutun Owain's 1497 manuscript, Rylands Welsh 1, and is treated further below.⁵⁰ The books from Rhos and Rhufoniog are more mysterious. Analysis of the genealogical contents of the first half of NLW 732B shows that it used three sources: a source closely related to Y (called here Δ), a copy of *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*, and Gutun Owain's 1498 manuscript, the last of which supplied several marginal corrections and additions to the text taken from Δ.⁵¹ Presumably the books from Rhos and Rhufoniog contained the former two sources.

⁴⁶ EWGT 78.

⁴⁷ MWM 17 and 61; Huws, *Repertory*, s. Peniarth 50.

⁴⁸ For a description of NLW 732B, see Huws, 'Yr Hen Risiart Langfford', pp. 305–7. The brief description in *Handlist I*, 54 is inadequate.

⁴⁹ Cf. Huws, 'Yr Hen Risiart Langfford', p. 306.

⁵⁰ See below, p. 177.

⁵¹ The reference on p. 20 to *Llywarch Olbwrch* being 'wr penna oi stauell' ('chief man of his chamber') for Gruffudd ap Llywelyn as well as 'thryssorer' ('treasurer') most probably came from the Welsh Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan rather than the Latin Life, the extant text of which mentions only the treasurer duty:

Another derivative of Δ is found in Peniarth 131ii, written between 1509 and 1536 by Ieuan ap Madog ap Rhys (fl. 1507–c. 1536), who describes himself as ‘o sswydd Ddinbech yn Issalet’ (‘from Denbighshire in Is Aled’), exactly where Richard Longford found his exemplars.⁵² It would appear that the text in Peniarth 131ii derives from the manuscript copied by Richard Longford, though perhaps at one stage removed. The general lack of idiosyncratic readings in NLW 732B suggests that there is unlikely to have been many intermediary stages between NLW 732B and Δ . On the other hand, there may have been a copy intermediary between Δ and Peniarth 131ii, because the latter’s text has been contaminated by readings taken from a manuscript of the southern tradition, probably located on the stemma below the point where the Peniarth 177i group branches off (note the omissions of *yn Deheubarth* in §A3.1 and *Gwehelieth Gwent* in §36).⁵³ The readings of the southern tradition are incorporated seamlessly into Peniarth 131ii’s text, suggesting that Peniarth 131ii was copied from a copy of Δ that had been annotated. It is possible that Δ itself had been annotated, rather than an intermediary copy, though this would depend on NLW 732B having been written earlier than Peniarth 131ii, which is unlikely.

A hypothetical copy intermediary between Δ and Peniarth 131ii might have been written by Ieuan ap Madog ap Rhys as well, since there is evidence that he used Δ on other occasions and may therefore have possessed it for an extended period. The evidence comes from Peniarth 181. Peniarth 181 is usually treated as anonymous,⁵⁴ but there is strong evidence that Ieuan ap Madog ap Rhys was the scribe.⁵⁵ Aside from the likeness of the script, there are the following considerations: his name appears at the top of page 19 and his extended genealogy appears on pages 40 and 360; the scribe has a tendency to insert superfluous *ys* into words, just as in Peniarth 131ii; the bulk of Peniarth 181 is copied from Peniarth 129, which itself received additions from Ieuan ap Madog ap Rhys, including his pedigree;⁵⁶ and Ieuan ap Madog ap Rhys is cited by name by Thomas Wiliems in NLW 16962–3a (f. 351v), a large part of which was copied from Peniarth 181, and in Cardiff 4.265 (f. 34v) by Simwnt Fychan, who added to Peniarth 181 on page 85.⁵⁷ The sections of Peniarth 181 that concern us presently are pages 4 and 45–9, which contain two copies of *Llywelyn ab Iorwerth* deriving from Δ .⁵⁸ These parts of Peniarth 181 clearly do not derive from Peniarth 131ii, though the evidence is not sufficient to ascertain whether or not they derive directly from Δ or from an intermediary between Δ and Peniarth 131ii. The uncertainty is partly due to NLW 732B’s version of *Llywelyn ab Iorwerth* having been affected by *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*.

The existence of an intermediary between Δ and Peniarth 131ii is suggested by one further factor. In NLW 16962–3A, Thomas Wiliems wrote on folios 7v–10r, 11v and 46r extracts from *Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru* and *Bonedd y Llwythau* deriving from Δ . Whilst they are clearly closer to Peniarth 131ii than to NLW 732B, they do not appear to derive directly from Peniarth 131ii. Perhaps they were taken from the hypothetical intermediary between Δ and Peniarth 131ii, which, considering that Thomas Wiliems also had

VGC §11; HGK 7. This is despite the passage being described as ‘ex vitâ Grifini excerpta’ (‘taken from the Life of Gruffudd’), using the Latin title. Perhaps Richard Longford had access to a version of Welsh Life that was independent of Peniarth 17 and Llyfr Richard Wynn. Cf. HGK cclxiv–cclxxiii.

⁵² Peniarth 181, p. 40 (cf. ‘o Issalet’ on p. 360); WG 2 VI, s. ‘Hedd 2(A,B,C)’. For the manuscript, see RMWL I, 812; MWM 64; Bartrum, ‘Notes’, pt 1, 78; above, p. 166, n. 41. For Ieuan’s floruit, see Antur, ‘Ieuan’, p. 84.

⁵³ See below, p. 186.

⁵⁴ E.g. MWM 64; EWGT 53; Bartrum, ‘Disgyniad’, pp. 253–4; Bartrum, ‘Late Additions’, p. 79.

⁵⁵ Gruffudd Antur drew the same conclusion independently: ‘Ieuan’, p. 85.

⁵⁶ See below, p. 175.

⁵⁷ For Simwnt Fychan’s reference, see Bartrum, ‘Genealogical Sources’, p. 4.

⁵⁸ These sections of Peniarth 181 were copied into NLW 16962–3A on ff. 94v–95r and 115r–117v.

access to Ieuan ap Madog ap Rhys's Peniarth 181, might have been associated with Ieuan ap Madog ap Rhys too.

On the evidence of NLW 732B and Peniarth 131ii, Δ seems to have had the same genealogical contents as Y, excepting that *Bonedd y Saint*, *Plant Brychan* and most of *Oes yr Arwyr* were absent, perhaps on account of the front section of Δ having been damaged. The quality of the text in these two manuscripts (especially NLW 732B) is such that they are useful for ascertaining the original text of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, and they are used accordingly in the edition in Appendix B.4.

A final witness to consider alongside the descendants of Y and Δ is Peniarth 126, written by a cleric possibly associated with Bangor in the early part of the sixteenth century.⁵⁹ The manuscript contains fragments of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies interspersed among much other matter, especially grammar.⁶⁰ These fragments comprise *Pedwar Gwely Llwyth Edryd* from *Byll* on page 13, parts of *BGC*, *Meib CW* and *Byll* on pages 15–16 and parts of *LlaI* and *Plant OG* on page 26. Various aspects of the text suggest that it belongs to an early stage of the II sub-branch, but further precision is impossible. Most strikingly, Peniarth 126 is the only witness apart from John Jones's copy of Y that places Iorwerth Goch's pedigree after, rather than within, *Plant BaC*.⁶¹

The Y-Branch: The Gutun Owain Recension

Peniarth 131, part iii, pp. 79–92 and 109–24 (Gutun Owain, 1483 × 1489).

Rylands Welsh 1, ff. 1r–10v (Gutun Owain, 1497).

Peniarth 129, pp. 4–47 (1500 × 1536).

Peniarth 181, pp. 21–36, 61–76, 109–13, 283–330 and 339–44 (Ieuan ap Madog ap Rhys, 1509 × 1536).

Peniarth 127, part ii, pp. 282–8 (1531 × 1544).

Peniarth 177, part i, pp. 156–7 (Gruffudd Hiraethog and others, 1544–61).

NLW 732B, pp. 19, 51–8, 97–100 and 107–16 (Richard Longford, s. xvi^{med}).

Peniarth 130, pp. 1–13 and 92–100 (s. xvi^{med}).

Peniarth 131, part iv, pp. 139–42 (s. xvi^{med}).

Peniarth 75, pp. 27–57 and 61–78 (John Wynn of Y Tŵr, s. xvi²).

Peniarth 74, part ii, pp. 140–1 and 143–53 (Simwnt Fychan, c. 1560–80[?]).

Peniarth 128, pp. 38–50, 55–60, 62–6 and 69 (Edward ap Roger, c. 1560–85).

Peniarth 138, pp. 36, 38, 44–5, 74–5, 81–2, 214–17, 250–1 and 573–4 (Thomas ap Llywelyn ab Ithel, c. 1561 × 1566/7).

CUL Mm.1.3, ff. 5v–9r, 12v–13v, 14v–22v and 33v (Wiliam Llŷn, 1566).

Cardiff 4.265, ff. 2r–15v (Simwnt Fychan, c. 1567–1600).

NLW 16962–3a, ff. 92v and 94r–267r (Thomas Wiliems, 1578–1612).

NLW 730D, pp. 2–8 (1581).

Harley 1970, part ii, ff. 35r–46r (Thomas Chaloner, s. xvi^{ex}).

Brogyntyn I. 15, transcript 5, pp. 342–3 (George Owen Harry, 1593–6).

Rawlinson B. 466, ff. 24r–41v and 44r–62r (*X148*, s. xvii^{1/4}).

NLW 3042B (Mostyn 134), ff. 8v–9r and 15r–16r (s. xvii¹, >1607).

NLW 1554A, ff. 23r–26r, 47r–64v, 229r–230r and 294r–294v (Thomas Evans, c. 1632).

NLW 7008E, p. 15 (John Griffith, 1697).

⁵⁹ Huws, *Repertory*, s. Peniarth 126; *MWM* 63. For the contents, see *RMWL* I, 772–4. Gruffudd Hiraethog annotated the manuscript, and, according to Huws, Peniarth 126 is the manuscript that Gruffudd cites elsewhere as *Llyfr hen Berson Llanellian* ('Book of the old parson of Llaneilian'): Bartrum, 'Genealogical Sources', p. 6.

⁶⁰ Cf. *GP* xvi and xlix. My thanks to Michaela Jacques for discussion of Peniarth 126.

⁶¹ For the significance of this, see below, p. 219.

Hawarden D/E 1413, f. [14r] (s. xviii^{med}).

BL Add. 14924, ff. 20v–22v (Lewis Morris, 1757–64).

Cardiff 2.108, ff. 4r–32v (Richard Thomas, 1775).

NLW 2029B (Panton 63), ff. 94r–110v (Evan Evans, 1770s).

BL Add. 15002, pp. 176–207 (Owen Jones, s. xviii^{4/4}).

Rylands Welsh 2, ff. 1r–10v (Samuel Rush Meyrick, s. xix¹).

The large number of witnesses in this group is testimony to Gutun Owain's enormous influence upon Welsh genealogical writing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁶² He was frequently quoted, his manuscripts were often copied and his opinions commanded respect.⁶³ The attention that he received was not undeserved; he did more than any other during the second half of the fifteenth century to ensure the preservation of earlier genealogical learning and to record the genealogy of his own day, 'rac nas gwypo y to o'r oes nesa' ('lest the generation of the next age does not know it') as he himself put it.⁶⁴ This is fully illustrated by his four surviving genealogical manuscripts, which belong to three different branches of the manuscript tradition of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies: Peniarth 131iii and Rylands Welsh 1, primarily members of the branch presently under discussion; Llanstephan 28, a derivative of Hengwrt 33; and BL Add. 14919iii, fragment 2, a member of the II sub-branch that anticipates some of the developments in Peniarth 127i. Although Gutun Owain had access to many of the branches of the tradition evinced elsewhere, and effected a degree of cross-fertilisation between them, it is clear that his 'base text' for Peniarth 131iii and especially for Rylands Welsh 1 was a complete text of the Y-branch which is not attested outside of Gutun Owain's sphere of activity. This is shown by its numerous agreements with Y, Δ and Σ against Hengwrt 33 and Λ, such as the addition of *yNgwent* in §1.3.12⁶⁵ and the reading *Morfud* for *Morwyl* in §12.2.2.⁶⁶ For this reason, variants from Rylands Welsh 1 are included in the edition of the original Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies in Appendix B.4.

Peniarth 131iii and Rylands Welsh 1 each represent a distinct stage in the development of Gutun Owain's approach to the genealogical material. Peniarth 131iii is the earlier of the two, having been written between 1483 and 1489.⁶⁷ Peniarth 131iii's text of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies represents an early attempt by Gutun Owain to create his own compilation out of the inherited medieval materials. The beginning of the compilation witnesses a significant rearrangement of *LlaI*, *BGC* and *ByLI*, though by page 111 there is less rearrangement and a more conventional order is followed, encompassing *PB*, *OyA*, *Meib RM*, *Plant GaC*, *Plant OG*, *Plant CC* and *Plant BaC*.⁶⁸ It is in Peniarth 131iii that one first encounters sections newly composed by Gutun Owain that would go on to form staple parts of the many genealogical compilations derived from Rylands Welsh 1, including *Plant ID*, *Plant Ricard*,

⁶² For Gutun Owain as genealogist, see Guy, 'Writing Genealogy', pp. 105–12; Bartrum, 'Notes', pt 1, 71–2; pt 2, 104–6; F. Jones, 'Approach', pp. 352–5. For his family background, see Antur, 'Owain Waed Da', pp. 90–1; *WG I* III, s. 'Iarddur 1'.

⁶³ For some sixteenth-century references to Gutun Owain, see Bartrum, 'Genealogical Sources', p. 3. For some sixteenth-century owners of Gutun Owain's manuscripts, see Bartrum, 'Notes', pt 2, 106. For some seventeenth-century owners, see *MWM* 299–301 and 328.

⁶⁴ *LIIG* (GO) G80.

⁶⁵ Compare its absence from *DSB* 12.3 and *CB* 15.2, which together represent a source used by the original Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies.

⁶⁶ The correct reading of the latter is uncertain, but *Morwyl* is much the less common name, and should probably be taken as the *lectio difficilior*.

⁶⁷ *RMWL* I, 812; Roberts, 'Llawysgrifau', p. 101; *MWM* 62. Huws notes that on p. 104 William Griffith is called 'siambrlen' but not 'Syr', placing the manuscript between 1483 and 1489: Huws, *Repertory*, s. Peniarth 131.

⁶⁸ Among many other unique additions taken from various sources, Peniarth 131iii contains the only copy of *Plant Bleddyn ap Cynfyn* outside of the II sub-branch.

parts of *GyM* and the expanded version of *Meib RM*. It is clear that in Peniarth 131iii much of this work was experimental and was viewed as work in progress, as shown especially by the numerous gaps left in the text, to be filled on future occasions. The same attitude was probably responsible for the slightly greater degree of conflation in Peniarth 131iii than is seen in Rylands Welsh 1. In addition to the independent Y-branch base text, readings were taken from either Llanstephan 28 or Llanstephan 28's exemplar (intermediate between itself and Hengwrt 33); from a text of the II sub-branch, as witnessed by the inclusion of the additional section *Plant BaC*; and probably from the same fuller X-branch text that was used to augment both the southern tradition and Peniarth 127i.⁶⁹

Rylands Welsh 1, dating to 1497, is a far more controlled and discerning product, evidently the outcome of a lifetime of experience handling genealogical texts.⁷⁰ Rather than the older material being interspersed with newer material on the Welsh gentry, as is the case in Peniarth 131iii (pp. 93–107 and 125–38), the genealogies concerning the earlier period in Rylands Welsh 1 are clearly grouped together at the beginning of the compilation. The end of this section is marked by the following statement on folio 10v:⁷¹

Hyd hynn y dywedasom o vonedd Kymry, y rrai a v̄vant gwedy Bruttus hyd yr hen llwytha/
a v̄vant kynn yr oes honn. Weithian yr ysbyswn o vonedd yr oes honn hyd at yr hen llwytha/
hynny

So far we have spoken of the noble descent of Wales, those who were after Brutus up until the old kin-groups which were prior to this age. Now we will discuss the noble descent of this age back to those old kin-groups

In the new arrangement, Gutun Owain was able to present the genealogical material that he had inherited from the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies as the authoritative discursive treatment of the historical foundation from which contemporary kin-groups had originated, particularly those of north-east Wales, whose lineages systematically fill the rest of the manuscript after folio 10v.

The contents of the 1497 compilation prior to the present folio 10v have to be, to a certain extent, reconstructed using early copies of the manuscript, on account of the loss of some fifty-three leaves from the beginning of the manuscript.⁷² The most useful early copies in this respect are Peniarth 129 and Harley 1970ii, because of their faithfulness in copying their exemplar. Rylands Welsh 1 once contained every section of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, albeit rearranged slightly. Some sections, including *OyA* (now divided into two), *Meib RM* and *BGC*, were expanded with additional material, while other sections were newly composed, including *Arthur*, *Lloegr*, *Plant Cynfyn*, *Plant ID*, *Plant Ricard* and *GyM*. Gutun Owain's sources for his new sections are discussed in the second half of this chapter.⁷³

The main text of Rylands Welsh 1 was based primarily on the same Y-branch text that underlies Peniarth 131iii, with some readings taken from Llanstephan 28 or its exemplar (of the X-branch). However, certain corrections and additions to the extant ten folios of this material show that Rylands Welsh 1 also drew directly (though sparingly) upon both Y and Δ

⁶⁹ See below, pp. 181 and 191.

⁷⁰ For a description of the manuscript, see *MMBL* III, 468–70. For the significance of its contents, see Bartrum, 'Notes', pt 2, 104–6. A photostat copy of Rylands Welsh 1, now NLW 11114B, was made in 1959: *Handlist* III, 310.

⁷¹ LIIG (GO) 80.

⁷² The number is deducible from the remnants of the sixteenth-century foliation: *MMBL* III, 469. The manuscript's original order was established by Bartrum in a note written in 1971 and inserted into the front of the photostat copy (NLW 11114B).

⁷³ See below, pp. 230–1.

(of the Y-branch). In *Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru* (f. 5r), Maredudd ap Rhobert's maternal great-grandfather appears as *Iorwerth*, but this is written over an erased name, faintly legible as *Idnerth*.⁷⁴ *Idnerth* is the correct reading, which is what all other manuscripts read apart from Cardiff 3.77's copy of Y and the descendants of Rylands 1, which have *Iorwerth*. Later in *Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru* (f. 5v), *nev Cyndrwyn* has been added as an interlinear addition above the name *Kyndeyrn*, ancestor of the early line of Dyfed.⁷⁵ Aside from copies of Rylands Welsh 1 that incorporated the addition, this reading is found only in Cardiff 3.77's copy of Y and in NLW 16962–3A's copy of Δ. In the latter, however, the reading may have come indirectly from Rylands Welsh 1, since Thomas Wiliems had access to various derivatives of the manuscript. Other later additions in Rylands Welsh 1's text of *Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru* point unambiguously to Gutun Owain's use of Δ. One is the addition of the generations '[ap] *Erbic ap Enynny*' to the Morgannwg pedigree (f. 5r).⁷⁶ The addition omits Meurig, father of *Erbic*, a mistake only otherwise attested in three descendants of Δ, namely NLW 732B, Peniarth 131ii and NLW 16962–3A. In the Ardudwy pedigree (f. 6r), an eye-skip from *Peibiaw* to *Peibiw* had caused a number of names to be omitted when that pedigree was first written into Rylands Welsh 1.⁷⁷ In order to rectify the error (partially, at least), Gutun Owain later struck through the name *D/bned* and inserted into the margin the names *Melric ap Dyngad ap Donod*. The insertion omits the name *Peibiw* between *Dyngad* and *Donod*, a mistake only otherwise found in NLW 732B, Peniarth 131ii and NLW 16962–3A. Gutun Owain seems to have used Y and Δ at a fairly late stage to correct his text in Rylands Welsh 1. He may well have had access to Y for some time before, because other unique agreements between Cardiff 3.77's copy of Y and Rylands Welsh 1 and its descendants are integrated fully into the latter's text (e.g. the addition of Goronwy as father of Morwyl/Morfudd in §G25.2.2/12.2.2). The most important conclusion to be drawn from this evidence is that Gutun Owain was an enterprising textual scholar of the humanist mode, who sought out many early copies of the texts that he was editing in order to facilitate effective textual criticism. It seems unlikely that many early copies of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies survived the fifteenth century without having passed through Gutun Owain's hands at some point.

The descendants of Rylands Welsh 1 are many, and fall into three groups: straight copies, abridged copies and conflated copies, each of which are dealt with in turn. Peniarth 131iii did not produce any straight copies as such, but it did influence some of the conflated copies of Rylands Welsh 1.

Only two direct copies of Rylands Welsh 1 survive from the sixteenth century: Peniarth 129, written by two anonymous hands between 1500 and 1536, and Harley 1970ii, written by deputy-herald Thomas Chaloner (d. 1598) around the end of the sixteenth century.⁷⁸ The evidence for their direct derivation from Rylands Welsh 1 is fairly abundant, and relates especially to the ways in which Gutun Owain's various corrections and additions were treated. Perhaps the most obvious evidence comes from their treatment of *Mam Gruffudd ap Cynan*.⁷⁹ On folio 3v of Rylands Welsh 1, one can see where a section on *Mam*

⁷⁴ LIIG (GO) G46.2.1/33.2.1.

⁷⁵ LIIG (GO) G51.2/38.2.

⁷⁶ LIIG (GO) G48.1/35.1.

⁷⁷ LIIG (GO) G56/43.

⁷⁸ Bartrum, 'Notes', pt 1, 79; pt 2, 105–6; *MWM* 63; *DWH* I, 373. Gwenogvryn Evans thought that the second scribe of Peniarth 129 was Gutun Owain himself, but he was corrected by Thomas Roberts: *RMWL* I, 806; F. Jones, 'Approach', p. 354; Roberts, 'Llawysgrifau', pp. 107–9. For the contents of the two manuscripts, see respectively *RMWL* I, 806–10 and Owen, *Catalogue* II, 276–9. For Thomas Chaloner, see Hemp, 'Two Welsh Heraldic Pedigrees'; Squibb, 'Deputy Heralds', p. 26; Wagner and Squibb, 'Deputy Heralds', pp. 233, 245–6 and 253–4; Wagner, *Catalogue*, p. 140; *DWH* I, 315–16.

⁷⁹ LIIG (GO) G39.1/16.1.

Gynan ap Iago has been added in the bottom margin, even though it is now mostly torn away. The entire section was copied into both Peniarth 129 and Harley 1970ii immediately after the main text of Rylands Welsh 1's folio 3v, even though it divides a sentence which runs from the end of folio 3v straight on to the top of folio 4r. Other additions to Rylands Welsh 1 were treated differently in the two copies. For example, at the top of folio 1v of Rylands Welsh 1, in the section *Plant Rhodri Mawr* (§G23.2.3/28.2.3), Gutun Owain has written *a mam Riwallon ap Kynvyn* and *ac Ewerydd* above the name *Bleddyn ap Kynvyn*, in order to give a fuller account of the children of Angharad ferch Maredudd ab Owain. In Peniarth 129 the marginal additions are copied after the name *Bleddyn ap Kynvyn*, whereas in Harley 1970ii they are copied first. Examples such as these could be multiplied, though the general tendency is for Peniarth 129 to copy fewer of the additions and corrections than Harley 1970ii.

There are no surviving copies of Harley 1970ii, but a full copy of Peniarth 129 survives in Peniarth 181, a manuscript written by Ieuan ap Madog ap Rhys between 1509 and 1536, encountered above.⁸⁰ This manuscript is now badly mis-bound, but comparison with Peniarth 129 shows that the corresponding parts of Peniarth 181 should be placed in the following page order: 339–44, 283–330, 31–2, 21–30, 33–6 and 109–264. Some of the text now lost from the end of Peniarth 129 can be recovered with the help of Peniarth 181. Elsewhere in Peniarth 181, certain sections of Peniarth 129 were copied further times: *Arthur* on pages 61 and 63–4 and *Lloegr* on pages 73–6. Peniarth 181 must have already been mis-bound by 1578, for in that year Thomas Wiliems copied the entirety of the manuscript, in its present order, into NLW 16962–3A, folios 94r–267r.⁸¹

Four late derivatives of Rylands Welsh 1 exist, written in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Two of these are direct copies: one by Richard Thomas (d. 1780) in 1775, now Cardiff 2.108, and the other by Samuel Rush Meyrick (d. 1848) in the early nineteenth century, now Rylands Welsh 2.⁸² Cardiff 2.108 shows that by 1775 Rylands Welsh 1 began with the present folio 1, having already lost its earlier folios. Cardiff 2.108's copy of Rylands Welsh 1 was itself copied twice in the eighteenth century, once by Evan Evans in NLW 2029B, folios 94r–110v, and again by Owen Jones in BL Add. 15002, folios 176–207.⁸³

The abridged copies of Rylands Welsh 1 form a distinct and interrelated group. Characteristic of this group are the insertion of Ithel Llwyd as father of Ithel Fychan in §G41.6 and the omission of §§G77.1.2–3. The group is represented chiefly by five witnesses: one written for the Trevors of Bryncynallt between 1531 and 1544 (Peniarth 127ii); two written by anonymous scribes in the mid-sixteenth century (Peniarth 130 and Peniarth 131iv); one written by Simwnt Fychan in the latter half of the sixteenth century (Peniarth

⁸⁰ *MWM* 64; *RMWL* I, 1001. See above, pp. 169–70.

⁸¹ On f. 5r, Thomas Wiliems refers to 'y parth cyntaf' ('the first part') of his manuscript, which includes the copy of Peniarth 181, as having been written in 1578. Other parts of the manuscript were written later, some as late as 1612. Bartrum realised that the text of *Disgyniad Pendefigaeth Cymru* in NLW 16962–3A was probably copied from Peniarth 181: 'Disgyniad', p. 253. Lewis Morris later copied parts of NLW 16962–3A into BL Add. 14924, ff. 20r–24r, including extracts from *Oes yr Arwyr* and *Meibion Cunedda Wledig*, which NLW 16962–3A had taken from Peniarth 181. Cf. Bartrum, 'Bonedd yr Arwyr', p. 230.

⁸² For Richard Thomas, see W. Ll. Davies, 'Thomas, Richard'; *MWM* 298; *Handlist* I, ix; Guy, 'Lost Medieval Manuscript', pp. 75–7. For Rylands Welsh 2, see *MMBL* III, 469. This should be distinguished from Rylands Welsh 3, an eighteenth-century collection of Welsh poetry, which is wrongly called Welsh 2 in *Handlist* III, 310. A photostat copy of the latter, NLW 11115B, is available in the National Library of Wales. My thanks to Gruffudd Antur for information about Rylands Welsh 2 and 3.

⁸³ For brief descriptions of these two manuscripts, see respectively *Handlist* I, 176 and *Catalogue of Additions, MDCCCXLI–MDCCCXLV*, p. 62. Bartrum was aware of BL Add. 15002: *EWGT* 79, n. 1; 'Notes', pt 2, 105. In *EWGT*, Bartrum is clear that BL Add. 15002 was only a second-hand copy of Rylands Welsh 1, but in 'Notes', pt 2, 105 he implies that it is a direct copy. Bartrum does not seem to have been aware of NLW 2029B, which includes copies of other materials obtained from Richard Thomas.

74ii); and one written by scribe *XI48* in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, for Pyrs Lloyd of Y Ddol (Rawlinson B. 466).⁸⁴ Parts of Rawlinson B. 466 were transcribed by Thomas Evans in NLW 1554A (f. 226r: ‘o Lyfr Pirs llwyd or ddol yn ydernion’, ‘from the book of Pyrs Lloyd of Y Ddol in Edeirnion’), including *Meibion Cunedda Wledig* on folios 229r–230r, which was later copied from NLW 1554A into NLW 7008E, page 15, by John Griffith of Cae Cyriog in 1697.⁸⁵ Other members of the abridged group preserve only brief extracts from the text. A short passage (part of *Bonedd y Llwythau*) appears in the hand of Gruffudd Hiraethog in Peniarth 177i, pages 156–7, and a copy very similar to Peniarth 127ii was used by Ieuan ap Madog ap Rhys to annotate his transcription of Peniarth 129 in Peniarth 181.⁸⁶ Another short extract (*Plant Cynfyn*) appears in Brogyntyn I. 15 (transcript 5), pages 342–3, written for George Owen of Henllys between 1593 and 1596, the source of which may have been a lost book by Ieuan Brechfa written in 1513.⁸⁷ A further extract from *Plant Cynfyn* in a form very similar to the versions in Peniarth 131iv and Rawlinson B. 466 was copied into NLW 3042B in the first half of the seventeenth century.⁸⁸ A further copy, now lost, was once contained in *Llyfr John Brwynoc*, extracts from which were copied into NLW 16962–3a, folios 92v and 93v, by Thomas Wiliems.⁸⁹

Of these manuscripts, only Rawlinson B. 466 presents a full text. Peniarth 130 is fairly substantial, containing *Plant OG*, *Plant CC*, *Plant/Mam GaC*, *Tri lle*, *Mammau*, *Byll*, *Meib RM* (expanded), *Plant ID*, *Plant Ricard*, *BGC*, *Meib CW* and *Arthur*, though one or more folios of text have been lost between folios 92 and 93. Peniarth 127ii has only *Plant Cynfyn*, *Plant OG*, *Plant CC* and most of *BGC*.⁹⁰ Peniarth 131iv is a fragment of a larger manuscript, which now only contains *Plant Cynfyn*, *Plant Ricard* and parts of *Plant ID* and *Meib RM*.⁹¹ Peniarth 74ii is not lacunose but was selective in its copying, containing only *BGC*, *Byll* and *GyM*.

The abridged tradition seems to stem from a single common exemplar, which itself was an early copy of Rylands Welsh 1. The relationship with Rylands Welsh 1 is shown, for example, by the inclusion in Peniarth 130 and Rawlinson B. 466 of the addition *Mam Gynan ap Iago* found in the lower margin of Rylands Welsh 1, f. 3v, though in these two witnesses the addition is copied at the end of the passage about Gruffudd ap Cynan’s mother, rather than halfway through a sentence, as in Peniarth 129 and Harley 1970ii. In terms of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, the common exemplar was, for the most part, a full copy of Rylands Welsh 1, though with certain omissions, changes and occasionally additions so as to make derivatives of the common exemplar easily recognisable.

⁸⁴ *RMWL* I, 491–3, 784–5, 810–12 and 817; *Catalogi* V.i, cols. 692–3; *MWM* 63–4; Bartrum, ‘Notes’, pt 1, 77–8 and 80. In 1892, Phillimore made some use of Rawlinson B. 466, believing it to be ‘a collection also traceable to *Hanesyn Hên* [i.e. Hengwrt 33]’: Phillimore *apud* Rhys, ‘Irish Invasions’, p. 64. A note in Phillimore’s hand has been tipped into the front of the manuscript. See Guy, ‘Egerton Phillimore’, p. 45, n. 50.

⁸⁵ For these manuscripts, see *Handlist* I, 129 and II, 230. NLW 1554A was John Griffith’s *llyfr Thomas ap Ieuan*. Pages 27–9 of NLW 7008E were also copied from NLW 1554A, ff. 231r–232v.

⁸⁶ E.g. the annotations on *Plant Cynfyn* in Peniarth 181, pp. 302–7.

⁸⁷ For this manuscript, see below, p. 185.

⁸⁸ For this manuscript, see below, p. 187. On ff. 8v–9r of NLW 3042B there is also a version of *LlaI* that agrees with the Gutun Owain recension, but there is no copy of the abridged tradition available at this point for comparison.

⁸⁹ This lost manuscript is quoted a few times by Gruffudd Hiraethog: Bartrum, ‘Genealogical Sources’, p. 4. For *Sion Brwynog* (d. c. 1567), see Roberts, ‘Sion Brwynog’.

⁹⁰ The folios of this part of Peniarth 127ii are slightly disordered. No folio is labelled ‘[p.] 283’, meaning that the folio labelled ‘[p.] 285’ follows straight after the folio labelled ‘[p.] 281’. The last folio of the manuscript, comprising pages 287–8 (old foliation 83), should be placed between the present pages 281–2 and 285–6.

⁹¹ Bartrum, ‘Notes’, pt 1, 77.

The witness closest to the common exemplar of the abridged manuscripts is Peniarth 130, since Peniarth 127ii, Peniarth 131iv and Peniarth 74ii each share certain innovations with Rawlinson B. 466 (e.g. *Bleyn* for *Bleddyn* in §G26.2/13.2 in Peniarth 127ii; the addition of Angharad ferch Meurig's pedigree in §G23/28 in Peniarth 131iv; *Dyneg/Dynec* for *Dyuet* in §G51.1/38.1 in Peniarth 74ii). Peniarth 127ii lacks certain innovations that are present in the other three (e.g. the extension of the pedigree for *Gwehelyth Arllechwedd Uchaf* back beyond Kysgen in §G43 in Peniarth 74ii and Rawlinson B. 466), and so must branch off at an earlier stage.⁹² Unfortunately, the material in Peniarth 131iv and Peniarth 74ii does not overlap, so they cannot be compared directly. However, considering that the last few pages of Peniarth 131iv (155–7) were filled in by Simwnt Fychan, it is possible that Simwnt Fychan copied the relevant sections of Peniarth 74ii from Peniarth 131iv itself, whilst the latter was in a more complete state than it is now.⁹³

The common exemplar of the abridged manuscripts might have derived from Rylands Welsh 1 via another manuscript written by Gutun Owain. As has already been mentioned, one of the manuscripts used by Richard Longford while writing NLW 732B was a manuscript written by Gutun Owain in 1498, a year after he wrote Rylands Welsh 1. Longford's reproductions of parts of the 1498 manuscript show that it contained much the same material as Rylands Welsh 1, and it perhaps used Rylands Welsh 1 as its basis.⁹⁴ Longford's method was to use the 1498 manuscript to supplement his copy of Δ, and so the only substantial sections that he copied from the 1498 manuscript were those that were absent from Δ, comprising *PB*, most of *OyA*, *Plant Cynfyn* and *GyM*. Among these sections of text, there are a few examples of agreement with the abridged tradition against Rylands Welsh 1. These include the omission of *Kyffleuyr* after *merthyr* in §G3.2.4/1.2.5 and the addition of the epithet *lrych* to Tudur Trefor's ancestor Gwynfyw in §G73. The evidence is slight because of the small degree of overlap between the texts, and remains uncertain. The 1498 manuscript does, however, appear to have been used by some genealogists in the following century, as is discussed further below. One of these was Ieuan ap Madog ap Rhys, who seems to have used the 1498 manuscript for the versions of *Plant Brychan* and *Oes yr Arwyr* on pages 62–3 and 66–73 of Peniarth 181. Ieuan ap Madog ap Rhys might have inherited Δ and the 1498 manuscript (or transcripts thereof) together from Richard Longford, since the latter apparently found them in different places.⁹⁵ An unexpected derivative of the 1498 manuscript is the version of *Plant Llywarch Hen* (§G8) in the mid-eighteenth-century Hawarden D/E 1413, f. [14r].

Next to be considered are the conflated derivatives of Rylands Welsh 1. This group comprises five manuscripts written by some of the most influential Welsh genealogists of the latter half of the sixteenth century. These manuscripts are among the most perplexing in the entire corpus, thanks to their ability to combine multiple sources, including each other, without ever straying far from the text set down by Gutun Owain in Rylands Welsh 1. The resulting

⁹² *Gwehelyth Arllechwedd Uchaf* was left unfinished with Kysgen in Rylands Welsh 1, and this feature was preserved in the direct copies Peniarth 129 and Harley 1970ii. The pedigree was also extended backwards in an addition to Cardiff 4.265: see below, p. 180.

⁹³ Bartrum assigned pages 155–7 (with Simwnt Fychan's writing) to part v of Peniarth 131, Wiliam Llŷn's part of the manuscript ('Notes', pt 1, 77), but cf. Huws, *Repertory*, s. Peniarth 131. The extent to which folios have been lost from Peniarth 131iv is shown by the old foliation on the surviving leaves, which number xi–xii (139–42), lxvii (143–4), and lxxii–lxxviii (145–58).

⁹⁴ Cf. Huws, 'Yr Hen Risiart Langfford', p. 306. Although Huws suggests that the 1498 manuscript agreed better with later manuscripts against Rylands Welsh 1, the passage of NLW 732B used as an example (*Gwehelyth Dogfeiling*, §46.2) actually derives from Δ rather than the 1498 manuscript: *ibid.*, p. 321, n. 27.

⁹⁵ See above, p. 168. If so, Richard Longford must have written NLW 732B prior to Ieuan ap Madog ap Rhys's death in or shortly before 1536.

pattern of variants is inimical to stemmatic textual criticism, and should not be subjected to it. A better approach is to attempt to identify the multiple sources lying behind each compilation.

The textual interrelatedness of the manuscripts in this group stems from the close affiliations that existed within the circle of poets and gentleman-genealogists who created them: this was the circle of Gruffudd Hiraethog's pupils and their associates, who dominated the Welsh literary scene in the second half of the sixteenth century.⁹⁶ Two of the relevant manuscripts, CUL Mm.1.3 and Cardiff 4.625, were written respectively by Wiliam Llŷn and Simwnt Fychan, two of Gruffudd Hiraethog's bardic pupils.⁹⁷ Three others, Peniarth 138, Peniarth 128 and Peniarth 75, were written respectively by Thomas ap Llywelyn ab Ithel of Bodfari (fl. 1561–d. 1566/7), Edward ap Roger of Rhiwabon (d. 1587) and John Wynn of Y Tŵr, Nercwys (d. 1588), landed gentlemen from north-east Wales who came into frequent contact with the bards.⁹⁸ All of these people had easy access to Gutun Owain's manuscripts as well as each other's manuscripts. The only two sixteenth-century additions to Rylands Welsh 1 in identifiable hands are those by Edward ap Roger and Thomas ap Llywelyn ab Ithel, and Simwnt Fychan refers to the present folio 40 of Rylands Welsh 1 in Cardiff 4.625, folio 34r, where he calls it 'Llyfr Hw ap John o law Gvtyyn Ywain' ('the book of Huw ap John in Gutun Owain's hand').⁹⁹ Other Gutun Owain manuscripts were available to the same group; for example, in Peniarth 177i, page 202, Gruffudd Hiraethog refers to a 'Gutun Owain gida Simwnt' ('Gutun Owain with Simwnt').¹⁰⁰

The high point for the production of the conflated manuscripts was the 1560s. This was the decade when Edward ap Roger started preparing Peniarth 128, one of the most influential Welsh genealogical manuscripts of the period, which would continue to be augmented for the next two decades.¹⁰¹ Peniarth 128 contains the majority of the Gutun Owain recension, though it is greatly rearranged. Rylands Welsh 1 was clearly one of his sources, and he seems also to have used other Gutun Owain manuscripts, including Peniarth 131iii and probably the 1498 manuscript.¹⁰² Other sources belonged to different branches of the textual tradition of the Llywelyn ap Iorwerth genealogies altogether. One was responsible for the addition of *Ffyllyb ap Owain's* brother *Iago* to §G25.10/12.11 (Peniarth 128, p. 44). The source was probably Thomas ap Llywelyn ab Ithel's compilation in BL Add. 15041, to which Edward ap Roger made an addition on folio 16. BL Add. 15041 is a derivative of Peniarth 127i, as is discussed below.¹⁰³ Another source for an addition, *Ie'n Brechfa*, is cited in Peniarth 128, page 45. The manuscript of *Ieuan Brechfa* in question is probably Peniarth 131viii, from which pages 2–4 of Peniarth 128 were copied.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁶ Parry, *Hanes*, pp. 101 and 127; G. J. Williams, 'Traddodiad', pp. 22–6; Bowen, *Gruffudd Hiraethog*, pp. 16 and 61–2; F. Jones, 'Approach', pp. 365–78; Roberts, 'Renaissance', p. 53.

⁹⁷ Cf. Thomas, 'From Manuscript', p. 242–3.

⁹⁸ Roberts, 'Renaissance', p. 62; Williams, 'Traddodiad', p. 26. For Thomas ap Llywelyn ab Ithel, see Guy, 'Writing Genealogy', pp. 113–16; Bartrum, 'Notes', pt 2, 111–12; pt 3, 41; *WG* 2 III, s. 'Ednywain Bendew 3(B₄)'. He is probably the 'Thomas ap Llywelyn ab Ithel of Henllan' whose will (dated 20 October 1566, proved 8 March 1566/7) is calendared in *WG* 3, 'Companion to WG 1 & 1', 'Comp WG 2 E-G', p. 32. For Edward ap Roger (ap Siôn ab Elis Euton), see Bartrum, 'Notes', pt 2, 111; Thomas, 'From Manuscript', p. 245; Griffiths, 'Edward'; *WG* 2 X, s. 'Tudur Trefor 25(A)'; Meyrick, *Heraldic Visitations* II, 362. For John Wynn of Y Tŵr, son of Robert Wynn, see *WG* 2 I, s. 'Bleddyn ap Cynfyn 15(B)'; Meyrick, *Heraldic Visitations* II, 319; John Leland, *Itinerary*, part vi, f. 37 (ed. Smith III, 73). A copy of his will can be found in NLW SA 1588 R5, f. 192r (I owe this reference to Shaun Evans).

⁹⁹ Bartrum, 'Notes', pt 2, 105; Daniel Huws *apud* *MMBL* III, 469–70.

¹⁰⁰ Bartrum, 'Notes', pt 2, 106; Bartrum, 'Genealogical Sources', p. 3.

¹⁰¹ Bartrum, 'Notes', pt 1, 81–3; pt 2, 111; pt 3, 37; *RMWL* I, 785–805.

¹⁰² For Edward ap Roger's access to other material deriving from Gutun Owain's work, see Thomas, 'From Manuscript', p. 245.

¹⁰³ See below, p. 194.

¹⁰⁴ Bartrum, 'Notes', pt 1, 82. For Peniarth 131viii, see below, pp. 181–3.

The influence of *Llyfr Edward ap Roger* was felt on most of the conflating witnesses deriving from Rylands Welsh 1. These include CUL Mm.1.3, written by Wiliam Llŷn in Llangollen in 1566.¹⁰⁵ Most of the first twenty-two folios of this manuscript are filled with various sections of the Gutun Owain recension. One of Wiliam Llŷn's sources was *llyfr Ed ap Roeger*, as he calls Peniarth 128 on folio 63r, and indeed Wiliam Llŷn's hand is found in Peniarth 128.¹⁰⁶ Gutun Owain's Peniarth 131iii was another important source in the early section of CUL Mm.1.3: on folio 13v, a particular addition is attributed to *Llyfr Guttun Owain* 53, this being a reference to folio 53v of the old foliation of Peniarth 131iii. The latter's old folio numbers had indeed been supplied by Wiliam Llŷn at the time when he bound together and indexed Ieuan ap Madog ap Rhys's Peniarth 131ii and Gutun Owain's Peniarth 131iii.¹⁰⁷

John Wynn of Y Tŵr and Thomas ap Llywelyn ab Ithel, the Flintshire gentleman scribes who respectively penned Peniarth 75 and Peniarth 138, were evidently in close contact. Another manuscript by Thomas ap Llywelyn ab Ithel (BL Add. 15041, used by Edward ap Roger) was a source for Gruffudd Hiraethog in Peniarth 135, page 262, for a passage copied 'ymhllas Jhon Wyn or Twr o lyfr ysgrivenodd Tomas ap Lln o Vodvari' ('in the hall of John Wynn of Y Tŵr from a book that Thomas ap Llywelyn of Bodfari wrote').¹⁰⁸ Peniarth 75 reproduces the text of most of the Gutun Owain recension in Rylands Welsh 1 fairly accurately, despite the material having been reordered, though occasionally the influence of Peniarth 128 betrays itself.¹⁰⁹ Peniarth 138, written in the 1560s, is a less comprehensive compilation than its close relatives, containing only parts of *OyA*, *Plant CC*, *ByLI*, *Mammau*, *BGC*, *Plant OG* and *Plant Cynfyn*, but it used a fairly wide array of sources.¹¹⁰ It seems to have used Peniarth 181 and perhaps also Peniarth 181's exemplar, Peniarth 129, to which is appended a section on different paper written by Thomas ap Llywelyn ab Ithel.¹¹¹ Another influence upon the text, either directly or indirectly, was Peniarth 127i, with which Thomas ap Llywelyn ab Ithel was closely associated.¹¹²

In some ways, Simwnt Fychan's text in Cardiff 4.625 represents the culmination of the conflating derivatives of the Gutun Owain recension in the second half of the sixteenth century.¹¹³ Of the group discussed so far, it is the only one that follows the order of Rylands Welsh 1 fairly closely. However, the extensive marginal annotation shows that in the long period of Simwnt Fychan's engagement with the text he consulted a wide variety of different sources. A close analysis shows that the basis for most of the main text was a manuscript of the abridged tradition, probably the same as the source used for Simwnt Fychan's own Peniarth 74ii. The main text was supplemented by readings from Rylands Welsh 1 and a Peniarth 127i-type text, possibly Peniarth 127i itself, from which Simwnt Fychan apparently copied the tract *Plant yr Arglwydd Rhys* into Cardiff 4.265, or possibly Thomas ap Llywelyn ab Ithel's BL Add. 15041, which Simwnt Fychan cites on page 30 of Peniarth 74i.¹¹⁴ Other, more occasional sources seem to have been Peniarth 131iii, CUL Mm.1.3 and Peniarth 138. Amongst the additions to the manuscript, there is even evidence that a relative of Δ was used.

¹⁰⁵ *Catalogue of the Manuscripts* IV, 104–5. For Wiliam Llŷn, see I. W. Williams, 'Wiliam Llŷn'.

¹⁰⁶ Bartrum, 'Notes', pt 3, 37; *DWH* II, xxxv; I. W. Williams, 'Wiliam Llŷn', p. 133.

¹⁰⁷ Bartrum, 'Notes', pt 1, 77.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pt 2, 111; Bartrum, 'Genealogical Sources', p. 8.

¹⁰⁹ For the contents of Peniarth 75, see *RMWL* I, 497–503.

¹¹⁰ For the contents of Peniarth 138, see *RMWL* I, 867–79.

¹¹¹ Bartrum, 'Notes', pt 1, 79.

¹¹² See below, pp. 193–4.

¹¹³ For some comment on the manuscript, see Bartrum, 'Notes', pt 2, 113.

¹¹⁴ Bartrum, 'Plant', p. 97; Bartrum, 'Notes', pt 2, 112.

One of the lost Gutun Owain sources used in Cardiff 4.265 might now be represented by a copy in NLW 730D, a short manuscript of eleven folios that begins with the following colophon:¹¹⁵

Llyma ddechrau ystoriae o iachodd brenhinoedd a thwysogion, arglwyddi, marchogvrddo-
lion, ysgwieiraid a boneddigion Kymrv a llawer o'r gwehylaethav y tair talaith a dosbarth
arvav kenedl Gymrv o waith Gvttvnn Owainn, kanis y llyfr hwnn a dynnwyd o'i lyfr ef oed
Krist mil ccccc lxxxi

Here begin the histories of the genealogies of the kings and princes, lords, knights, squires and gentlemen of Wales and many of the ruling families of the three provinces and a classification of the arms of the nation of Wales from the work of Gutun Owain, since this book was drawn from his book in the age of Christ 1581

The contents clearly derive from Gutun Owain's work, and on pages 2–8 are extracts from *BGC* and *ByLI*. NLW 730D's version of *Gwehelyth Arllechwedd Uchaf* on page 7 is particularly interesting, because it finishes in such a way ('[...] Llyrr Merini ap Einion Yrth ap Kyneddaf Wledic') that is paralleled by an addition to Cardiff 4.265 (folio 9v) and by two pedigrees of Henry VII in Royal 18. A. lxxv (folios 9r–10r) that are both labelled 'by gyttyyn Owen'.¹¹⁶

Cardiff 4.265 was the chief source for the first 111 folios of NLW 1554A, written by Simwnt Fychan's pupil, Thomas Evans of Hendreforudd.¹¹⁷ On folio 111r occurs a dating clause: 'oed Krist pan esgrifened hyn o lyfr Simwnt Fychan 1632 Awst' ('the age of Christ when this was written from Simwnt Fychan's book: August 1632'). As already mentioned, other parts of this manuscript were copied from Rawlinson B. 466. Certain genealogical sections from about folio 307 onwards, however, though witnessing the Gutun Owain recension, do not have such a readily identifiable source; these include *PB*, *OyA*, the end of *Meib RM*, *Arthur* and *LlaI*. There are hints of a connection with the 1498 manuscript, but nothing definitive.

Conflated Recension I: The Southern Tradition

Peniarth 131, part viii, pp. 199–205, 276–84 and 290 (Ieuan Brechfa, 1494 × 1509).
CA Muniment Room 12/16 (Ieuan Brechfa, 1501 × 1509).

Peniarth 132, part i, p. 118 (1509 × 1547).

Peniarth 177, part i, pp. 204–21 (Gruffudd Hiraethog and others, 1544–61).

Llanstephan 12, pp. 29–30, 46, 66–79, 122–38 and 146–52 (s. xvi^{med}).

Peniarth 143, pp. 4–12, 22–4, 26–30 and 47–8 (Thomas Gruffydd, s. xvi^{med}).

Peniarth 118, part ii, pp. 601–3 (Siôn Dafydd Rhys, c. 1580–c. 1619).

Harley 1935, ff. 84v–85v and 91v–92r (1589 × 1630).

NLW 13250A, ff. 83v–94r (Wiliam Dafydd Llywelyn, c. 1590–1600).

Brogyntyn I. 15, transcript 5, pp. 283 and 297–8 (George Owen Harry, 1593–6).

Brogyntyn I. 15, transcript 6, pp. 345–51 (George Owen Harry, 1593–6).

Brogyntyn I. 15, transcript 7, pp. 390–6 (George Owen Harry, 1593–6).

Harley 2414, part i, ff. 25r–26v, 29v–30v, 60r–60v, 62r–62v and 64r–64v (Llywelyn Siôn, c. 1600).

NLW 3042B (Mostyn 134), ff. 6r–8v, 55v–56v, 57v–59v and 61r–64v (s. xvii¹, >1607).

¹¹⁵ Cf. *Handlist I*, 54.

¹¹⁶ The similar pedigree in Rawlinson B. 466 and Peniarth 74ii, noticed above (p. 177), takes the pedigree only so far as *Llyr Merini Iarlrl Henffordd*.

¹¹⁷ E. D. Jones, 'Evans'; Thomas, 'From Manuscript', p. 244.

Bodley Add. A. 281, ff. 374r–376v, 389r–391r and 393r–394v (Richard Williams, 1644–5).
Llanstephan 100, pp. 10, 25–9, 31–4 and 37–40 (s. xvii/xviii).
NLW 21001B, part ii, ff. 197r–202v (1701).
BL Add. 15031, part i, ff. 10v–14r (Evan Evans, 1750 × 1788).

The conflated recensions discussed in the next two sections, the southern tradition and the relatives of Peniarth 127i, seem to have shared the same base text, despite having been subsequently combined with other sources. This base text, called here Σ, contained a number of textual innovations, such as the reversal of the ordering of the brothers Gweirydd and Gwilym ap Rhys Goch in §49.3, the insertion of Cillin as father of Hiar in §49.5.4, and the omission of Medlan's epithet *Penllydan* from §56.1.¹¹⁸ Σ was a close relative of Δ, and therefore belonged to the Π sub-branch of the Y-branch of the tradition. The most significant textual innovation connecting Δ and Σ is the reversal of the ordering of §48 and §49.1, so that *Bonedd y Llwythau* begins with Einion ap Gwalchmai rather than Hwfa ap Cynddelw. Σ must have been written before Gutun Owain wrote BL Add. 14919iii, fragment 2, an early witness to the Peniarth 127i branch, in the second half of the fifteenth century.

In manuscripts of the southern tradition, the text of Σ has been conflated with a text of the X-branch, as shown by various textual correspondences with the derivatives of Hengwrt 33 and Λ. For example, the mistake in Hengwrt 33's text of *Llywelyn ab Iorwerth* (§11.1.4) that saw Cadell ap Rhodri Mawr erroneously acquire the epithet *Dyrnllug* is reproduced in all manuscripts of the southern tradition containing the relevant section. Similarly, in both the southern tradition and the descendants of Λ, the father of Dewi in *Plant Brychan* (§1.3.8) appears as *Sank* (*uel sim.*) rather than *Sant*. However, the X-branch text used to augment Σ may have been fuller than the extracts once present in Hengwrt 33 and Λ. This is suggested by the sections of text extant in the southern tradition which did not appear in either Hengwrt 33 or Λ but which have been influenced by a text of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies outside of the Y-branch. Especially notable is the text of *Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru*, preserved most fully in Peniarth 177i and NLW 21001Bii, which contains portions of text that are absent from other Y-branch texts but present in the sources used to create the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies in the thirteenth century, and so probably once present in the archetype.¹¹⁹ While it is not certain that these sections were not influenced by one or more separate texts deriving independently from the archetype, it is most economical to suppose that these sections were influenced by the same X-branch text that has demonstrably affected those sections of the southern tradition that are also preserved in Hengwrt 33 and Λ.

Early derivatives of Σ are associated with the work of Ieuan Brechfa, a poet and genealogist from south-west Wales, who flourished from c. 1490 to c. 1520.¹²⁰ The only surviving genealogical manuscript in his hand is Peniarth 131viii, which was in the possession of Wiliam Llŷn by the second half of the sixteenth century and which is responsible for most of the references to Ieuan Brechfa in northern manuscripts of that period.¹²¹ According to a colophon on page 276, Peniarth 131viii was written on behalf of 'Maestr Harri ap Howel ap Gvallder arch diagonn Svyd Gaer Verdin a channonn yMynyv' ('Master Henry ap Hywel ap Gwallter, archdeacon of Carmarthenshire and canon in St Davids'). Harri ap Hywel was

¹¹⁸ The latter has been reintroduced to Peniarth 127i, probably from the Gutun Owain recension.

¹¹⁹ See below, p. 186–7.

¹²⁰ See Guy, 'Brut Ieuan Brechfa'; Bartrum, 'Notes', pt 1, 72–3; pt 2, 103; F. Jones, 'Approach', p. 356.

¹²¹ *RMWL* I, 812 and 818–22; Bartrum, 'Notes', pt 1, 77–8; Bartrum, 'Genealogical Sources', p. 3. For some genealogical texts edited from this manuscript, see Bartrum, 'Plant'; Bartrum, 'Bonedd Henri'; Bartrum, 'Hen Lwythau', p. 232. It is notable that almost all manuscripts of the southern tradition include *Plant yr Arghwydd Rhys*, the earliest appearance of which is in this manuscript: others include Peniarth 132i, Harley 2414i, Llanstephan 12, Llanstephan 100, Brogyntyn I. 15 (transcript 6, pp. 351–4), Peniarth 143 and Harley 1935.

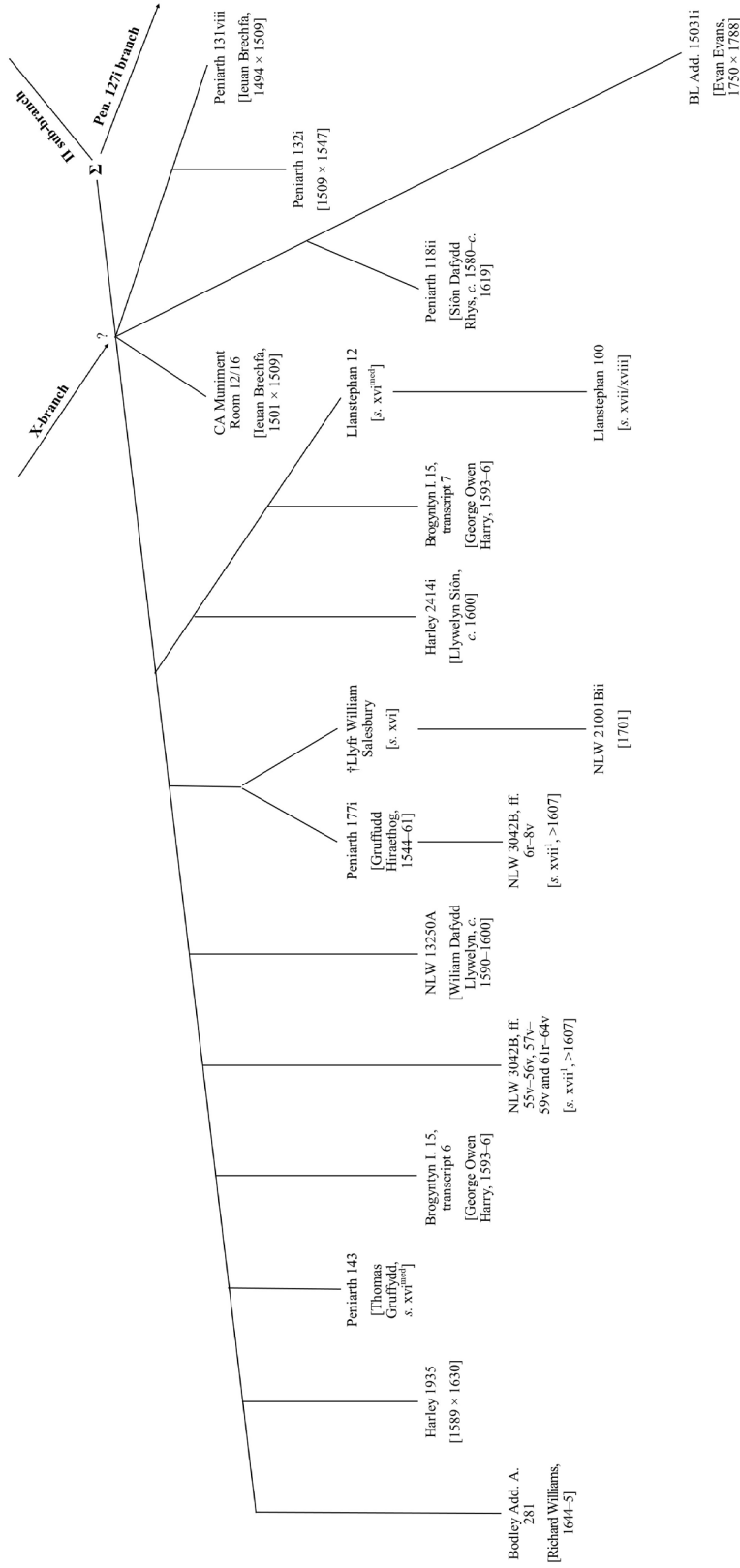


Figure 4.4: The southern tradition

archdeacon between 1494 and 1509.¹²² The manuscript is lacunose, but still contains at least portions of every section of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. Once the present disorder of the manuscript is taken into account,¹²³ the order of the text is substantially the same as the ordering of the archetype, as seen, for example, in Cardiff 3.77's copy of Y. Textually, the manuscript represents the earliest stages of the southern tradition, including elements drawn from the X-branch, such as the epithet *Dyrnllug* for Cadell ap Rhodri Mawr. Occasionally, a small degree of additional conflation is observable, but in almost every case the source seems to be a text related to the lost *Llyfr John Powys* of 1514, copied by Roger Morris into NLW 3032Bi, which represents an early stage of the Peniarth 127i branch.¹²⁴ Since the base text of this branch also derived from Σ, it seems possible that Ieuan Brechfa had access to multiple early derivatives of Σ.

A similar combination of elements from the two branches descending from Σ is visible in another of Ieuan Brechfa's products, the genealogical roll CA Muniment Room 12/16.¹²⁵ The roll was designed to depict the extended family network of Sir Rhys ap Thomas (d. 1525) and his son Sir Gruffudd ap Rhys (d. 1521). According to Lewys Dwnn, Ieuan Brechfa also wrote a *llyfr parssment du* ('black parchment book') for Sir Rhys ap Thomas, part of which Dwnn copied, and Peniarth 131viii itself contains a number of extensive genealogical passages concerning Sir Rhys ap Thomas's family.¹²⁶ The roll can be dated to 1501 × 1509: later than the marriage of Prince Arthur to Catherine of Aragon in 1501 but earlier than the coronation of Henry VIII in 1509.¹²⁷ It is remarkable for attempting to combine aspects of the pedigree roll and the Welsh prose genealogical codex. Written between the pedigrees drawn in the 'family tree' format are prose extracts from the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, taken chiefly from *OyA*, *Plant OG*, *Plant/Mam GaC* and *Tri lle*. Much of the text parallels either Ieuan Brechfa's Peniarth 131viii or NLW 3032Bi.

A close relative of Ieuan Brechfa's manuscript Peniarth 131viii is Peniarth 132i. This was once thought to be in the hand of Lewys Morgannwg (on the authority of Rhys Cain, as reported by Robert Vaughan), but references to Peniarth 132i by Gruffudd Hiraethog show that the hand is more likely to be that of either Lewys ab Edward or Ieuan ap Huw Cae Llwyd.¹²⁸ Peniarth 132i is a collection of genealogical tracts relating mainly to South Wales, written during the reign of Henry VIII.¹²⁹ On pages 118–19 is a copy of *Plant Brychan*, very closely related to that in Peniarth 131viii. This is shown not only by the distinctive readings shared by the two witnesses, but also by the unique reordering of the sons of Brychan found only in these two manuscripts. It is unlikely that Peniarth 132i took its text of *Plant Brychan* directly from Peniarth 131viii, because it preserves the southern tradition reading *Sangk* for Dewi's father *Sant*, which has been corrected to *Sant* in Peniarth 131viii. The two must rather be sister copies of a lost exemplar. The *Plant Brychan* in Peniarth 132i is remarkable for having been corrected against a Brychan text of high authority; it preserves sections of text (such as the *beddau* and the item about *Bochan verch Vrychan*) which are absent elsewhere in the extant *Plant Brychan* tradition but which were probably present in the archetype of the Brychan Tract.¹³⁰

¹²² B. Jones, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, p. 65. His poetry is edited in Bryant-Quinn, *Gwaith Syr Phylip Emlyn*.

¹²³ Bartrum, 'Notes', pt 1, 77.

¹²⁴ See below, p. 192.

¹²⁵ Siddons, *Welsh Pedigree Rolls*, pp. 6 and 39. For an image of part of the roll, see *ibid.*, p. 15, fig. 1.

¹²⁶ Meyrick, *Heraldic Visitations* I, 27; Peniarth 131viii, pp. 219–21 and 295–301.

¹²⁷ If the single, blank circle descending from Sir Gruffudd ap Rhys can be taken to mean that he only had one child at that time, then perhaps the roll can be dated to c. 1507, after his eldest daughter Elizabeth had been born but before his son Rhys was born in c. 1508: Griffiths, *Sir Rhys ap Thomas*, p. 65.

¹²⁸ Bartrum, 'Notes', pt 1, 73–4; pt 3, 41–2.

¹²⁹ *RMWL* I, 822–9.

¹³⁰ Cf. *DSB* 12.11 and 13; *CB* 15.11 and 16. See below, p. 223. I have edited Peniarth 132i's text of *Plant*

Another representative of the early stages of the southern tradition is Peniarth 118ii, written by the humanist Dr Siôn Dafydd Rhys in Brecon between the 1580s and his death around 1619.¹³¹ On pages 601–6 are transcriptions of *OyA*, *PB* and *Bonedd y Saint*. The *Bonedd y Saint* seems to have been taken over from the southern tradition's X-branch source, since *Bonedd y Saint* ceased to be copied with the Y-branch after Y.¹³² *Oes yr Arwyr* and *Plant Brychan* are characteristic of the early stages of the southern tradition. The main ambiguity concerns the relationship between the extracts in Peniarth 118ii and Peniarth 131viii. Certain readings in each manuscript agree with the rest of the southern tradition against the other manuscript, making it impossible to determine their stemmatic relationship. This situation could have arisen in one of several ways. One possibility is that the base text of Peniarth 131viii should properly be lower on the stemma than Peniarth 118ii, but the relationship has been obscured by Peniarth 131viii's use of a text like NLW 3032Bi to correct some of the characteristic innovations of the southern tradition. Alternatively, Peniarth 131viii and Peniarth 118ii might both descend independently from a manuscript that was annotated with many of the readings that would become characteristic of the southern tradition, the annotations of which were interpreted differently by subsequent copyists.

Some version of the latter of these two scenarios is supported by part one of BL Add. 15031, a manuscript of fourteen folios by Evan Evans (d. 1788), which is presently incorporated into a collection of the papers of Owen Jones (Owain Myfyr).¹³³ Folios 10–14 contain copies of *OyA*, *PB*, *Meib CW* and *Plant OG* that are very close to the copies in Peniarth 118ii. Preceding the genealogies, on folios 9v–10r, is a tract concerning the nine people who settled first in the forest of Glyn Cothi (*Llyma enwau y nawnyyn*), appended with a colophon by 'Mifi Ieuan Brechfa'.¹³⁴ Evan Evans's exemplar seems to have derived from a manuscript by Ieuan Brechfa. This is supported by the textual connections of the chronicle copied into the first nine folios of the manuscript, a variant of the Red Book version of *Brut y Tywysogyon* that was arguably redacted by Ieuan Brechfa himself.¹³⁵ It was a variant version of exactly this type that was used by Iolo Morganwg as the basis for his expanded *Brut Ieuan Brechfa*, printed in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*.¹³⁶ The immediate source for the *Myvyrian Archaiology* text was NLW 13121B (Llanover C 34), written by Iolo Morganwg, which, on page 36, immediately following the text of Iolo's expanded *Brut Ieuan Brechfa*, has the same colophon beginning 'Mifi Ieuan Brechfa'.¹³⁷ Iolo's base text for his *Brut Ieuan Brechfa* was drawn from a manuscript very similar to that copied by Evan Evans, which included both the chronicle and the Ieuan Brechfa colophon. Iolo Morganwg, Evan Evans and, two centuries earlier, Siôn Dafydd Rhys must all have had access to one or more related manuscripts deriving from the work of Ieuan Brechfa.

If both Peniarth 131viii and Peniarth 118ii/BL Add. 15031 ultimately represent the work of Ieuan Brechfa, then the stemmatic ambiguities may well stem from the process by which Ieuan Brechfa himself revised successive versions of his text of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. The process may have been akin to that of Gutun Owain, as already discussed,

Brychan for the 'Cult of Saints in Wales' project at the University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies.

¹³¹ *RMWL* I, 718–25; Gruffydd, 'Life', pp. 183–4 and 189.

¹³² This is confirmed by Barry Lewis's textual study of *Bonedd y Saint*, where the siglum P is assigned to the copy of *Bonedd y Saint* in Peniarth 118ii. According to Lewis, Peniarth 118ii's copy of *Bonedd y Saint* derives from a close relative of A.

¹³³ *Catalogue of Additions, MDCCCXLI–MDCCCXLV*, p. 74.

¹³⁴ I have edited both the tract and the colophon from Llanstephan 100, with variants from BL Add. 15031 and NLW 3042B, in Guy, 'Brut Ieuan Brechfa'.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*; T. Jones, *Brut y Tywysogyon or The Chronicle of the Princes: Red Book of Hergest Version*, p. xxxv, n. 1.

¹³⁶ *MA*² 716–20; cf. G. J. Williams, *Iolo Morganwg*, p. 398, n. 18.

¹³⁷ G. J. Williams, *Iolo Morganwg*, p. 398; *Handlist IV*, 403.

and could have entailed a repeated re-selection of available variants (perhaps existing at some stage as glosses), undertaken in such a way as to render the discernment of an unambiguous stemmatic relationship impossible. Ieuan Brechfa's obvious involvement with so many of the textually earliest witnesses to the southern tradition might even suggest that it was he who was responsible for the initial conflation of Σ with a text of the X-branch, and thus, in effect, for the creation of the recension as a whole.

Below these manuscripts on the stemma are three related southern manuscripts, each containing substantial texts of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies: Harley 2414i, written by the Glamorgan scribe Llywelyn Siôn around 1600; Llanstephan 12, a genealogical compilation of the mid-sixteenth century that includes pedigrees of the southern gentry; and transcript 7 in Brogyntyn I. 15, a collection of transcripts made by George Owen Harry for George Owen of Henllys between 1593 and 1596.¹³⁸ Distinctive readings of this sub-group include *Kadw* for *Kadwr* and *Penwlff* for *Panwlff*, both in the Penllyn pedigree (§41). Within this subgroup, Llanstephan 12 and Brogyntyn I. 15 share innovations that are absent from Harley 2414i (e.g. *Kylfych/Kylbych* for *Sölbych*, also in the Penllyn pedigree).

In Harley 2414i, the relevant portions of text (*Llai*,¹³⁹ *Plant OG*, *Plant/Mam GaC*, *Mammau, PB*, *Oya*, *Meib CW*, sections of *BGC* and *ByLI*, and *Tri lle*) are interspersed with other material, and a couple of missing folios (old foliation 31 and 36) have caused the texts of *Plant Brychan* and *Plant Owain Gwynedd* to become lacunose. The text is in fairly poor condition. Better texts are preserved in the two closely related compilations, Llanstephan 12 and Brogyntyn I. 15. These are the two manuscripts containing *Gwehelyth Morgannwg*, the tract related to a section of the Jesus 20 genealogies, as is discussed in Chapter 3. The section of Brogyntyn I. 15 related to Llanstephan 12 is found on pages 381–97 (= transcript 7). Blank pages were left in Brogyntyn I. 15 between transcriptions taken from different sources, and the relationship between the material on pages 381–97 and Llanstephan 12 shows that the blank pages 380 and 398 mark just such changes in source. Llanstephan 12 and Brogyntyn I. 15 contain the same texts in the same order, and they were probably both copied from the same exemplar. As shown in the table in Appendix A.4.1, transcript 7 of Brogyntyn I. 15 contains only the latter half of the compilation copied seemingly in its entirety into Llanstephan 12, but the text preserved in Brogyntyn I. 15 is generally fuller than the same text in Llanstephan 12. In terms of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, Llanstephan 12 contains the majority of the text, with the notable exception of *Plant RM*, whereas Brogyntyn I. 15 preserves only parts of *ByLI*, *LIM* and *BGC*, the sections in the latter half of the common exemplar. In addition to the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, the common source evidently contained much genealogical material about Owain Glyndŵr, who features prominently in both manuscripts.¹⁴⁰

In its present condition, Llanstephan 12 is out of order and missing a number of folios. Fortunately, a copy of the manuscript was made around 1700 when the manuscript was still in its original order: this copy is Llanstephan 100.¹⁴¹ A detailed comparison of the contents and ordering of these two manuscripts is given in Appendix A.4.1. This shows that, although Llanstephan 100 occasionally omits sections of Llanstephan 12, Llanstephan 100 preserves

¹³⁸ Owen, *Catalogue* II, 388–9; *RMWL* II.ii, 445–8; E. D. Jones, 'Brogyntyn'; Charles, 'George Owen', pp. 42–4. For the life of Llywelyn Siôn, see Phillips, 'Bywyd' I, 77–119.

¹³⁹ All texts of *Llywelyn ab Iorwerth* in the southern tradition have been extended so as to begin with Llywelyn's grandson, Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, but for consistency the section label '*Llywelyn ab Iorwerth*' is maintained.

¹⁴⁰ See Chapter 1 above, p. 45, n. 239.

¹⁴¹ For a brief list of contents, see *RMWL* II.i, 563. Rachel Bromwich had noted previously that Llanstephan 100's text of the *Pedwar Marchog ar Hugain Llys Arthur* was probably copied from that in Llanstephan 12: 'Pedwar Marchog', p. 119. Morfydd Owen has also observed that the texts of *Y Trioedd Arbennig* in the two manuscripts correspond closely: 'Trioedd', p. 440.

portions of text that were written on folios now missing from Llanstephan 12. These include the full text of *Brut Ieuan Brechfa* of the kind found in BL Add. 15031 (the beginning of which is incomplete in Llanstephan 12) as well as the *Llyma enwau y nawnyn* tract with the ‘Mifi Ieuan Brechfa’ colophon, now lost from Llanstephan 12.¹⁴² This is good evidence to suggest that the whole sub-group, including Llanstephan 12, Brogyntyn I. 15 and Harley 2414i, all derive ultimately from a manuscript by Ieuan Brechfa related to Peniarth 131viii, Peniarth 118ii and BL Add. 15031, serving to strengthen the argument that Ieuan Brechfa was responsible for instigating the southern tradition as a whole.

The next subgroup on the stemma of the southern tradition includes the only two northern manuscripts in the tradition. One of them is Peniarth 177i, written by Gruffudd Hiraethog between 1544 and 1561. Pages 208–18 of this manuscript, including the section of present concern, were copied (potentially via an intermediary) into NLW 3042B, folios 5r–8v in the first half of the seventeenth century, as shown by the various alterations to Peniarth 177i that were incorporated into the main text of NLW 3042B. The latter was also annotated with forms drawn from a different witness to the southern tradition.¹⁴³ The other northern manuscript is now lost, but was written probably at much the same time as Peniarth 177i by Gruffudd Hiraethog’s close associate, William Salesbury.¹⁴⁴ The latter was transcribed into NLW 21001Bii for Edward Lhwyd in 1701, as has already been mentioned.¹⁴⁵ In addition to genealogical sections deriving from Hengwrt 33, discussed above, Salesbury’s manuscript contained portions of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies closely related to those found on pages 204–21 of Peniarth 177i. The latter include *LlaI*, *Tri lle*, *BGC* and *EV*; NLW 21001Bii does not have *LlaI*, but it does have a corrupt text of *Meib CW*. The most important element of these manuscripts is their version of *Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru*. The version of this section found in their common exemplar was more complete than copies of the section preserved elsewhere in the southern tradition.¹⁴⁶ Most significantly, comparison with earlier Welsh genealogical texts, such as the Harleian genealogies, shows that the versions of the pedigrees of certain early lines found in Peniarth 177i and NLW 21001B (such as that of Dunodig/Ardudwy, §43) are among the most accurate in the entire tradition of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. The testimony of these manuscripts is useful for correcting those pedigrees which had otherwise become corrupt at an early stage of the Y-branch, appearing in corrupted form already in Y, Δ and Gutun Owain’s chief exemplar. It is possible that the better versions of these pedigrees found in Peniarth 177i and NLW 21001Bii derive from the X-branch text conflated with Σ during the inception of the southern tradition, but this remains uncertain for two reasons. Firstly, *Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru* is not preserved in the derivatives of Hengwrt 33 or Λ, and so one cannot be sure of the form taken by the text in the X-branch. Secondly, none of the versions of *Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru* preserved elsewhere in the southern tradition are full enough to be able to ascertain whether the superior versions of the relevant pedigrees found in Peniarth 177i and NLW 21001Bii were inherited from the wider southern tradition or were introduced into their common exemplar by a further act of conflation. Nevertheless, these portions of text clearly derive from an authoritative early witness, be it an X-branch witness or not. The same witness seems to have been used by Gutun Owain in Peniarth 131iii and Thomas ab Ieuan ap

¹⁴² Guy, ‘*Brut Ieuan Brechfa*’.

¹⁴³ See below, p. 187 for the other copy of the southern tradition text that informed NLW 3042B. The manuscript (also known as Mostyn 134) is described in *RMWL* I, 115–18.

¹⁴⁴ William Salesbury’s publishing career lasted from 1547 to c. 1574: R. B. Jones, *William Salesbury*, pp. 66–7. For the association between William Salesbury and Gruffudd Hiraethog, see *ibid.*, pp. 4, 19, 21 and 35 and Bowen, *Gruffudd Hiraethog*, pp. 1–2. For Peniarth 177, see *RMWL* I, 982–91 and Bartrum, ‘Notes’, pt 2, 107–8.

¹⁴⁵ See above, p. 164.

¹⁴⁶ Bartrum recognised this in relation to Peniarth 177i: *EWGT* 80.

Deicws in Peniarth 127i, the only other manuscripts to preserve some of the same superior versions of the relevant pedigrees independently.

The remaining witnesses to the southern tradition are generally related to each other in the way shown in Figure 4.4. They are grouped together by many shared readings. For example, the heading of §31 (usually *Gwehelieth Gwerthrynion*), to which was added the word *Iorweirthiawn* at an earlier point in the southern tradition (giving *Gwehelyth Ierwerthan* in Llanstephan 12 and Brogyntyn I. 15, transcript 7 and *Gwehelyth Iorueirthiawn Gwrthrynion* in Peniarth 177i), is omitted entirely in NLW 13250A, Brogyntyn I. 15, transcript 6 and Peniarth 143.¹⁴⁷ However, the nature of the interrelationship between the remaining witnesses is somewhat obscured by their tendency to copy sections of the text selectively and intersperse them among other material. One of the fuller and more straightforward copies is the next witness on the stemma below the Peniarth 177i/NLW 21001Bii pair: NLW 13250A, a commonplace book of the recusant Wiliam Dafydd Llywelyn of Llangynidr, Breconshire, written in the last decade of the sixteenth century.¹⁴⁸ On folios 83v–94r are found *LlaI*, *OG*, *Plant CC*, *Plant/Mam GaC*, *Mammau*, *Tri lle*, *Meib RM* and *BGC*, in the order of the archetypal text. Another relatively full witness appears in one of the transcripts made for George Owen of Henllys in Brogyntyn I. 15.¹⁴⁹ Within pages 345–79 (transcript 6) of the manuscript is a version of the text containing much the same sections as NLW 13250A, with the added appearance of *Meib CW* after *BGC*. A few dispersed fragments of the southern tradition appear in another of the transcripts within Brogyntyn I. 15 (pages 269–343, transcript 5), a transcript taken mostly, according to a note on page 271, from a book written by Ieuan Brechfa in 1513.¹⁵⁰ These fragments are from *LlaI* and *OyA* (page 283) and *BGC* (pages 297–8). The text is too slight to place this transcript firmly on the stemma, though it belongs in a similar position to NLW 13250A. More substantial, though similarly discontinuous, sections of the text were copied into NLW 3042B in the first half of the seventeenth century, the same manuscript that preserves a copy of a section of Peniarth 177i.¹⁵¹ Between folios 55v and 64v, NLW 3042B contains versions of *LlaI*, *OyA*, *LIM*, *ByLI*, *Plant OG*, *Plant CC*, *Plant GaC*, *Mammau*, *Tri lle* and *Meib RM*. Generally, these sections of NLW 3042B innovate with Brogyntyn I. 15, transcript 6 against NLW 13250A (e.g. both NLW 3042B and Brogyntyn I. 15 add the heading *Meibon Kydwaladr ap Gr'* to §13 in addition to the heading *Plant Kydwaladr ap Gr'*). NLW 3042B's version of *ByLI*, however, is especially close to Peniarth 143, the witness considered next, and it may be that NLW 3042B drew this section from a separate but closely related exemplar. Like other witnesses to this branch of the tradition, NLW 3042B shows the influence of Ieuan Brechfa's work. There is a section concerning Sir Rhys ap Thomas's family (f. 25r), in addition to sections concerning families from localities where Ieuan Brechfa was active.¹⁵² Furthermore, the manuscript preserves a version of the tract *Llyma enwau y nawwyn*, ending with the Ieuan Brechfa colophon (f. 51v), just like BL Add. 15031 and Llanstephan 12.¹⁵³

A close relative of Brogyntyn I. 15, transcript 6 is Peniarth 143, a mid-sixteenth-century manuscript written by the prolific South Wales scribe Thomas Gruffydd.¹⁵⁴ For instance, both

¹⁴⁷ The omission may originally have been due to an error preserved in NLW 13250A, which merges §31 with the previous section.

¹⁴⁸ *Handlist* IV, 538–9. For Wiliam Dafydd Llywelyn, see Huws, 'Wiliam Dafydd Llywelyn'.

¹⁴⁹ See above, p. 185.

¹⁵⁰ E. D. Jones, 'Brogyntyn', p. 99; Charles, 'George Owen', p. 44.

¹⁵¹ *RMWL* I, 115–18. See above, p. 186, and also pp. 103–4.

¹⁵² Including Gwynionydd-is-Cerdin in southern Ceredigion (f. 23r); cf. Guy, '*Brut Ieuan Brechfa*'.

¹⁵³ The version of the tract in NLW 3042B is the best known, because it was printed in *RMWL* I, 117: cf. Phillimore *apud* Owen, *Description* IV, 395; *WG* I I, s. 'Cydifor Fawr 18'; Langton, 'Land', pp. 59, n. 27 and 70, n. 72.

¹⁵⁴ *RMWL* I, 901–2; Huws, *Repertory*, s. Gruffydd, Thomas. Arthurian genealogies from Peniarth 143 are edited in Bartrum, 'Arthuriana', pp. 242–3. Michael Siddons used Peniarth 143 as his base-text for the

manuscripts add *ar Ho' hwnnw oedd* before *dad Kynan* in §28.1.2, unlike NLW 13250A and NLW 3042B. Peniarth 143 is currently damaged and bound out of order. It is clear that page 7 should follow page 48 (so that *Meibion Rhodri Mawr* is continuous), and that page 49 should follow page 6, but on account of the gall staining on pages 1–3 it is uncertain if pages 1–6 and 49–52 should follow or precede pages 35–48 and 7–34. If page 35 had once begun the manuscript, then the pedigree of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, an important figure in Ieuan Brechfa's compilations, would have been at the start, perhaps suggesting that pages 1–6 and 49–52 were originally at the end of the manuscript. In the present order, Peniarth 143 contains the following sections: *Mammau*, *Tri lle*, *Meib RM*, *BGC*, *Meib CW*, *OyA*, *LIM* and *ByLI*.

The final two manuscripts of the southern tradition to be discussed are Harley 1935 and Bodley Add. A. 281, which form a pair and are closely related to Peniarth 143. Harley 1935, written in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, contains a brief extract from *OG* and a corrupt version of *Meib CW*, from which it, like Peniarth 143, omits Ceredig ap Cunedda.¹⁵⁵ Bodley Add. A. 281, written in 1644–5 by Richard Williams of Llywel, contains parts of *OyA*, *LIM* and *ByLI*, partially translated into English.¹⁵⁶ The latter's relationship with Peniarth 143 is shown, for instance, by their unique omission of *Byorderch* from the pedigree of Ednyfed Fychan's mother Angharad (§A4.1.1). Although there is no overlap between the sections of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies contained in Harley 1935 and Bodley Add. A. 281, both contain copies of *Bonedd y Saint* that have been judged to have been copied from a common exemplar, and it is probable that their extracts from the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies are related in the same way.¹⁵⁷ It is notable that Breconshire provides the most significant focus for the other pedigrees in both of these manuscripts.¹⁵⁸ Considering too the roles of Siôn Dafydd Rhys and Wiliam Dafydd Llywelyn in writing Peniarth 118ii and NLW 13250A, Breconshire seems to have played an important role in the transmission of the southern tradition of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies.

Conflated Recension II: Peniarth 127i and Related Manuscripts

BL Add. 14919, part iii, fragment 2, ff. 131r–132r (Gutun Owain, s. xv²).

Peniarth 127, part i, pp. 49–52, 74–95 and 98–110 (Thomas ab Ieuan ap Deicws, 1510).

NLW 17112D (Gwysaney 23), ff. 13v–24v, 26r–32r and 59r–60v (s. xvi²).

BL Add. 15041, ff. 7v–38r (Thomas ap Llywelyn ab Ithel, c. 1560).

Cardiff 4.265, ff. 16r–17v (Simwnt Fychan, c. 1567–1600).

BL Add. 14916, ff. 15v–17v and 107v–116v (Evan Johns and another hand, 1575–9).

NLW 6434D, part iii, ff. 152v–167v, 169v–178r and 220v–222v (Ieuan Llwyd ab Edward ap Wiliam, 1577).

NLW 16962–3a, ff. 10r, 92r, 345r–346v and 390r–395v (Thomas Wiliems, 1578–1612).

NLW 3032B (Mostyn 113), part i, pp. 97–101, 110–38, 145–6 and 148–9 (Roger Morris, 1580 × 1600).

Cwrtmawr 530, pp. 81–92 (Roger Morris, 1582).

heraldic tract *Y Kwnkwerwyr a vyant ym Morganwg*, which also appears in other manuscripts of the southern tradition (Llanstephan 12, Brogyntyn I. 15, NLW 3042B and Harley 1935): *DWR* I, 376–8. Peniarth 143 was later owned by John Lewis of Llynwene: Payne, 'John Lewis', p. 15.

¹⁵⁵ The manuscript is very briefly described in Owen, *Catalogue* II, 264.

¹⁵⁶ Maddan *et al.*, *Summary Catalogue* V, 614, no. 29398.

¹⁵⁷ This is the opinion of *Bonedd y Saint*'s editor, Barry Lewis. Lewis also suggests that the common exemplar may derive directly from Peniarth 143. There is slight evidence for this relationship in Harley 1935's copy of *Meib CW*: in Peniarth 143 the word 'Edeirnion' is obscured due to a tear in the page and a smudge (p. 11), and this same word is seemingly omitted from Harley 1935 (f. 91v). However, not all of the relevant parts of Harley 1935 and Bodley Add. A. 281 could derive from Peniarth 143.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Bartrum, 'Notes', pt 2, 117–18.

Brogyntyn I. 15, transcript 1, pp. 16–37, 39–51 and 89–92 (George Owen Harry, 1593–6).
 Llanstephan 157, pp. 6–26 (Thomas Chaloner, 1594).
 Harley 1976, ff. 62r–64r and 65v (Richard Broughton, s. xvi/xvii).
 Peniarth 158, part v, pp. 217–40 (John Jones, s. xvi/xvii).
 NLW 1580B, part iv, pp. 194–212 (Robert Panton, 1607).
 NLW 1554A, ff. 59v–64r (Thomas Evans, c. 1632).
 NLW 7008E, pp. 38–42 (John Griffith, 1697).
 Cardiff 4.22 (*RMWL* 36), pp. 17–18 (William Thomas, c. 1716–18).
 Llanstephan 65, ff. 16v, 25r, 35r, 40r, 41r, 96r, 104r and 109r (Moses Williams, 1717).
 Hawarden D/E 1413, ff. [12v–13v, 14v, 21v, 24v–25v, 28v–29r, 30v–31r and 34r–35v] (s. xviii^{med}).
 BL Add. 14883, f. 119v (William Morris, 1759).
 NLW 35B, p. 1 (John Owen, 1759).
 BL Add. 14928, ff. 7r–7v (Lewis Morris, 1760).
 BL Add. 14949, part i, ff. 17v–19r (Lewis Morris, 1760).
 NLW 2020B (Panton 52), part ii, ff. 138v–140v (Evan Evans, c. 1760).

Peniarth 127i, the great compilation by ‘Sir’ Thomas ab Ieuan ap Deicws, was one of the most influential genealogical manuscripts of the sixteenth century, perhaps second only to Gutun Owain’s *Rylands Welsh* 1.¹⁵⁹ What little we know about Thomas ab Ieuan ap Deicws has been deduced from his own writings. On pages 110–14 of Peniarth 127i he gives an account of himself and his family, in which we learn that he became a priest in Rome in 1500 and wrote the relevant part of Peniarth 127i in 1510.¹⁶⁰ He was still adding to the manuscript as late as 1523, for there occurs on pages 202–4 a copy of the proclamation of the 1523 *Caerwys eisteddfod* in his hand. Another manuscript in Thomas ab Ieuan ap Deicws’s hand, as Thomas Jones has discussed, is BL Add. 12193, written between 1508 and 1510, which contains the Latin text of *Fasciculus temporum* by Werner Rolevinck of Cologne, along with a partial translation of the text into Welsh.¹⁶¹

Parts of Peniarth 127i are now damaged and bound out of order, but the original order of the manuscript can be deduced through comparison with NLW 17112D (Gwysaney 23), a derivative of Peniarth 127i, as was established by E. D. Jones.¹⁶² NLW 17112D was written in the second half of the sixteenth century, and was itself later copied into Brogyntyn I. 15, pages 7–209 (transcript 1). Below, the original order of Peniarth 127i, as implied by NLW 17112D, is taken as the basis for discussion.

The majority of Peniarth 127i, up until the point where Thomas ab Ieuan ap Deicws gives his own pedigree (page 110), is taken from the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies.¹⁶³ The manuscript originally began with an account of the origins of the Mortimer family, which was followed by the pedigree of Henry VIII accompanied by a long list of the many lines that may be linked to him through female ancestresses. This led into the *Mammau* section of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, from which point onwards all the text was taken from that source up to the end of the present page 95. On pages 96–8 is a copy of *Pedwar Marchog ar hugain Llys Arthur*, the text of which was printed from this manuscript by Rachel Bromwich.¹⁶⁴ Then from page 98 to the beginning of Thomas ab Ieuan ap Deicws’s own genealogy on page 110 is a tract on the *gweheliaethau* of Wales, which is edited in

¹⁵⁹ For the manuscript, including a plate of p. 110, see Bartrum, ‘Notes’, pt 1, 79–81; cf. *RMWL* I, 775–85; *MWM* 63.

¹⁶⁰ T. Jones, ‘Syr Thomas’, p. 36.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 42–4; *MWM* 63.

¹⁶² Jones, ‘Brogyntyn’, p. 85; cf. Emanuel, ‘Gwysaney Manuscripts’, p. 339.

¹⁶³ For a summary of the contents of this section, see E. D. Jones, ‘Brogyntyn’, p. 86.

¹⁶⁴ Bromwich, ‘Pedwar Marchog’; *TYP* 266–9.

Appendix B.6 under the title *Llyma Dalm o Weheliaethau a Lhwythau Cymru*, the title used in BL Add. 14916, a derivative of Peniarth 127i, as discussed below. Although the tract reproduces many of the pedigrees found in the *Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru* section of the original Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, in addition to the *Gweheliaethau y Mars* section of the Gutun Owain recension (§§G72–G78), much new (and possibly medieval) material is introduced, particularly concerning the minor families of Powys Wenwynwyn, and the entire text is rearranged so as to cover each area of Wales in a geographically clockwise order. The tract is discussed in more detail in the second half of this chapter.¹⁶⁵

The Peniarth 127i text of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies is probably the most thoroughly conflated in the entire corpus. Multiple pre-existing copies of the text have been compared and variant readings noted. For example, on page 51, amongst the children of Brychan (§1.3.15), we find ‘Elined verch Brychan yNghorsebawl; rrai eraill a ddywait Kr/vc Gorseddawl’ (‘Elined daughter of Brychan in *Korsebawl*; some others say *Kr/vc Gorseddawl*’), while more simply on page 75, within the pedigree of Cadell ap Rhodri Mawr’s mother Angharad (§18), we find ‘[...] ap Bothev ap Seirioel nev Serwyllt ap vssa [...]’ (‘[...] son of Boddw son of Seiriol or Serwyl son of Usai [...]’). Thomas ab Ieuan ap Deicws’s method is made more explicit on page 81, where he digresses from the text of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies to discuss the inheritance of the principality of Mathrafal in the eleventh century:

Rai a ddywaid [...] Edwin bioedd y dalaith, ac ni welais i hynny mewn croniciol o’r byd, nac mewn llyvyr da o’r hen achoedd; eithr kyntaf dyn a dduc y dalaith i ar rieni Brochwel Ysgithroc (v Bleddyn ap Kynvyn.

Some say [...] Edwin possessed the principality, but I have not seen that in a world chronicle, nor in a good book of the old genealogies; only that the first man who took the principality away from the descendants of Brochfael Ysgithrog was Bleddyn ap Cynfyn.

A close analysis of the text in Peniarth 127i shows that his ‘good books of the old genealogies’ came primarily from two distinct lines of transmission: one deriving from Σ , and the other from the work of Gutun Owain. Although Thomas ab Ieuan ap Deicws may have had access to more than one manuscript by Gutun Owain, the Gutun Owain-type readings generally tend to be closer to Peniarth 131iii than to Rylands Welsh 1. Other sources seem to have been used as well, including *Llyma Frychan Brycheiniog a’i blant* (a version of the Brychan Tract discussed and edited in Appendix B.7) and, most probably, the source that provided corrected readings for the version of *Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru* in Peniarth 177i and NLW 21001Bii, as discussed above.¹⁶⁶

That the base text of Peniarth 127i was probably a derivative of Σ is suggested by three manuscripts that appear to show stages in the development of the text between Σ and Peniarth 127i. Two of these represent the early stages of development. One is BL Add. 14919iii, fragment 2 (ff. 128–47), written by Gutun Owain sometime in the second half of the fifteenth century.¹⁶⁷ This manuscript appears to have been something of a personal genealogical notebook; on folios 132–6 are a series of miscellaneous pedigrees of famous Welshmen, while on folios 129–131 is what appears to be an early draft of *Rhandiroedd Powys*.¹⁶⁸ On folios 131r–132r are texts of *OG*, *Plant CC* and *Plant/Mam GaC* that are intermediate between Σ and Peniarth 127i. For example, one finds the name of Iago ap

¹⁶⁵ See below, pp. 219–20.

¹⁶⁶ See above, pp. 181 and 186–7.

¹⁶⁷ *Catalogue of Additions, MDCCCXLI–MDCCCXLV*, p. 33. Note that Huws’s date ‘1493’ (*MWM* 62) refers to the first Gutun Owain fragment preserved in this manuscript (ff. 104–27 and 148–50) rather than the second (ff. 128–47).

¹⁶⁸ The latter is not noted in Bartrum’s discussion of the manuscripts of this text: ‘Rhandiroedd Powys’, p. 231.

Gruffudd's sister Yslani, agreeing with other descendants of Δ and Σ (§15.2), but, although the order of the respective items about Madog/Einion ab Owain and Hywel ab Owain (§§12.8–9) has been reversed, as also in NLW 3032Bi and Peniarth 127i, Cadell ab Owain has not been added to §12.8, as is found in the latter two manuscripts.

A similar state of affairs is seen in Harley 1976, written by Richard Broughton in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.¹⁶⁹ This manuscript is filled mainly with diagrammatic family trees, but various extracts from the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies appear on folios 62–7. These include *Meib RM*, *BGC*, *Meib CW* and *ByLI*. Some of the wording of *Meibion Rhodri Mawr* in particular shows affinity with NLW 3032Bi and Peniarth 127i against other descendants of Σ (e.g. the addition of 'o hwnw' to 'ac o hwnw ydd henyw gwilaeth' in §28.3). Unfortunately, the text in Harley 1976 does not overlap with that in Gutun Owain's BL Add. 14919iii, so it is not possible to discern their interrelationship. Nevertheless, a degree of interaction with the work of Gutun Owain is visible through the inclusion on folio 64v of part of the *Gweheliaethau y Mars* section found in Rylands Welsh 1, which appears too in Peniarth 127i. Another interesting feature is the appearance of an early version of *Llyma Dalm o Weheliaethau a Llwythau Cymru*, written partially in Latin. It is not certain whether these sections of Harley 1976 derive from one of the chief sources used by Thomas ab Ieuan ap Deicws or whether Harley 1976 was copied from an earlier draft of Peniarth 127i, put together by Thomas ab Ieuan ap Deicws himself.

It is probably necessary to envisage Thomas ab Ieuan ap Deicws as having created various drafts of his genealogical compilation prior to writing Peniarth 127i, considering especially how the latter manuscript presents such a conflated text in such a tidy way. This possibility is strengthened by NLW 3032Bi.¹⁷⁰ This manuscript was written by Roger Morris of Coed-y-Talwrn in the last two decades of the sixteenth century. The part of the manuscript related to Peniarth 127i was copied, according to a statement on page 161, from a manuscript written by a certain 'Sir' John Powys around the year 1514. John Powys was another cleric, like Thomas ab Ieuan ap Deicws, and, according to his genealogy on the same page, his paternal family came from Mechain.¹⁷¹ Gruffudd Hiraethog refers to him as 'person Garth Beibio' ('parson of Caereinion').¹⁷² The first part of the text in NLW 3032Bi, beginning on page 87, mirrors Peniarth 127i in giving the paternal pedigree of Henry VIII, followed by the connected maternal lines, before going into the *Mammau* section of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. Thereafter, the ordering of NLW 3032Bi diverges from Peniarth 127i. It is clear, however, that, textually, NLW 3032Bi falls between Σ and Peniarth 127i, and is closer to Peniarth 127i than are BL Add. 14919iii and Harley 1976. Like Harley 1976, NLW 3032Bi includes a copy of *Llyma Dalm o Weheliaethau a Llwythau Cymru*, though in a form closer to that in Peniarth 127i. The general text of NLW 3032Bi has already undergone a degree of conflation with the Gutun Owain recension, and includes references to multiple variants for particular names, but the process is at a less advanced stage than in Peniarth 127i. For example, it includes the variants *Seirioel* (from Gutun Owain) and *Seruy!* (from Σ) in §18, as mentioned for Peniarth 127i above, but not the variants *Rein* (from Σ) and *R/bn* (from Gutun Owain) for the son of Hywel Dda in §28.2.1, as found in Peniarth 127i. It may well be that John Powys copied his manuscript from an early draft of Peniarth 127i written by Thomas ab Ieuan ap Deicws.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁹ Owen, *Catalogue* II, 331–3. For an acknowledgement of Richard Broughton's contribution to Welsh genealogy, see Meyrick, *Heraldic Visitations* I, 7–8.

¹⁷⁰ *RMWL* I, 47–52; *DWH* II, xxxii.

¹⁷¹ Cf. *WG* I IV, s. 'Tudur Trefor 10'.

¹⁷² Bartrum, 'Notes', pt 1, 97.

¹⁷³ Bartrum expressed uncertainty about the relationship between the two manuscripts: 'Notes', pt 1, 97. NLW 3032Bi or a related manuscript seems to have been used by Thomas Wiliems as a source for a few passages copied into NLW 16962–3A on ff. 10r and 92r.

During the sixteenth century and later, Peniarth 127i spawned a large number of derivative copies. NLW 17112 and its copy Brogyntyn I. 15, transcript 1 have already been mentioned. Another full copy of Peniarth 127i's text appears in NLW 6434Diii, written by a certain Ieuan Llwyd ab Edward ap Wiliam for Thomas Wynn ab Edmond in August 1577.¹⁷⁴ This is a finely written manuscript which reproduces the text of Peniarth 127i very accurately. NLW 6434D seems to have remained at Gwydir in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and during the early decades of the eighteenth century was referred to by a number of scholars as the 'Book of Sir Richard Wynn of Gwydir'.¹⁷⁵ Reference to the manuscript under this title appears in Llanstephan 65, a large compilation of triads assembled by Moses Williams in 1717.¹⁷⁶ NLW 6434Diii was Moses Williams's primary source for the triads that he culled from the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, such as the *Tri chefnderw* (§49.6.4) on folio 16v, the *Tair gwelygordd saint* (§1.5) on folio 25r, and the *Tri lle y dylid arglwyddiaeth Wynedd o gogail* (§27) on folio 35r. Some variants are given for these extracts from a certain manuscript called 'G.O.' (i.e. 'Gutun Owain', as specified on f. 103v), by which Llanstephan 28 is clearly implicated.¹⁷⁷ A few passages from Llanstephan 65, including some of the extracts from the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, were later copied by William Thomas into pages 17–18 of Cardiff 4.22.¹⁷⁸

The existence of a third, non-extant but substantial copy of Peniarth 127i can be inferred from several manuscripts that seem to derive from it. One is NLW 16962–3A, the manuscript by Thomas Wiliems encountered several times above. On folios 390r–395v are texts of *Bonedd y Saint* and *Plant Brychan* which are said to have been copied from a manuscript by Thomas ap Llywelyn ab Ithel, but which seem to derive ultimately from Peniarth 127i. The attribution to Thomas ap Llywelyn ab Ithel was also noted by Lewis Morris when he copied these texts from NLW 16962–3A into BL Add. 14949i (ff. 7–19; attribution on f. 15r).¹⁷⁹ A closely related copy of *Bonedd y Saint* in Peniarth 403v, by Richard Longford, is likewise attributed to a manuscript by Thomas ap Llywelyn ab Ithel.¹⁸⁰ Other related copies of *Bonedd y Saint* and *Plant Brychan* appear in BL Add. 14916 (*Llyfr Bodeulwyn*), written by Ieuan ap John Wynn and a collaborator in the 1570s, and there they are accompanied not only by a pedigree of Thomas ap Llywelyn ab Ithel (ff. 78r–79v) but also by a copy of *Llyma Dalm o Weheliaethau a Llwythau Cymru* followed by the pedigree of Thomas ab Ieuan ap Deicws, as in Peniarth 127i.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁴ *Handlist* II, 180.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. *TYP*⁴ xxxii–xxxviii. Note that Bromwich did not recognise that the 'Book of Sir Richard Wynn of Gwydir' referred to several times in the eighteenth century and assigned by Hugh Thomas to Thomas ab Ieuan ap Deicws was in fact NLW 6434D itself rather than a related manuscript. Hugh Thomas's misguided link to Thomas ab Ieuan ap Deicws was prompted by the colophon copied into NLW 6434Diii from Peniarth 127i. Bartrum attempted to identify the Book of Sir Richard Wynn with Peniarth 127i: 'Pedigrees', pt 1, 144, n. '3, 4, 5'; 'Notes', pt 1, 81. The proper identification of the Book of Sir Richard Wynn with NLW 6434D was made by Daniel Huws: *Repertory*, s. NLW 6434D. The same manuscript is certainly to be identified with the Book of Watkyn Owen of Gwydir, which Edward Llwyd saw around 1700: Lhuyd, *Parochialia*, pt 1, 23–5; Bartrum, 'Late Additions', pp. 79 and 81–4.

¹⁷⁶ *TYP*⁴ xlvii–xlix.

¹⁷⁷ Bromwich does not seem to have realised this: *TYP*⁴ xlviii–xlix.

¹⁷⁸ On which see below, pp. 199–200.

¹⁷⁹ Bartrum, 'Late Additions', pp. 82–3. For some of the contents of BL Add. 14949, see *Catalogue of Additions, MDCCCXLI–MDCCCXLV*, p. 42. Bartrum claimed that this section of BL Add. 14949i was copied by Evan Evans into NLW 2020Bii, ff. 129r–140v, whereas Barry Lewis, in his new edition of *Bonedd y Saint*, claims that NLW 2020Bii was copied from NLW 16962–3A directly; cf. *RMWL* II.iii, 858–9.

¹⁸⁰ I owe this information to Barry Lewis.

¹⁸¹ For a minimal description, see *Catalogue of Additions, MDCCCXLI–MDCCCXLV*, p. 32. Bartrum tried to identify the first scribe as Thomas ap Llywelyn ab Ithel, but the colophons on folios 3r and 24r clearly implicate one Ieuan ap John Wynn: Bartrum, 'Notes', pt 1, 81, n. 31; pt 2, 111–12; pt 3, 41; cf. Huws, *Repertory*, s. Add. 14916.

A manuscript written by Thomas ap Llywelyn ab Ithel around 1560 and derived in large part from Peniarth 127i does in fact survive as BL Add. 15041.¹⁸² According to the old foliation, the first five folios of this manuscript are now missing, but the current folio 1r picks up with the maternal lines of Henry VIII's pedigree, and from here the text follows Peniarth 127i fairly closely to folio 38r, which is the end of the material deriving from the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. Curiously, however, there are no copies of *Bonedd y Saint* or *Plant Brychan* in the manuscript, and a comparison between the copies of *Llyma Dalm o Weheliaethau a Llwythau Cymru* in BL Add. 15041 and BL Add. 14916 shows that, while they are closely related, the latter cannot derive from the former. It seems, rather, that Thomas ap Llywelyn ab Ithel (who wrote in Peniarth 127i on page 170)¹⁸³ made a full copy of Peniarth 127i that is now lost, but from which derive the various manuscripts mentioned above. Much of this lost copy was later copied by himself into the surviving BL Add. 15041. The first 159 folios of the latter manuscript were later copied by the deputy-herald Thomas Chaloner (d. 1598) into Llanstephan 157, as can be ascertained from the occasional folio references given by Chaloner, which refer to the old foliation of BL Add. 15041.¹⁸⁴

Two further manuscripts show that BL Add. 14916 was not copied directly from the lost Thomas ap Llywelyn ab Ithel manuscript. These are Cwrtmawr 530, written by Roger Morris in 1582, and Hawarden D/E 1413, written in the mid-eighteenth century.¹⁸⁵ Both of these manuscripts contain sections of Peniarth 127i's version of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies that are close to BL Add. 14916 but not copied from it; they descend instead from a manuscript intermediary between the lost Thomas ap Llywelyn ab Ithel manuscript and BL Add. 14916. Unfortunately, the contents of the two manuscripts do not overlap, and so their own interrelationship cannot be determined exactly. Cwrtmawr 530 contains only a relatively idiosyncratic copy of *Llyma Dalm o Weheliaethau a Llwythau Cymru*, which displays both omissions and additions throughout its text. This tract was later copied by John Jones of Gellilyfdy, a close associate of Roger Morris, into Peniarth 158v, as shown especially by the appearance in the main text of the latter (page 228) of *Gwehelith Nanhwyddwy Nanconwy*, copied from page 86 of Cwrtmawr 530, where *Nanconwy* is an addition correcting *Nannhüdy*.¹⁸⁶ Hawarden D/E 1413, on the other hand, contains scattered parts of *Mammau*, *Plant GaC*, *PB*, *Tri lle*, *Meib CW*, *Meib RM*, *BGC* and *ByLL*. On folio [11r] of this manuscript there is an interesting statement that may refer to the lost Thomas ap Llywelyn ab Ithel manuscript: 'y llyfr yma a dynwyd o lyfr Guttyn Owain ac o lyfr Thomas ap Llywelyn ap Ithel a hwnw a dynwyd o lyfr Griffith Hiraethog' ('this book was taken from Gutun Owain's book and from Thomas ap Llywelyn ab Ithel's book, and that was taken from Gruffudd Hiraethog's book'). It was noted above that at least one part of Hawarden D/E 1413 seems to derive from Gutun Owain's 1498 manuscript.¹⁸⁷

BL Add. 14916 itself had various descendants. Almost the entirety of BL Add. 14916 (ff. 32r–129r) was copied into NLW 1580Biv, written by Robert Panton in 1607, which went

¹⁸² For a minimal description, see *Catalogue of Additions, MDCCCXLI–MDCCCXLV*, p. 77. I discuss this manuscript in Guy, 'Writing Genealogy', pp. 115–16.

¹⁸³ Huws, *Repertory*, s. Peniarth 127.

¹⁸⁴ Occasionally, the folio numbers noted by Chaloner in Llanstephan 157 are one higher than they should be; this is because, for example, he saw BL Add. 15041's old foliation number 177 on the recto of the present folio 158, and then referred to the facing verso of the previous folio (really 176v) as '177'. For Thomas Chaloner, see above, p. 173, n. 78. For the contents of Llanstephan 157, see *RMWL* II.ii, 739–40.

¹⁸⁵ For Cwrtmawr 530, see *RMWL* II.i, 367–70. No account of Hawarden D/E 1413 has been published. Only the first ten folios of this manuscript have been foliated, labelled 2–11, counting the slip of paper in the inside cover as folio 1. Here, following Daniel Huws (*Repertory*, s. D/E 1413), I take the first folio with writing on it as folio [1].

¹⁸⁶ For the contents of Peniarth 158, see *RMWL* I, 942–5.

¹⁸⁷ See above, p. 177.

so far as to mirror the exact page structuring of BL Add. 14916.¹⁸⁸ The text of *Llyma Dalm o Weheliaethau a Llwythau Cymru* in NLW 1580Biv was later copied by John Griffith of Cae Cyriog in 1697 into NLW 7008E, pages 38–42, where it was annotated with passages attributed to Gutun Owain.¹⁸⁹ BL Add. 14916 was also known to the Morris brothers in the eighteenth century. William Morris annotated the manuscript, and in 1759, in BL Add. 14883, he used it as a source for a list of Brychan Brycheiniog's children and for supplements to the copy of the Alphabetical *Bonedd y Saint* that he had taken from Evan Evans's NLW 2020Bii.¹⁹⁰ Later the same year, these sections of BL Add. 14883 were copied into NLW 35B by John Owen, William Morris's nephew.¹⁹¹ BL Add. 14916 was also annotated by William's brother, Lewis Morris. Nevertheless, it seems that the extracts from BL Add. 14916 appearing in Lewis Morris's own copy of the Alphabetical *Bonedd* in BL Add. 14928 were taken in the first instance from William Morris's copy in BL Add. 14883, as was the body of the Alphabetical *Bonedd* itself. To this base text Lewis Morris added readings from other sources, such as his copy of parts of Thomas Wiliems's manuscript NLW 16962–3A in BL Add. 14949i.¹⁹² It was by these convoluted means that *Llyfr Bodeulwyn* came to be acknowledged as a source for the *Myvyrian Archaeology*'s version of the Alphabetical *Bonedd y Saint*, taken from Lewis Morris's copy in BL Add. 14928.¹⁹³

Two final witnesses to the Peniarth 127i version of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies are provided by manuscripts that have already been discussed: Thomas Wiliems's NLW 16962–3A (ff. 345r–346v) and Simwnt Fychan's Cardiff 4.265 (ff. 16r–17v).¹⁹⁴ Each of these manuscripts contains the same version of *Llyma Dalm o Weheliaethau a Llwythau Cymru*, one which has been rearranged to a considerable extent. Neither was copied from the other. The text itself seems to combine elements from NLW 3032Bi (Roger Morris's copy of the lost Book of John Powys) and Cwrtmawr 530 (the close relative of BL Add. 14916, also written by Roger Morris). This may well indicate that Roger Morris himself was responsible for the reworking of the text, and he was indeed a known associate of both Thomas Wiliems and Simwnt Fychan.¹⁹⁵

Conflated Recension III: The Henry Salesbury Recension

Llanstephan 187, ff. 55r–56v, 57v–62r, 67v–69v and 72r–74r (William Bodwrda, s. xvii^{med}).
NLW 3052D (Mostyn 149), pp. 25–34 (Rhys Cadwaladr, 1678).
NLW 7008E, pp. 13–15, 26–7 and 29–30 (John Griffith, 1697).
Llanstephan 138, part i, pp. 3–6 and 16–22 (David Parry, c. 1700).
NLW 6150A, pp. 1–6 and 12–17 (James Davies, 1713).
Cardiff 4.20, items 3 and 4 (William Evans, 1716).
Cardiff 4.22 (*RMWL* 36), pp. 47–51 and 56–60 (William Thomas, c. 1716–18).

This group of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century manuscripts is perhaps best known for containing what is claimed in Llanstephan 187 to be a *Bonedd Saint Cymry ar ol pedwar*

¹⁸⁸ For a short description of the contents of NLW 1580B, see *Handlist* I, 134.

¹⁸⁹ For this manuscript, see below, p. 199.

¹⁹⁰ Bartrum, 'Late Additions', p. 82. For some brief notes on BL Add. 14883, see *RMWL* II.iv, 1159. On f. 140v of BL Add. 14883, William Morris states that *Llyfr Bodeulwyn* was then in his possession.

¹⁹¹ Huws dates NLW 35B to c. 1750, but the manuscript must post-date BL Add. 14883, and so probably belongs to 1759, the year of John Owen's death. Huws, *Repertory*, s. NLW 35B. For the contents of NLW 35B, see J. H. Davies, *National Library*, pp. 79–80.

¹⁹² Bartrum, 'Late Additions', p. 83; see above, p. 193.

¹⁹³ *MA*² 417.

¹⁹⁴ This section of Cardiff 4.265 was copied by Thomas Evans into NLW 1554A, ff. 59v–64v: see above, p. 180.

¹⁹⁵ Huws, 'Morris'.

copi, ‘Lineage of the saints of Wales according to four copies’.¹⁹⁶ Bartrum supposed that Llanstephan 187 might have been written by Henry Salesbury of Dôl Belydr, Henllan (d. c. 1637), the grammarian and lexicographer, because he thought that Llanstephan 187 was the exemplar of Llanstephan 138i, a transcription made by David Parry around 1700. Llanstephan 138i contains the following statement at the top of the first folio.¹⁹⁷

Ex autographo domini H. Salesbury of Llan rhwst Denbighensis penes Dominum R. Salesbury de Rûg.

From the autograph of the lord Henry Salesbury of Llanrwst of Denbigh, in the possession of the Lord Richard Salesbury of Rhug.

Despite containing a version of what it calls *Y Bonedd saint Cymbry ar ol pedwar copi*, textual study shows that Llanstephan 138i cannot be a copy of Llanstephan 187. For example, Llanstephan 187 uniquely places Deigr ap Dyfnwal’s pedigree before the list of his children, whereas Llanstephan 138i preserves the usual order (§9.3). What is more, the scribe of Llanstephan 187 has now been identified as William Bodwrda (d. 1660), the collector of Welsh poetry.¹⁹⁸ Instead, it seems that the two manuscripts must derive from a common exemplar. The contents of the two manuscripts are compared in Appendix A.4.2, which shows that, on average, Llanstephan 138i, the later manuscript, preserves a greater proportion of the common exemplar than Llanstephan 187, and that only Llanstephan 138i maintains the exemplar’s order.

This common exemplar seems to have been heavily annotated with variant readings, which Llanstephan 187 and Llanstephan 138i each reproduce in different ways: in Llanstephan 187 the variants have been incorporated into the text, whereas in Llanstephan 138i they have been copied as interlinear glosses.¹⁹⁹ For example, in *Plant Brychan*, one of Brychan’s sons appears in Llanstephan 187 as *Ffabiali ne Pabal* but in Llanstephan 138i as *Ffabiali*, glossed *Pabol*. Sometimes more than one variant is given for a single word, lending credence to the claim that the common exemplar’s ‘*Bonedd Saint Cymry*’ was constructed from four sources.

On average, Llanstephan 187 preserves more of the variant readings than Llanstephan 138i. At certain points in both manuscripts, some of these variant readings are attributed to *W. Sal.*, meaning William Salesbury.²⁰⁰ Comparison with NLW 21001Bii, the copy of the lost William Salesbury manuscript discussed above, confirms that NLW 21001Bii’s exemplar was the manuscript so used. Another reference to a source found in both Llanstephan 187 (f. 62v) and Llanstephan 134i (p. 22b) appears at the end of the text, where a variant version of the ancestry of Caradog Freichfras is attributed to John Powys. Correspondences between various sections of Llanstephan 187/Llanstephan 138i and NLW 3032Bi show that this is a reference to the John Powys whose manuscript was copied by Roger Morris into NLW 3032Bi. NLW 3032Bi is, in fact, the key to understanding the common source of Llanstephan 187 and Llanstephan 138i. Not only did Roger Morris gloss his text in NLW 3032Bi with variant readings taken from ‘*WS*’, that is, the lost William Salesbury manuscript, showing that the two manuscripts were brought together at this point, but NLW 3032Bi was actually annotated by Henry Salesbury himself.²⁰¹ It is clear that the text of this recension drew on

¹⁹⁶ Bartrum, ‘Late Additions’, pp. 80–1; Bartrum, ‘Bonedd yr Arwyr’, p. 230; *RMWL* II.ii, 774–6 (esp. 775).

¹⁹⁷ *RMWL* II.ii, 719. For Henry Salesbury, see Jarvis, ‘Salesbury’.

¹⁹⁸ Ifans, ‘William Bodwrda’, p. 302.

¹⁹⁹ At a slightly later stage, Moses Williams added additional glosses to Llanstephan 138i, which must be carefully distinguished from the glosses in the main hand. The variant readings of Moses Williams’s additions seem to have been taken from Cardiff 4.20 or a very similar copy, for which see below.

²⁰⁰ E.g. Llanstephan 187, f. 73v; Llanstephan 138i, pp. 3b and 4b.

²⁰¹ Huws, *Repertory*, s. NLW 3032Bi.

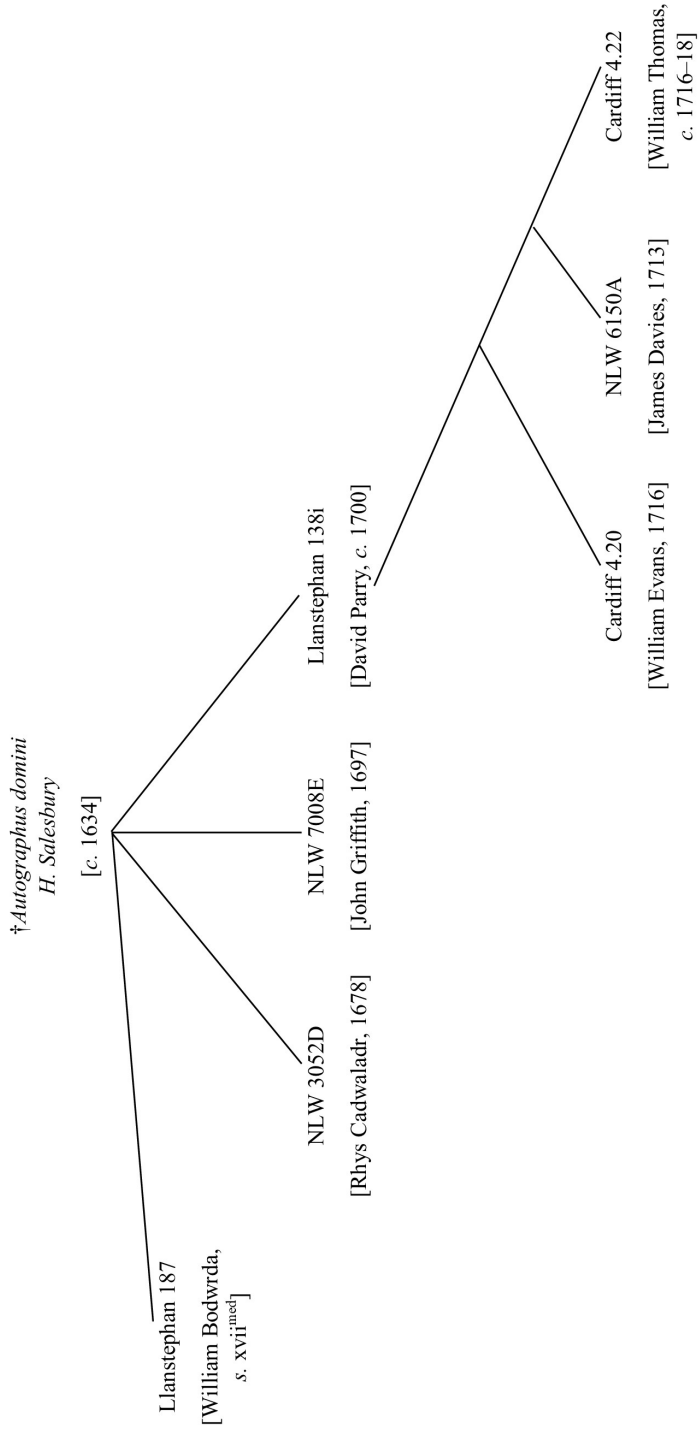


Figure 4.6: The Henry Salesbury recension

both NLW 3032Bi and the lost William Salesbury manuscript; it did not simply reproduce the 'WS' glosses of NLW 3032Bi.

There seems little reason to doubt David Parry's claim that Llanstephan 138i was copied, in its entirety, from a manuscript written by Henry Salesbury. It is likely that Llanstephan 187 also derives, probably directly, from the same source. This is supported by some of the other items contained in the two manuscripts. In Llanstephan 138i are two texts attributed to *H. Sal.*: one, a prose text entitled *Oedran march*, and the other, a free verse in a loose metre beginning *Ebol pedwar troedwyn*.²⁰² In both manuscripts there is a genealogical text dedicated to Henry Salesbury's family, which is complete in Llanstephan 138i but lacking its beginning in Llanstephan 187 (see Appendix A.4.2).²⁰³ This text brings the history of the family up to 1634.²⁰⁴ It appears therefore that Henry Salesbury was the scribe of the common exemplar of Llanstephan 187 and Llanstephan 138i, and that it was probably he who assembled the genealogical texts witnessed by these manuscripts, using NLW 3032Bi (which he glossed) and the lost William Salesbury manuscript (which had been brought into association with NLW 3032Bi by Roger Morris), in addition to various other sources.

Among the sections deriving from the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, it is the text labelled *Bonedd Saint Cymry ar ol pedwar copi*, comprising *Plant Brychan*, *Oes yr Arwyr* and two versions of *Bonedd y Saint*, that has undergone the greatest degree of conflation. *Plant Brychan* is based on a version of *Llyma Frychan Brycheiniog a'i blant* similar to that used in Peniarth 127i,²⁰⁵ with additional material taken from NLW 3032Bi, the lost book of William Salesbury and a text very similar to the *Plant Brychan* in Peniarth 118ii. *Oes yr Arwyr* is substantially based on William Salesbury's lost manuscript, though with many variants from NLW 3032Bi. This part of William Salesbury's manuscript derived ultimately from Hengwrt 33, as discussed above.²⁰⁶ Henry Salesbury's version of *Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru* is a more straightforward copy of William Salesbury's manuscript, taken from a section that derives ultimately from the southern tradition source used by both William Salesbury and Gruffudd Hiraethog.²⁰⁷ For other sections of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, Henry Salesbury used NLW 3032Bi as his chief source. The sections that were taken from NLW 3032Bi are generally simpler and less conflated, because there were fewer versions of the relevant material in circulation. These included *Llyma Dalm o Weheliaethau a Llwythau Cymru* (a tract restricted to relatives of Peniarth 127i) in addition to *Byll*, *Mammau* and *Meib RM*.

Two other copies of the lost Henry Salesbury manuscript survive, both products of the later seventeenth century. One is NLW 3052D, written by the priest and poet Rhys Cadwaladr (d. 1688) on behalf of Robert Wynn of Berth-ddu in 1678.²⁰⁸ The table in Appendix A.4.2 shows that a section of Henry Salesbury's manuscript was copied on pages 3–34 of NLW 3052D, including *BGC* and *Llyma Dalm o Weheliaethau a Llwythau Cymru*. The copy of the latter is incomplete, breaking off with *Gwehelyth Meirionydd* (§T28.5/42) before turning to a genealogy of the family of Maesmor. Rhys Cadwaladr

²⁰² My thanks to David Callander for discussing these texts with me.

²⁰³ For the relationships between members of the Salesbury family, see *WG* 3, s. 'Salesbury' (our Henry Salesbury is mentioned at 'Salesbury 12').

²⁰⁴ The date of Henry Salesbury's death suggested by the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* is 'in or after 1632': Jarvis, 'Salesbury'. If Henry Salesbury was the scribe of the common exemplar of Llanstephan 187 and Llanstephan 138i, the date of the genealogical text might support the suggestion that he died later than 1632, and was perhaps the Henry Salesbury who died in Chester on 6 October 1637: Parry-Williams, 'Salesbury'.

²⁰⁵ See the introduction to the text in Appendix B.7.

²⁰⁶ See above, p. 164.

²⁰⁷ See above, pp. 186–7.

²⁰⁸ *RMWL* I, 212–13. For Rhys Cadwaladr, see Hughes, 'Cadwaladr' and Fychan, 'Canu', pp. 161–4. For Robert Wynn and his family, see Dodd, 'Wynn Family'.

seems to have thought that the genealogical sections of Henry Salesbury's manuscript derived from the work of Gutun Owain; after *Gwehelyth Meirionydd*, he added 'Guttyn Owain', and, following the end of the Maesmor section on page 40, he wrote 'Hyd yma y mae Gytyn Owain yn ysgrifeny Gwehelyth Dogfeilin' ('up to this point Gutun Owain writes *Gwehelyth Dogfeilin*').²⁰⁹ This appears to refer back to the missing final section of *Llyma Dalm o Weheliaethau a Lhwythau Cymru*, since Llanstephan 138i shows that, in Henry Salesbury's manuscript, *Gwehelyth Dogfeiling* followed straight after *Gwehelyth Meirionydd*. There is no evidence in the other copies of Henry Salesbury's manuscript to suggest that this tract was there attributed to Gutun Owain. It may well just be a supposition on the part of Rhys Cadwaladr.

The other late-seventeenth-century copy is NLW 7008E, the compilation of John Griffith of Cae Cyriog assembled in 1697, mentioned several times above.²¹⁰ Various sections of this composite genealogical collection seem to derive primarily from Henry Salesbury's manuscript, including *PB*, *Meib RM* and various parts of *Byll* and *Llyma Dalm o Weheliaethau a Lhwythau Cymru*. An English translation of the whole of NLW 7008E, preserved in Llanstephan 159, was later undertaken by William Jones in 1791.²¹¹

Finally, three related manuscripts of the early eighteenth century survive which contain copies of *Bonedd Saint Cymry ar ol pedwar copi*, including *Plant Brychan*, *Bonedd y Saint* and *Oes yr Arwyr*, seemingly derived from Llanstephan 138i. These are NLW 6150A, written by James Davies (Iaco ab Dewi) in 1713; Cardiff 4.20, sections 3 and 4, comprising two letters by the Carmarthen schoolmaster William Evans addressed to William Thomas in 1716; and Cardiff 4.22, written in the same year by the same William Thomas.²¹² William Thomas annotated his copy in Cardiff 4.22 with forms drawn from Hugh Thomas's manuscript, Harley 4181, which he likewise annotated.²¹³ Garfield Hughes claimed that this section of Cardiff 4.22 was copied from Cardiff 4.20, the text sent to William Thomas by William Evans.²¹⁴ He also claimed that Cardiff 4.20 itself was copied from NLW 6150A, identifying the latter as the manuscript by James Davies that William Thomas names as his source in Cardiff 4.22. Neither proposition is supported by the textual evidence, even though the three texts are very similar. In fact, it appears that none of the three manuscripts was copied from any other, even though they share innovations (e.g. the omission of *Jo ap Brychan*) against the other copies of the Henry Salesbury recension. Furthermore, NLW 6150A and Cardiff 4.22 share further innovations that are absent from Cardiff 4.20 (e.g. the omission of Iorwerth Hirflawdd's epithet: cf. *LIFB* 3.12). Hughes's misconception seems to stem from his assumption that it was James Davies himself who constructed *Bonedd Saint Cymry ar ol pedwar copi*. He pointed in particular to a note found in Cardiff 4.22 (but not in James Davies's own NLW 6150A) attributed to James Davies, where a source of the text is explicitly identified as *Llyfr Siors William Gryffydd*. Hughes thought that this was a reference to one of the *pedwar copi* used by James Davies to construct his *Bonedd Saint Cymru*. In fact, it is more likely to be a reference to Llanstephan 138, the second part of which is in the hand of George William Gruffudd of Penybenglog (d. 1655).²¹⁵ Since neither of the Cardiff manuscripts can be a copy of NLW 6150A, it would seem that James Davies made at least two copies of Llanstephan 138i's *Bonedd Saint Cymry ar ol pedwar copi*: one survives as NLW

²⁰⁹ Cf. *RMWL* I, 213.

²¹⁰ See above, pp. 176, n. 85 and 195.

²¹¹ *RMWL* II.ii, 743. There is also a nineteenth-century transcript of NLW 7008E by Thomas Taylor Griffith, John Griffith's great-grandson, in NLW 7009E.

²¹² See above, p. 193. For the first and third manuscripts, see respectively *Handlist* II, 154 and *RMWL* II.i, 231; cf. Bartrum, 'Late Additions', p. 81.

²¹³ See Bartrum, 'Late Additions', p. 81; Phillimore, 'Fragment', p. 104, n. 1.

²¹⁴ Hughes, 'Iaco ab Dewi', p. 52; Hughes, *Iaco ab Dewi*, pp. 41–3.

²¹⁵ F. Jones, 'Griffith', pp. 126–7.

6150A, and the other, now lost, lies somewhere behind William Thomas's copy in Cardiff 4.22. A remaining curiosity is that Cardiff 4.22 is the only one of these manuscripts that attempts to identify the *pedwar copi* used to construct *Bonedd Saint Cymru*; these, it claims, were 'Llyfr Wiliam Salsbri a Llyfr Cadwaladr Reinallt o Lanfawr a dau hen lyfr arall' ('the book of William Salesbury and the book of Cadwaladr Rheinallt and two other old books'). The use of *Llyfr Wiliam Salsbri* could have been adduced through references in the text, but the meaning of the reference to *Llyfr Cadwaladr Reinallt* is unknown.

Textual Analysis

Structure

The foregoing analysis of the manuscript tradition of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies allows for a fair degree of certainty about the structure and ordering of the text in the archetypal manuscript, despite the occasional rearrangement and fragmentation of the text at certain points in its textual history. The archetypal ordering can be established through reference to the Cardiff 3.77 copy of Y, the copies of Δ, and the fuller manuscripts of the southern tradition, such as Ieuan Brechfa's Peniarth 131viii. The same ordering is followed by the copies of Hengwrt 33, though the latter only contained a selection of sections from the original text. The validity of the archetypal ordering as representative of the structure of the original composition is supported by the internal logic that prevails when the text is placed in this order. Table 4.2 shows this ordering in relation to the relative chronology of the subject matter, as implied or stated by the text.

In the archetypal manuscript, the first part of the genealogical compilation was *Bonedd y Saint*, as shown by the appearance of this text immediately preceding *Plant Brychan* in copies of Hengwrt 33 and Δ and in the Cardiff 3.77 copy of Y.²¹⁶ By the time that the archetype was copied, this version of *Bonedd y Saint* had received a series of additions seemingly written from the perspective of Valle Crucis Abbey.²¹⁷ This is one of the indications that the archetype was written in the same abbey.²¹⁸ The effect of placing *Bonedd y Saint* at the head of the compilation in the archetype was to foreground the sacred genealogy of Wales as a counterpoint to the secular genealogy of the latter part of the compilation. In this arrangement, *Plant Brychan* (LIIG 1), which features the many saintly sons and daughters of Brychan Brycheiniog, formed an appropriate bridge between the sacred and the secular. However, it is unlikely that this arrangement was the intention of the original early thirteenth-century compiler of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. Barry Lewis has identified an interpolation present in all copies of *Bonedd y Saint*, and thus deriving from its archetype, which was borrowed from *Brenhinedd y Saesson* after the latter was translated into Welsh.²¹⁹ The translation is very unlikely to have occurred prior to 1286, the earliest possible date for the assembly of the original version of *Brut y Tywysogyon*, upon which *Brenhinedd y Saesson* is partly based.²²⁰ The copy of *Bonedd y Saint* in the archetype of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, a copy which was several stages removed from *Bonedd y Saint*'s own archetype, must, therefore, have

²¹⁶ See above, pp. 161–2, and tables 2 and 3 in Guy, 'Lost Medieval Manuscript', p. 78.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 88–91.

²¹⁸ See below, pp. 216–17.

²¹⁹ Lewis, 'Bonedd y Saint'.

²²⁰ T. Jones, *Brut y Tywysogyon or The Chronicle of the Princes: Peniarth MS. 20 Version*, p. xxxix, n. 3; T. Jones, *Brenhinedd*, p. xii; Smith, 'Historical Writing', pp. 81–3; Guy, 'Historical Scholars'. For the translation of *Brenhinedd y Saesson*, see too Roberts, 'Ystoriaeul', p. 223.

been added to the collection after 1286; it did not form the first part of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies in the original early thirteenth-century text. In the early thirteenth century, the collection may instead have begun with *Plant Brychan* (§1). Alternatively, it is conceivable that the original early thirteenth-century collection did not include any of the legendary material comprising sections 1 to 10, beginning instead with the pedigree of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth in §11, since the evidence for the dating of the collection comes almost entirely from §11 onwards. However, the manner in which sections 1 to 10 were assembled from multiple sources, considered alongside a compositional feature discussed below, suggests that they were redacted alongside the remainder of the compilation.²²¹ Below, these opening sections are considered as part of the broader compilation.

Table 4.2: The structure of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies

§§	Section	Chronology
1–10	<i>Plant Brychan; Oes yr Arwyr</i>	Legendary past: <i>oes Vaelgwn</i> ('the age of Maelgwn [Gwynedd]') (§5)
11	<i>Llywelyn ab Iorwerth</i>	Present day
12–14	<i>Plant Owain Gwynedd; Plant Cadwaladr/ Cadwallon</i>	The previous generation
15–26	<i>Plant/Mam Gruffudd ap Cynan; Mamau</i>	The previous generation back to Maelgwn Gwynedd and Cadwallon Lawhir
27	<i>Tri lle</i>	Legendary past forwards to Rhodri Mawr
28	<i>Meibion Rhodri Mawr</i>	<i>oes feibion Rodri Mawr</i> ('the age of the sons of Rhodri Mawr') (§37)
29–36	<i>Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru I: other rulers in Wales</i>	<i>yn yr oes hon</i> ('in this age') (§37)
37–47	<i>Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru II: earlier rulers of Wales; Meibion Cunedda Wledig</i>	<i>oes Arthur hyt yn oes feibion Rodri Mawr</i> ('the age of Arthur up to the age of the sons of Rhodri Mawr') (§37)
48–61	<i>Bonedd y Llwythau</i>	Present day kin-groups

From *Plant Brychan*, the text proceeds in a deliberate manner from section to section through what I have termed *Oes yr Arwyr*, 'Age of the Heroes'. This is a substantial exposition on secular literary heroes of the legendary past, one of whom, Egri of Talybolion, is temporally located in *oes Vaelgwn*, 'the age of Maelgwn'. This is the sixth-century king Maelgwn Gwynedd, who is used elsewhere as a generic representative of the Welsh literary heroic age.²²² *Oes yr Arwyr* falls into several distinct parts. Sections 1–6 (including *Plant Brychan*) list various literary figures with notably large progeny, including families known from englyn poetry (*Plant Kyndrwyn*, *Plant Llywarch Hen*) and from the list of Arthur's associates in *Culhwch ac Olwen* (*Plant Yaen*, *Plant Kaw o Dwrkelyn*).²²³ *Plant Llywarch Hen* forms a natural link between these sections and the following sections on

²²¹ See below, p. 222.

²²² Cf. *HB* (Harl. 3859), §62; *VS Bernacii*, §§11–15 (ed. and transl. *VSBG* 10–15); *VS Cadoci*, §§23 and 69; *VS Kebii*, §§17–19 (ed. and transl. *VSBG* 246–9); *VS Kentigerni*, §24 (ed. and transl. Forbes, pp. 77 and 203); *VS Paterni*, §§15–19 (ed. and transl. *VSBG* 256–9); *LBS* IV, 384–6. For a summary of Maelgwn's role in Welsh hagiography, see Wood, 'Maelgwn Gwynedd', pp. 108–11.

²²³ *Culhwch ac Olwen*, ll. 202–13 (ed. Bromwich and Evans, p. 8; transl. S. Davies, *The Mabinogion*, pp. 184–5). Strikingly, the children of Iaen are followed directly by the children of Caw in the list in *Culhwch*, just as in the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies (§§3–4).

the Men of the North. Section 7 focusses on the descendants of Cenau ap Coel, beginning with Urien Rheged; section 8 on the sons of the mysterious *Hilon Hwylfawr o'r gogledd*; and section 9 on the descendants of Dyfnwal Hen of Alclud. Finally, section 10 sets out the heroes of the fourth branch of the Mabinogi: namely, the children of Don and the children of Math ap Mathonwy.

With section 11 the text turns away from the legendary past and looks to the historical present, addressing firstly Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, who is given a paternal pedigree of ninety-four generations followed by four pedigrees traced through his mother Marared ferch Madog ap Maredudd. In combination, these pedigrees are cleverly designed to show that Llywelyn was descended from what had become, by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the three most important native dynasties in Wales (see Figure 4.7): Llywelyn's own dynasty, the rulers of Gwynedd; the descendants of Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, the family of Llywelyn's mother, who were rulers of Powys; and the southern rulers descended from Cadell ap Rhodri Mawr, from whom Llywelyn could claim descent through the union between Angharad, daughter of Maredudd ab Owain (d. 998/9), and Cynfyn ap Gwerystan, the father of Bleddyn ap Cynfyn.²²⁴ Each of these three lines is traced back independently to Beli Mawr.

From Llywelyn's genealogy, the text moves firstly to *Plant Ywain Gwynedd* (§12), the children of Llywelyn's grandfather Owain Gwynedd (d. 1170), and thence to the children of Owain Gwynedd's brothers, Cadwaladr and Cadwallon (§§13–14). The children of the three brothers are grouped according to who their mother was. Great attention is given to the maternal descent of Owain Gwynedd's children Dafydd, Rhodri, Cadwallon and Angharad (§12.2); through their mother, Cristin ferch Goronwy, the children could trace their descent back to Angharad ferch Maredudd ab Owain and the early kings of Deheubarth.²²⁵ Special treatment was possibly afforded to them because Dafydd and Rhodri were two of Llywelyn's predecessors as princes of Gwynedd.²²⁶ Care is taken in this part of the text not to mention any of the descendants of Gruffudd ap Cynan (d. 1137) of Llywelyn's own generation. This is presumably to emphasise Llywelyn's legitimacy as the only rightful heir to the headship of his family. The focus instead is on the wide range of familial contacts that Llywelyn could boast thanks to the many liaisons of Owain Gwynedd and his two brothers.

From section 15 to section 26, the text shifts its attention to a systematic account of the agnatic lineages of the mothers of the Gwynedd dynasts enumerated in Llywelyn's own pedigree. First comes the mother of Owain Gwynedd and his brothers, Angharad ferch Owain (§15.1). Other children of Gruffudd ap Cynan by different women are listed separately (§15.2–4). Their inclusion here interestingly serves to distinguish this text ideologically from the *Vita Griffini filii Conani*, which emphasises the status of Angharad as *regina* and pointedly omits the names of Gruffudd's concubines and their children.²²⁷ After this, relatively detailed information is given about Gruffudd ap Cynan's Irish mother Rhanillt (§16), owing to the availability of the account in the *Historia Gruffud*

²²⁴ Angharad became an important device in Welsh historiographical writing for explaining how the sovereignty of Wales passed out of the hands of the agnatic descendants of Rhodri Mawr in the eleventh century to Gruffudd ap Llywelyn, Bleddyn ap Cynfyn and even Trahaearn ap Caradog. For Angharad in genealogical writing, see JC 27; LIIG 11.1.4, 12.2.4 and 28.2.3; *Rhandiroedd Powys*, §1 (ed. Bartrum, p. 232); Peniarth 127i, p. 81. See too the discussion in Chapter 1, pp. 41–2, and the references to *Brut y Tywysogyon* in p. 42, n. 211.

²²⁵ Note, however, that this construction relies on Iwerydd ferch Cynfyn being accepted as the daughter of Angharad ferch Maredudd (LIIG 12.2.3–4), contrary to the testimony of *BT* (PR) 1113 [1116].

²²⁶ *HW* II, 587–90; Insley, 'Wilderness Years', pp. 164–6.

²²⁷ *VGC* §24 and §35.

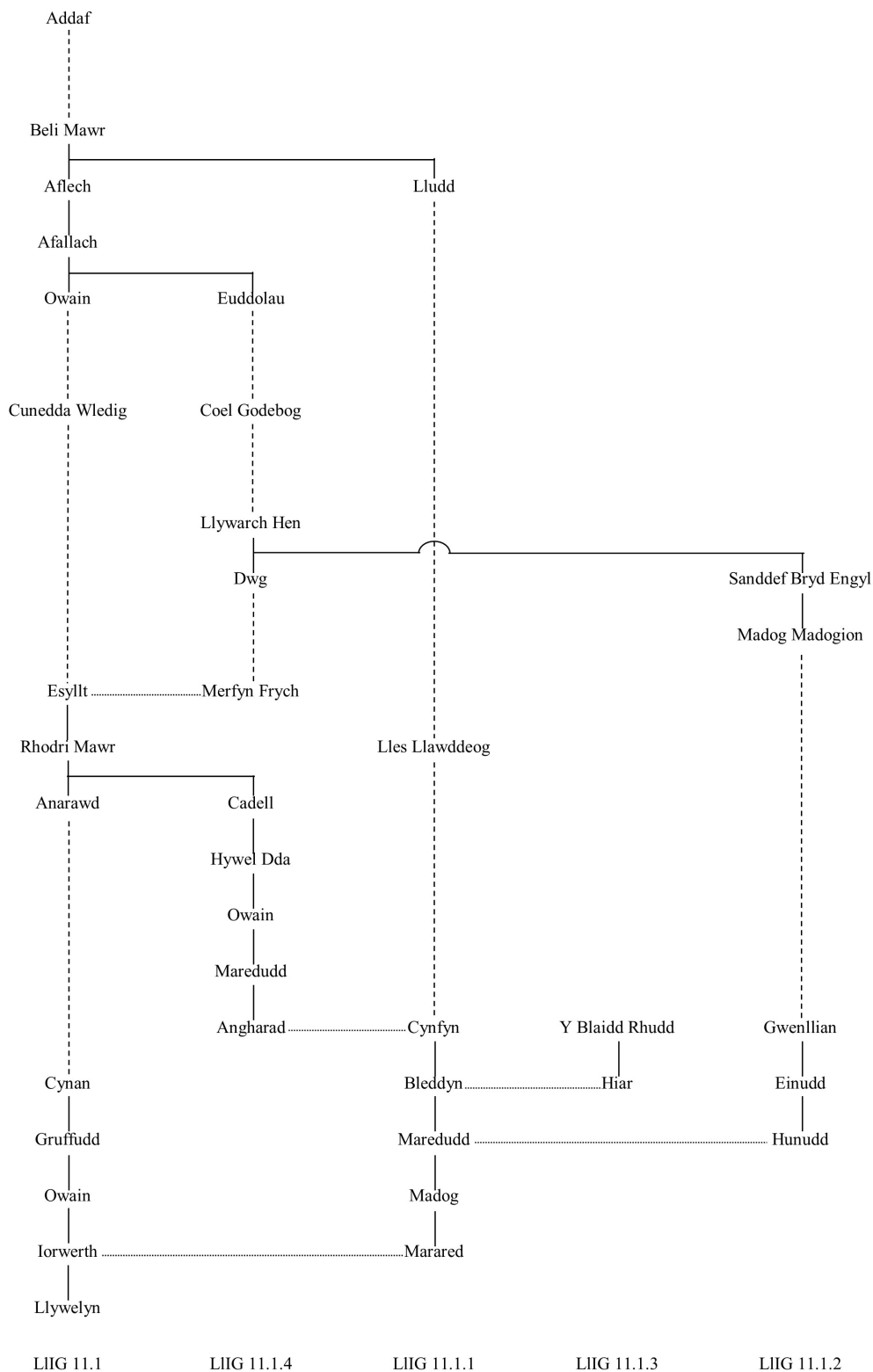


Figure 4.7: *Llywelyn ab Iorwerth's pedigrees (LIIG 11)*

vab Kenan.²²⁸ The text then travels back in time by addressing the mothers of earlier generations in Llywelyn's pedigree. History soon blurs with legend, as the text draws successively on the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension of the Gwynedd collection for the mothers of Rhodri Mawr's children, Merfyn Frych, and Elidyr ap Sanddef (§§18–20), on Geoffrey of Monmouth for the liaison between Cadwallon ap Cadfan and the sister of Penda of Mercia (§21), and on various aspects of Welsh legend for the mothers of preceding generations, back to Cadwallon Lawhir, the father of Maelgwn Gwynedd (§§22–26).²²⁹ With the latter two figures the text once again reaches *Oes Vaelgwn*, the Welsh heroic age.

The next section is one of the text's most important cruces. Section 27 is a triad relating the 'tri lle y dylyt arglwydiaeth Wyned o gogeil' ('three occasions when the lordship of Gwynedd was rightfully claimed by the distaff').²³⁰ The triad is designed to explain how the heirs of Rhodri Mawr are the rightful rulers of Gwynedd, despite not descending in the male line from the earliest Venedotian rulers of legend.²³¹ The first item in the triad has the lordship passing to Coel Godebog from an earlier line of rulers, through Coel's marriage to Ystradwel ferch Gadeon. This earlier line has some fascinating connections with contemporary Welsh prose narrative. The line is given by the text thus: 'Gadeawn m. Kynan m. Eudaf m. Karadawg ap Bran ap Llyr Lledieith'. This conception of the earliest rulers of Gwynedd agrees with both *Branwen* (the second branch of the Mabinogi) and *Breudwyt Maxen Wledic*. In *Branwen*, the king of Britain, based in Harlech in Gwynedd, is *Bendigeiduran uab Llyr*, the *Bran ap Llyr Lledieith* of the genealogy, and Bendigeidfran's son *Cradawc uab Bran* is left in charge when Bendigeidfran leaves Britain for his expedition to Ireland, even though Caradog is later usurped by Caswallon ap Beli.²³² *Breudwyt Maxen Wledic* is set in a similar legendary world. When Maxen arrives in Britain, he firstly defeats Beli ap Manogan and his sons, thereby agreeing with the ending of *Branwen* and facilitating *Breudwyt Maxen*'s own telescoped pastiche of the Roman intervention in Britain.²³³ He then finds *Eudaf vab Caradauc* and his two sons *Kenan vab Eudaf* and *Adaon vab Eudaf* ruling in Gwynedd from Caernarfon; again, the relationships are the same as in the genealogy, except that in the latter '(G)adeon' is said to be the son rather than the brother of Cynan.²³⁴ These are important correspondences, because it should not be taken for granted that such relationships were a timeless aspect of 'Welsh tradition'. For example, two of the witnesses to the genealogical material available in twelfth-century Llancarfan, the *Vita sancti Gurthierni* and section 4 of the Jesus 20 genealogies (as explored in Chapters 2 and 3), connect Cynan's father Eudaf to the family of Constantine the Great; there is nothing of Caradog ap Brân or the lordship of Gwynedd. The general correspondence between the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, *Branwen* and *Breudwyt*

²²⁸ See below, p. 227.

²²⁹ For the sources, see below, pp. 223–30. For the links to Geoffrey and Welsh legend, see Bartrum, 'Bonedd yr Arwyr', p. 248, n. 28. For Maelgwn's union with Gwallwen ferch Afallach, see Bartrum, 'Fairy Mothers', pp. 6–7.

²³⁰ *dylyt*, the imperfect impersonal form of *dylu/dylŷu*, is difficult to translate. Its two primary meanings are 'to be obliged to' and 'to have a right to': cf. *GPC Online*, s.v. *dylaf/l*, *dylŷaf*, *dlyaf*. I understand it here in the second sense.

²³¹ The triad is represented schematically in Thornton, *Kings*, p. 119.

²³² *Branwen*, ll. 1, 242 and 413–24 (ed. Thomson, pp. 1, 9 and 15–16; transl. S. Davies, *The Mabinogion*, pp. 22, 28 and 33).

²³³ See Guy, 'Constantine', p. 401. Beli and his son Caswallon are more usually identified as the enemies encountered by Julius Caesar upon his arrival in Britain: cf. *HB* (Harl. 3859), §19; *DGB* III.53–IV.54–63; *TYP*⁴ 305–6.

²³⁴ *Breudwyt Maxen Wledic*, ll. 216–17 (ed. Roberts, p. 7; transl. S. Davies, *The Mabinogion*, pp. 107–8). In *Branwen* there is no indication that *Cradawc uab Bran* was considered to have left offspring before he died from a broken heart upon Caswallon's usurpation, but nor is there any indication that he died childless.

Maxen Wledic seemingly shows that the three texts belonged to the same historiographical milieu. The enormous difficulties with dating the Four Branches of the Mabinogi prevent one from commenting much further on this connection, but it should be noted that Brynley Roberts has offered cogent reasons for regarding the Four Branches as a Gwynedd text.²³⁵ Roberts has also argued persuasively that *Breudwyt Maxen Wledic* was composed in Gwynedd during the reign of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, perhaps in the period 1215–17.²³⁶ All one can say is that the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, which offer far stronger grounds for dating by historical methods than do the vernacular prose tales (see below), show that *Branwen* and *Breudwyt Maxen Wledic* would have fitted comfortably into an historiographical framework that was current in Gwynedd in the first half of the thirteenth century, but not necessarily into the historiographical frameworks of other times and places.

The second and third items of the triad in section 27 were designed to show that the lordship of Gwynedd was inherited first by Cunedda Wledig, through his father's marriage to Gwawl, daughter of Coel Godebog, and secondly by Merfyn Frych and his son Rhodri Mawr, through Merfyn's marriage to Eryllt, daughter of Cynan Dindaethwy, the agnatic descendant of Cunedda Wledig.²³⁷ At a stroke, the descendants of Rhodri Mawr are made to be the heirs of the legendary kings of Gwynedd, of Coel Godebog (a key ancestral figure of the legendary Men of the North) and of the so-called first dynasty of Gwynedd, which supposedly ruled from the time of Cunedda Wledig to Cynan Dindaethwy. Although, according to Welsh law, a king's heir should usually be a close agnatic relative like a son, brother or nephew,²³⁸ the thirteenth-century Gwynedd law-book *Llyfr Iorwerth* does allow for a situation in which the heir might be related to the previous king through that king's daughter. In reference to the legendary lawgiver Dyfnwal Foelfud, *Llyfr Iorwerth* explains that 'A guedy dyffody tadues e urenhynyaeth e kauas enteu hyhy o cogeyl, urth y uot en vyr e'r brenhyn' ('after the paternal line of that kingship was extinguished, he gained it by the distaff, as he was the king's grandson').²³⁹ The reasoning that an heir by the distaff was eligible because he was the former king's grandson is presumably what lies behind the stipulation in section 27 that Coel Godebog's daughter Gwawl was the mother of Cunedda, rather than his wife, as in JC 7. This manner of inheriting the kingship by the distaff was seemingly what the writer of section 27 envisaged, though there is no explanation as to why Coel Hen's son Cenau should not have been the heir to Gwynedd in preference to his supposed sister's son Cunedda Wledig.

The idea that Rhodri Mawr had rightfully inherited the kingship of Gwynedd by the distaff sets the scene for the following section, *Meibion Rhodri Mawr* (§28), concerning the sons and immediate descendants of Rhodri Mawr. The purpose of *Meibion Rhodri Mawr* is twofold: (1) to demonstrate that the only branches of Rhodri Mawr's descendants that had remained royal were the branches descending from Rhodri's sons Anarawd and Cadell, from whom descended respectively Gruffudd ap Cynan (§28.1.5) and Rhys ap Tewdwr (§28.2.6); and (2) to provide explanations for various place-names and kin-groups in Gwynedd, which were named from sons of Rhodri whose descendants had not remained royal.²⁴⁰ In this way

²³⁵ Roberts, 'Where Were the Four Branches of the Mabinogi Written?'. For a comprehensive overview and criticism of past attempts to date the Four Branches, see Rodway, *Dating*, pp. 4–9.

²³⁶ Roberts, '*Breuddwyd Maxen Wledig*', pp. 311–12.

²³⁷ In reality, Eryllt was probably Merfyn's mother; see Sims-Williams, 'Historical Need', pp. 21–3; Thornton, *Kings*, pp. 97–9.

²³⁸ See Chapter 1 above, p. 7.

²³⁹ *Llyfr Iorwerth*, §90/2 (ed. Wiliam, p. 59; transl. Jenkins, *Laws*, p. 120).

²⁴⁰ Cf. Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, pp. 362–3. For an example of a non-royal lineage claiming descent from another son of Rhodri Mawr, see LIIG 50.1 (Llywarch ap Brân, from Tudwal ap Rhodri); for other, later-attested examples, see Bartrum, 'Pedigrees', pt 1, 112–15.

the text reconnects with the great-grandfather (Gruffudd ap Cynan) of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, who is thus portrayed as the true senior heir of Brân ap Llŷr Llediaith, Eudaf Hen, Coel Godebog, Cunedda Wledig, Rhodri Mawr and the rest, while simultaneously drawing attention to a secondary line, the dynasty of Deheubarth, which forms the subject of the next genealogy (§30).

Meibion Rhodri Mawr is followed by the long part that I have entitled *Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru*, which should properly include *Meibion Cunedda Wledig* at the end (§§29–47). *Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru* naturally falls into two halves, and the division between these halves is marked by an intermediary comment in the text about the distribution of the two groups of pedigrees across time (§37):

Neur deryw yn dywedut am wehelydieith Kymry oll, y rai yssyd yn yr oes honn yn gwladychu. Weithion y dywedwn vonedd wehelydion Kymru, y rei a wledychynt er yn oes Arthur hyt yn oes feibion Rodri Mawr.

And so has concluded discussion about those of the noble stock of all Wales which are ruling in this age. Now we discuss the noble descent of the lineages of Wales which were ruling from the age of Arthur until the age of the sons of Rhodri Mawr.

Here, *oes feibion Rodri Mawr* serves as a watershed in Welsh dynastic history. Sovereignty in Wales is implied to have been continuous from their time onwards, culminating in *yr oes hon*, ‘this age’. The *gweheliaethau* (‘lineages’) listed in sections 30–36 as ruling contemporaneously are presented ultimately as subject to an age defined by Rhodri Mawr’s heirs, primary among whom, as the preceding section on *Meibion Rhodri Mawr* has already shown, was the family of Gruffudd ap Cynan, followed in importance by the family of Rhys ap Tewdwr. Wales is portrayed as a land of many princely dynasties, but only a single sovereign family.

A curious feature of the *gweheliaethau* listed in sections 30–36 is that the subjects of all but one of them (*Gwehelieth Gwent*, whose subject is Morgan ap Hywel, d. 1248) belonged to a generation prior to that of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth. Table 4.3 shows that, Morgan aside, the only year in which they were all living was 1171.²⁴¹ One reason for this may be that this section of *Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru* derives from a text composed in that year. This is suggested particularly by the appearance of Iorwerth Goch as the subject of a pedigree, alone among the sons of Maredudd ap Bleddyn; Iorwerth Goch was prominent in his later years, but his descendants were not especially important in Welsh politics in the first half of the thirteenth century, making it unlikely that he would be picked out to head a pedigree at a later stage.²⁴² It is also suggested by the subject of the second Arwystli pedigree almost certainly being a different Maredudd ap Rhobert of Cedewain from the person of that name who was prominent during Llywelyn ab Iorwerth’s reign.²⁴³

²⁴¹ Cf. Guy, ‘Second Witness’, pp. 79–80.

²⁴² Cf. Suppe, ‘Interpreter Families’, pp. 209 and 211; Andrews and Stephenson, ‘*Draig Argoed*’, pp. 66, n. 7 and 69–70; Stephenson, ‘Welsh Lords’.

²⁴³ The two are normally assumed to be the same man: *AWR* 4–5; Morgan, ‘Territorial Divisions’, pt 1, 11; *HW* II, 648, n. 182. On chronological grounds, this seems very unlikely. Bartrum came to the same conclusion, pointing out that the records of the deaths of two persons named Owain ap Maredudd ap Rhobert, both explicitly linked to Cedewain, in 1236 and 1261 respectively, would seem to require two separate men named Maredudd ap Rhobert: *WG* I IV, s. ‘Trahaearn ap Caradog 6’. The inclusion of Maredudd ap Rhobert’s pedigree under the heading *Gwehelieth Arwystli* in this text supports David Stephenson’s argument that Cedewain was originally conceived as part of Arwystli: “‘Greater Arwystli’”.

Table 4.3: Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru, part I

§§	Subject(s) of Pedigree		Father of Subject(s)		Named <i>Gweheliaeth</i>
	Name	Date	Name	Date	
30	Rhys	d. 1197	Gruffudd	d. 1137	Deheubarth
31	Cadwallon	d. 1179	Madog	d. 1140	Gwerthrynion
32	Gruffudd Maelor; Owain Fychan; Elise	d. 1191 d. 1187 fl. 1183–1223	Madog	d. 1160	Powys
33.1	Hywel	d. 1185	Ieuaf	d. 1130	Arwystli
33.2	Maredudd		Rhobert	d. 1171	Arwystli
34	Iorwerth Goch	d. 1171	Maredudd	d. 1132	—
35.1	Morgan	d. c. 1208	Caradog		Morgannwg
35.2	Gruffudd	d. 1211	Ifor	fl. 1158	Morgannwg
36	Morgan	d. 1248	Hywel (son of Iorwerth)	d. 1215 × 1217 (d. 1179 × 1184)	Gwent

Whether or not a source composed in 1171 formed the basis of this section of the text, other factors probably account for the text's focus on an earlier generation of dynasts. One was probably a desire to avoid presenting any other ruler in Wales as a legitimate rival of Llywelyn, a consideration that certainly conditioned the creation of *Plant Ywain Gwyned*, as suggested above.²⁴⁴ Another, perhaps more important, factor relates to the precise purpose of this section of text. The first half of *Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru* is not a catalogue of the genealogies of individual Welsh rulers as such; it is a catalogue of *gweheliaethau*, '(ruling) lineages', categorised according to their location and the chief figures from whom they could claim genealogical unity. The first such genealogy, section 30, concerns *Gwehelieth Deheubarth*, and is traced back from the Lord Rhys ap Gruffudd (d. 1197). While this genealogy might well have originated in a text composed in Rhys ap Gruffudd's reign, perhaps in 1171, in its present context the importance of the genealogy lies in the fact that, during the thirteenth century, Rhys ap Gruffudd remained the common ancestor of all Welsh dynasts who assumed power in Deheubarth.²⁴⁵ Regardless of the continued fragmentation of power in the region following Rhys's death, *Gwehelieth Deheubarth* itself, with Rhys as its ancestral figurehead, remained constant, and was thus recorded as such in the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. Another example is the following section 31, *Gwehelieth Gwerthrynion*, for which the pedigree of Cadwallon ap Madog (d. 1179) is given. As with Rhys ap Gruffudd's Deheubarth, the land ruled by Cadwallon ap Madog did not remain politically united after Cadwallon's death, but it did remain for a time in the hands of Cadwallon's descendants, particularly during the period from c. 1215 to 1240 when they were able to hold Maelienydd against the opposition of the Mortimers, through the support of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth.²⁴⁶ The naming of the *gweheliaeth*'s territory as Gwerthrynion is curious, since Maelienydd seems to have remained the heartland of the power of Cadwallon ap Madog's family, but it may reflect the extension of the family's power into that region.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁴ See above, p. 202.

²⁴⁵ *AWR* 7–14.

²⁴⁶ *AWR* 17; Smith, 'Middle March', pp. 81–3.

²⁴⁷ Remfry, 'Cadwallon', pp. 18–20.

The theme of the unity of Wales's diverse dynasties under the sovereign family of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth is another prevalent feature of this section of *Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru*. No less than four of the *gweheliaethau* are represented by figureheads said to have been the sons of different daughters of Gruffudd ap Cynan: the Lord Rhys ap Gruffudd of Deheubarth (§30), Cadwallon ap Madog of Maelienydd/Gwerthrynion (§31), the three sons of Madog ap Maredudd of Powys (§32), and Hywel ab Ieuaf of Arwystli (§33.1).²⁴⁸ The point of drawing attention to this is to emphasise that Llywelyn was the collateral kinsman of each of the dynasties descended from these men, and therefore, according to the norms of Welsh kinship, a natural ally of the dynasties concerned.²⁴⁹

Following the chronological notice printed above (§37), the second half of *Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru* returns to the literary heroic age, now classified as *oes Arthur* rather than *oes Vaelgwn*, though the meaning is much the same. Here, *oes Arthur* is representative of the time at which dynastic history began. Most of the dynasties which are said to have ruled from *oes Arthur* to *oes feibion Rodri Mawr* have been picked out of a version of the St Davids recension, as is discussed below. Some of the subjects of these pedigrees actually ruled later than Rhodri Mawr's sons; these include Owain ap Hywel Dda (d. 977) (§38.1), Rhicerd ap Maredudd, whose great-grandfather Bleddri ap Cedifor flourished in 1116 (§38.2), and Gwyn ap Gruffudd of Cegidfa, who is probably the man of that name who died in 1101 (§40).²⁵⁰ Nevertheless, these three lines were included in this section deliberately, as it was perceived by the early thirteenth century that the dynasties that they represented had ceased to maintain royal status by the time of the sons of Rhodri Mawr: the dynasty of Tryffun Farfog of Dyfed, in the case of the first two, and that of the Cadelling, in the case of the third. The supposed branches of these dynasties that persisted into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, such as the Cadelling of Cegidfa, maintained a status that was noble rather than royal.²⁵¹

The second half of *Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru* finishes with *Meibion Cunedda Wledig*, an updated and expanded version of the Cunedda story from the Gwynedd collection of genealogies (cf. HG 32–33). In this version, new names have been added to the list of Cunedda's sons in order to reflect the expanded geographical horizons of the rulers of Gwynedd in the thirteenth century: these include *Arwystel* for Arwystli, *Mael* for Dinmael and *Koel* for Colion. As is discussed in more detail below, another significant addition to this version of the text is the story about the conquest of Anglesey by Cadwallon Lawhir and his three cousins, Cynyr, Meilyr and Yneigr, sons of Gwron ap Cunedda. The story functions as an introduction to the following section (§48), concerning the descendants of Meilyr ap Gwron in Anglesey.

The final major division of the text is called here *Bonedd y Llwythau*, corresponding largely to the text edited by Bartrum as 'Hen Lwythau Gwynedd a'r Mars'. It comprises a collection of interrelated genealogical tracts concerning the noble families or *llwythau* of Gwynedd, as they were perceived in the early thirteenth century. The text proceeds on a geographical basis, addressing firstly the families of Anglesey, roughly from west to east,

²⁴⁸ In §A1.1, Gwenllïan ferch Gruffudd ap Cynan is said to have been the mother of Cadwallon ap Madog ap Cadwgon, but the manuscript tradition suggests that this section is a later addition, and in any case the *Brutiau* show that Gwenllïan was actually the mother of Cadwallon's father Madog ap Cadwgon: *BT* (PRS) 1113 [1116], confirmed by *HGK* 24 (cf. *HGK* 88–9, n. 22.7); cf. *LlIG* (GO) G13.6.1. Lloyd noted that this Gwenllïan must have been an older, illegitimate daughter of Gruffudd ap Cynan, and cannot be the same as the Gwenllïan who was daughter of Gruffudd ap Cynan by his wife Angharad: *HW* II, 417, n. 57. It was this latter Gwenllïan who was the mother of the Lord Rhys.

²⁴⁹ Cf. *EIWK* 220.

²⁵⁰ *BT* (PS) 1099 [1101]; *BT* (R) 1097 [1101]; *BT* (PRS) 1113 [1116]. Gwyn is erroneously called Owain in R, and Bleddri is erroneously called Bleddyn in PS. Cf. *EWGT* 153–4, n. 18b, and 154, n. 20. For other contemporary references to Bleddri ap Cedifor, see Lloyd, 'Carmarthen', pp. 290–1; Owen, 'Note', pp. 9–12; *HW* II, 428–9; Lloyd, 'Age', pp. 135–6 and 138. For discussions of Rhicerd ap Maredudd's pedigree, see Jarman, *Ymddiddan*, pp. 27–32 and Bartrum, 'Pedigrees', pt 1, 140, n. 64.

²⁵¹ Cf. *EIWK* 205–6.

Table 4.4: The geography of *Bonedd y Llwythau*

§§	Section	Associated commote(s) or cantref(s)
48	Bonedd llwyth Cillin, meibion uchelwyr	Llifon, Malltraeth, Talybolion, (Twrcelyn) ²⁵²
49	Llwyth Aelan	Malltraeth, Dindaethwy, Talybolion, Cafflogion, Menai, (Twrcelyn) ²⁵³
50	Meibion Llywarch ap Bran	Talybolion, Menai, Arllechwedd Uchaf
51	Meibion Cadwgon ap Bleddrus	Menai
52	Gwyr Pentraeth	Dindaethwy, Twrcelyn, Nantconwy
53	Dafydd ap Tegwared	Menai, Dindaethwy
54	Gwyr Rhos Nurfynion, pedwar gwely llwyth Edryd	Rhos
55	Gwyr Arfon	Arfon Uwch Gwyrfai, Dindaethwy
56	Llwyth Collwyn	Eifionydd, Cafflogion, Ardudwy Uwch Artro
57	Rhys Sais	Maelor
58	Llwyth Penllyn	Penllyn, Meirionydd
59	Rhys ab Edryd	Rhos
60	Tri meib Hedd ab Alunog	Rhufoniog Uwch Aled
61	Llwyth Braint Hir	Rhos Is Dulas

and secondly the families of mainland Gwynedd in a counter-clockwise direction from Rhos. Table 4.4 illustrates the geographical purview of *Bonedd y Llwythau* as it proceeds from section to section: in the central column are the text's section names, while in the right-hand column are the commotes or cantrefs where the relevant families were primarily found, in approximate descending order of prominence.

More detailed information about these figures and their *llwythau* is set out in the table in Appendix A.4.3. Our knowledge of their dates and geographical associations derives largely from two separate sets of sources. For the dates, one is reliant for the most part on incidental references, since the majority of the figures in *Bonedd y Llwythau*, excluding such notables as Ednyfed Fychan, functioned at a lower social level than tended to be noticed by monastic chroniclers. A key source for figures of the late eleventh century is the Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan, which mentions several local noblemen from Anglesey and the north-western mainland. For the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, charters and other princely *acta* become more important, for the witnesses to those documents were very often Welsh noblemen either of the prince's entourage or of the area local to the beneficiary. Vernacular poetry is another important source, either because the figures in the text were the recipients of praise poetry (such as Rhirid Flaidd) or were indeed poets themselves (such as Einion ap Gwalchmai, Meilyr Brydydd and Madog ap Rhahawd's son Einion). Excessive use of date estimation by counting generations back from later dateable figures claiming descent from the people in the text has been avoided, because it is very difficult to ascertain whether the later genealogies are entirely accurate.

Such chronological data as can be gleaned provides an interesting picture of *Bonedd y Llwythau*'s purview. Many of the subjects of the pedigrees lived in the early thirteenth century, as one would expect in a text composed during Llywelyn ab Iorwerth's reign (see next section). Other subjects, however, flourished earlier, from approximately the middle of the eleventh century onwards. The chronological disparity between figures whose pedigrees are directly juxtaposed with one another is unusual in the context of the rest of the text, which takes a careful and deliberate approach to relative chronology. The second set

²⁵² The connection with Twrcelyn was probably fabricated; see below, pp. 214–15.

²⁵³ See previous note.

of discrete sources, useful largely for locating the text's figures, can help to explain the disparity. These sources comprise chiefly the various surveys of North Wales undertaken by the region's new English rulers between the late thirteenth and early fifteenth centuries. A certain amount of relevant information can be found in Edward I's Extent of Anglesey of 1284 and the early fifteenth-century Extent of Merionethshire.²⁵⁴ But the most useful sources by far are the extents of Anglesey and Caernarfonshire undertaken on behalf of the Black Prince in 1352 (preserved in the *Record of Caernarvon*) and the Survey of the Honour of Denbigh undertaken in 1334, while William de Montacute was lord.²⁵⁵ These latter sources describe in detail the patterns of land-holding found in the relevant areas in the mid-fourteenth century. At that time, many of the townships surveyed were divided into holdings known as *gwelyau* and *gafaelion*. *Gafael* literally means 'holding', but *gwely* is a more complex word.²⁵⁶ A *gwely* was originally a family unit. The word retained this meaning in the fourteenth century, when, for example, '*gwely Hwfa*' could denote the 'descendants of Hwfa'. However, by the time of the extents, '*gwely Hwfa*' had acquired the additional meaning of 'a holding (originally) held by the descendants of Hwfa'; in this sense, *gwely* could be synonymous with *gafael*.

A source of puzzlement is the relationship between the 'co-heirs' of the *gwelyau* and *gafaelion*, as recorded in the extents, and the eponyms from whom the *gwelyau* and *gafaelion* were named. Very often the eponym was an ancestor of the co-heirs, but one who lived many generations earlier. This is notable because, according to Welsh law, one could only claim land through inheritance if it had formerly been held by an ancestor no more remote than a great-grandfather.²⁵⁷ To overcome this problem, Thomas Charles-Edwards has proposed that the significance of the deeper lineages recorded in the extents lay not with the rights, but rather with the obligations of the co-heirs. He has argued that the progenitors of the deep lineages were those who had been assessed to pay certain dues to the prince.²⁵⁸ These dues were inherited by subsequent co-heirs of the progenitor's holding(s), thus perpetuating the coherence of the lineage beyond the four-generation descent group specified by the law of inheritance.²⁵⁹ Furthermore, since the relevant dues would have originally been assessed on the basis of the holding(s) of the progenitor, these holdings, often named from the progenitor and/or his immediate heirs, likewise maintained their integrity as units for fiscal assessment long after their eponyms had become irrelevant for the purpose of claiming land.

Strikingly, many of the *gwelyau* and *gafaelion* recorded in the fourteenth-century extents preserve the names of individuals who are the subjects of pedigrees in *Bonedd y Llwythau*, as shown in Appendix A.4.3. This is not only true of those who lived in the early thirteenth century, but also of those who lived in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. For example, the widespread *gwely Einion ap Gwalchmai* is named after the early thirteenth-century poet who is the subject of §49.1, while *gwely Gwgon* in Eifionydd is probably named after Gwgon ap Merwydd, one of the subjects of §56.3, who flourished in 1075. It seems that there was a deliberate attempt by the compiler of *Bonedd y Llwythau* to trace the pedigrees back from members of the *uchelwyr* who were remembered as apical ancestors of the contemporary co-heirs of the *gwelyau* and *gafaelion*, regardless of the relative depths of the lineages concerned. This explains why some pedigrees in *Bonedd y Llwythau* have subjects

²⁵⁴ Smith, 'Extent'; *RC* 260–92. An extent of Merioneth also survives from 1284, but this is less useful for present purposes: Carr, 'First Extent'.

²⁵⁵ *RC* 1–89; *SD*. A translation of the Anglesey section of the 1352 Extent based on the original manuscript (unlike the edition in *RC*) has been published by A. D. Carr in 'Extent'.

²⁵⁶ For the terms *gwely* and *gafael*, see *EIWK* 226–56.

²⁵⁷ See Chapter 1 above, p. 7.

²⁵⁸ *EIWK* 254.

²⁵⁹ For other ways in which such lineages maintained coherence in the later Middle Ages, see Carr, *Medieval Anglesey*, pp. 153–4.

who lived in the early thirteenth century while others have subjects who lived earlier. What determined the selection of a pedigree's subject was not the contemporaneity of the subject to the compiler of the pedigree, but rather the importance of the subject within the structure of contemporary land-holding.²⁶⁰

Date

All the witnesses to the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies discussed in the first half of this chapter stem from a single archetype. This archetype was created no later than the first half of the fourteenth century, when one of its early derivatives, the lost Hengwrt 33, was probably written.²⁶¹ The number of stages between this lost archetype and the original composition is unknown.

The date of the original composition is suggested in the first instance by the dates of the people discussed in the text. Most importantly, nobody who lived significantly later than Llywelyn ab Iorwerth (d. 1240) appears at any point. Most of the people heading the pedigrees lived at least a generation before Llywelyn, for reasons discussed above, but a few of Llywelyn's contemporaries are mentioned, including Gwenwynwyn ab Owain Cyfeiliog of southern Powys (§12.1; d. 1216), Rognvaldr Guðrøðarson, king of Man (§16.1; r. 1187–1226, k. 1229), Morgan ap Hywel of Gwynllŵg (§36.1; d. 1248), and Ednyfed Fychan (§54.1; d. 1246).²⁶² This, coupled with the fact that the text lays so much emphasis on Llywelyn's own lineages (§11), the relations of his grandfather Owain Gwynedd and great-grandfather Gruffudd ap Cynan (§§12–15), and the many lineages allied by marriage to his predecessors (§§16–26), whilst ignoring his immediate descendants, strongly suggests that the text was assembled during Llywelyn's reign in Gwynedd, between c. 1200 and 1240.

Such a dating is supported by a component of the text's language. Simon Rodway has argued that, in literary Welsh, use of the third person singular *s*-preterite verbal ending *-ws/-wys* declined dramatically in the second half of the thirteenth century, when it was largely superseded by the innovative ending *-awdd* (modern Welsh *-odd*), perhaps generalised from the verb *lladdawdd*, 'he killed, struck'.²⁶³ Thus, texts in later manuscripts in which the relevant verbs display a high proportion of endings in *-ws/-wys* compared with *-awdd* are highly likely to have been composed before c. 1300, and probably before c. 1250. This reasoning applies particularly to northern texts preserved in northern manuscripts, because there is some evidence that *-ws/-wys* retained its prominence in the literary register for a longer period in South Wales due to the continued use of that verbal ending in the regional colloquial language.²⁶⁴ We have already seen that the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies are preserved overwhelmingly in northern manuscripts, and that there is every reason to believe that the text was composed in Gwynedd. It is therefore significant that all ten of the relevant third singular preterite verbs in the text use *-ws/-wys* rather than *-awdd*, excluding from the analysis verbs based on *lladd*, which invariably takes *-awdd*. These forms all occur in the copy of Y by John Jones in Cardiff 3.77, and many appear in the various copies of Hengwrt 33 and Δ, though elsewhere their endings are often changed to *-awdd*.²⁶⁵ This is consistent with the notion that the text was composed before the second half of the thirteenth century.

²⁶⁰ For comparable genealogies focussed on representatives of contemporary lineages rather than on contemporaries who were alive at the time of recording, see Wilson, *Genealogy*, pp. 48–54.

²⁶¹ See above, p. 165, and Guy, 'Lost Medieval Manuscript', pp. 84–5.

²⁶² Cf. Guy, 'Second Witness', pp. 79–80.

²⁶³ Rodway, *Dating*, pp. 154–65; Rodway, 'Where', pp. 67–8; Rodway, 'Dateable Development', pp. 73–81.

²⁶⁴ Rodway, *Dating*, pp. 163–5.

²⁶⁵ These are the forms in the copy of Y in Cardiff 3.77: *oresgyñwys* (§1.2.2), *dreissius* (§1.3.7), *wystlus* (§12.10.1), *oresgynnus* (§16.1), *oresgynnus* (§16.2.1), *diguyðus* (§28.4), *rannus* (§47.1.1), *wledyçus*

A more precise period of composition is suggested by various references in the text to Llywelyn's noblemen, and in particular to those select few who functioned as his *distain*, 'court steward'. Two *disteiniad* are known to have been recognised as such during Llywelyn's reign: the first was Gwyn ab Ednywain, who was functioning in this capacity in 1209 and who witnessed a number of charters in the preceding decade, and the second was the much better-known Ednyfed Fychan (d. 1246), who began witnessing Llywelyn's charters in 1217 and who is first explicitly called *distain* in a questionable document of 1225 and more certainly in documents of 1230.²⁶⁶ Gwyn ab Ednywain appears in the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies in the past tense as 'Gwynn, yr hwn a (v) ddistain' ('Gwyn, the one who was *distain*', §56.7), implying that the text was written later than 1209. The problem with this statement is that it appears in the Gutun Owain recension but is absent from the II sub-branch of the Y-branch. Unfortunately, the part of the text in which the statement occurs, *Bonedd y Llwythau*, was not copied into Hengwrt 33 or Λ, and so one cannot say what the reading of the X-branch might have been at this point.

However, there are three reasons to think that the statement belonged to the original text. Firstly, Gwyn ab Ednywain was a member of the family of Collwyn ap Tangno of Arudwy, and by the mid-fourteenth century his and his father's descendants are recorded as living in Eifionydd and Arudwy Uwch Artro, in the north-west of Wales.²⁶⁷ Since Gwyn ab Ednywain was not obviously a progenitor of later prominent families in the north-east of Wales, Gutun Owain's usual area of interest, he would be an atypical person to have been added to the Gutun Owain recension. Secondly, all extant witnesses to this section of the Gutun Owain recension, including the earliest witness, Peniarth 131iii, in the hand of Gutun Owain himself, share an error in omitting the name of Gwyn's father, Ednywain, from the pedigree. One would not expect this if Gutun Owain himself had added the material on the basis of either the genealogical claims of a later kin-group or some early document.

The third reason for attributing the statement about Gwyn ab Ednywain to the original text is linked to the emergence of Ednyfed Fychan and his family as a dominant force throughout much of Gwynedd. In the Cardiff 3.77 copy of Y, the pedigree of Ednyfed Fychan appears twice. The first appearance (§54.1), which probably reflects the original text, occurs in the section on *Gwyr Ros* ('the men of Rhos'), as one might expect, and traces a short pedigree of Ednyfed back to Edryd ab Inethan, in the same manner as the other pedigrees of the noblemen of Rhos in the same section. The same arrangement is found in the Peniarth 131ii copy of Δ, in the Peniarth 127i recension and, with a longer pedigree, in the Gutun Owain recension (§G65.1/54.1). The second appearance of Ednyfed Fychan in Cardiff 3.77's copy of Y (§A4), however, is found in exactly the same position as the section on Gwyn ab Ednywain in the Gutun Owain recension, following §56, *Llwyth Kollwyn*, Gwyn ab Ednywain's kin-group. This version of Ednyfed Fychan's pedigree, now headed *Llwyth Marchud*, is much more elaborate, being traced back to Coel Godebog, and is accompanied by a pedigree of Ednyfed Fychan's mother, Angharad ferch Hwfa ap Cynwrig, traced back to Beli Mawr. The same elaborate genealogy of Ednyfed Fychan, headed *Llwyth Marchudd*, appeared in Δ, but there it was positioned after Dafydd ap Tegwared's pedigree (§53), and therefore immediately before *Gwyr Ros* (§54). In both of the chief copies of Δ (NLW 732B and Peniarth 131ii), the elaborate genealogy of Ednyfed Fychan is followed by details of his descendants, which are different in each case.

It would appear that the original text of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies did not accord a particularly prominent position to Ednyfed Fychan, numbering him simply as one

(§47.4), *wystlus* (§48.5.1), *mynnus* (§48.5.1). For *diguydus* and *rannus*, John Jones forgot to add a dot underneath the *u* in the ending.

²⁶⁶ Stephenson, *Political Power*, pp. 14, 207–9 and 215; *AWR* nos 229 (1209), 239 (1217), 256 (1225) and 259–60 (1230); Cole, 'Llywelyn', pp. 135–7; *HW* II, 622, n. 54 and 684–5.

²⁶⁷ *VGC* §22; *HGK* 83, n. 19.5; *EWGT* 157, n. 9; *RC* 40 and 280.

among the many descendants of Edryd ab Inethan living in Rhos (as in §54.1). The lack of any particular emphasis on the status of Ednyfed Fychan would have seemed odd to readers of the text after Ednyfed Fychan's rise to prominence during the 1220s, especially since his descendants remained for centuries some of the most prominent figures in Wales, down to the time of his direct male-line descendant Henry Tudor.²⁶⁸ For this reason, it would appear that, at an early stage, a new section was composed, entitled *Llwyth Marchudd*. In Y and Δ's common exemplar, Π, the new section was inserted into the text in such a way as to replace a section about an earlier *distain*, Gwyn ab Ednywain. This was the state of the text in Y. In Δ, *Llwyth Marchudd* was then moved so as to occur immediately before the section on *Gwyr Ros*, as would be more logical, but the section on Gwyn ab Ednywain remained absent. The replacement of Gwyn ab Ednywain's section with *Llwyth Marchudd* would not appear to have been carried out in the Gutun Owain recension, but *Llwyth Marchudd* may still have appeared somehow in Gutun Owain's chief exemplar. In the *Gwyr Ros* section of the Gutun Owain recension (§G65.1/54.1), Ednyfed Fychan's pedigree is traced back beyond Edryd ab Inethan to Coel Godebog, as in *Llwyth Marchudd*. One might therefore suppose that Gutun Owain deliberately chose to combine the original *Gwyr Ros* section with the intrusive *Llwyth Marchudd* section in order to avoid repetition of material. That *Llwyth Marchudd* probably had some sort of existence in the archetype, and thus would have been accessible to Gutun Owain, is suggested by its presence in descendants of Hengwrt 33, though the selective copying of sections in that manuscript prevents one from commenting on the structural positioning of *Llwyth Marchudd* in the archetype. In any case, the intrusion of *Llwyth Marchudd* into the main text of Y and Δ's common exemplar (Π) probably caused the omission of Gwyn ab Ednywain's pedigree, which can therefore be attributed with some confidence to the archetypal text.

The comparatively minor position seemingly afforded to Ednyfed Fychan in the original text stands in stark contrast to the lavish treatment of the family of the poet Einion ap Gwalchmai.²⁶⁹ As has been discussed, a significant proportion of *Bonedd y Llwythau* concerns not the noblemen of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth's day, but rather the perceived progenitors of contemporary kin-groups, progenitors who thus might have lived some time prior to the time of the text's writing. Such is the case, for example, with the first section of *Bonedd y Llwythau*, *Llwyth Kelling* (§48), which begins with the pedigree of Hwfa ap Cynddelw. Although Hwfa himself probably lived in the early twelfth century, Hwfa's five sons lent their names to *gwelyau* in Llifon in western Anglesey that remained significant for many centuries.²⁷⁰ A notable exception to this rule is the first part of the following section, *Llwyth Aelan* (§49.1), concerning the genealogy of Einion ap Gwalchmai (see Figure 1.1).²⁷¹ Firstly, Einion's agnatic pedigree, like that of Hwfa ap Cynddelw in the preceding section, is traced back to Meilyr Meilyrion ap Gwron ap Cunedda Wledig. No less than six collateral lines are then traced back from various female ancestors, one of whom is furnished with a long pedigree going back through the early Cadelling kings to Vortigern. Elsewhere in the text, only Llywelyn ab Iorwerth (§11) and his princely uncles Dafydd and Rhodri (§12.2) are accorded so many collateral lines.²⁷²

²⁶⁸ Roberts, "Wyrion Eden"; cf. *SD* xxxv; O. E. Jones, 'Llyfr Coch Asaph' II, 46; Owen, 'Tenurial and Economic Developments', pp. 123–4; Carr, *Medieval Anglesey*, p. 153; Hurlock, 'Counselling the Prince', pp. 22–3; Smith, *Llywelyn*, pp. 45, 217 and 265–6.

²⁶⁹ As noted in Bartrum, 'Hen Lwythau', p. 204; *EWGT* 155; *EIWK* 207.

²⁷⁰ Cf. *RC* 51; Carr, 'Extent', p. 179; Carr, 'Jones Pierce Revisited', p. 130; Carr, *Medieval Anglesey*, p. 170; Jones Pierce, 'Medieval Settlement', pp. 10–11; *EWGT* 155, n. 1a; Bartrum, 'Hen Lwythau', p. 222, n. 1a. Hwfa's father, Cynddelw ap Cwnws, apparently fought with Gruffudd ap Cynan at the battle of Mynydd Carn in 1081: *VGC* §10; *HGK* 14.

²⁷¹ Cf. *EIWK* 207–8.

²⁷² See Figure 4.7.

In context, the claim that Einion descended from Meilyr Meilyrion ap Gwron ap Cunedda Wledig is a significant statement. The two sections on *Llwyth Kelling* and *Llwyth Aelan* follow on immediately from the section on *Meibion Cunedda Wledig* (§47), which is a version of the same Cunedda origin legend found in the Harleian genealogies.²⁷³ Perhaps the most significant addition in this version is the story about Cunedda's grandson, Cadwallon Lawhir. The text implies that Cunedda had not totally succeeded in expelling the Irish from Anglesey, meaning that the job was left to Cadwallon Lawhir and his cousins Cynyr, Meilyr and Yneigr, sons of Gwron ap Cunedda. In effect, this is a succinct origin legend for the status of the families of Hwfa ap Cynddelw and, more significantly, Einion ap Gwalchmai in Anglesey in the thirteenth century.

Other puzzling aspects of the text can be explained as attempts to bolster the position of Einion ap Gwalchmai's family. *Llwyth Kelling*, of which Einion ap Gwalchmai's kin-group, *Llwyth Aelan*, was really a segment, was the dominant land-holding group in the cantref of Aberffraw, comprising the commotes of Llifon and Malltraeth.²⁷⁴ This was still the case when the Extent of Anglesey was compiled in 1352, and it is very likely to have been so prior to the Edwardian conquest. For example, the Extent shows that in Llifon, in the large township of Conysio, there were five *gwelyau* named after the sons of Hwfa ap Cynddelw (§48.1); in Trefowen in the same commote there was a *gwely Owain ap Cadrod* (§48.6); in Eglwys Ail in Malltraeth there was a *gwely Ithel ap Dinhaearn* (§48.5); while in Lledwigan Llys and Trefddisteiniad, both in Malltraeth, there was the *gwely* of Einion ap Gwalchmai himself (§49.1).²⁷⁵ To the north of Llifon was the cantref of Cemais, made up of two commotes, Talybolion and Twrcelyn. Again, in Talybolion, many of the land-holdings named in the 1352 Extent took their names from members of *Llwyth Kelling* and *Llwyth Aelan* whose pedigrees are given in the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies.²⁷⁶ In Carneddor were four *gwelyau* named from sons of Morgenau ab Idwyn, including Goronwy ap Morgenau (§48.3); in Cemlyn were four *gwelyau* named from sons of Gwion ap Rhys Goch (§49.3), including Goronwy ap Gwion (§49.2); and in Caerdegog were three *gwelyau* descended from Gwilym and Gweirydd ap Rhys Goch (§49.3).²⁷⁷ The other part of Cemais, Twrcelyn, presents more of a problem. Here, the major land-holdings in the two primary free townships of Llysdulas and Bodafon in 1352 were not named from members of *Llwyth Kelling*. At that time, Llysdulas was divided between seven *gwelyau* named from the sons of two figures called Carwed and Griffri, while Bodafon was divided between the three *gwelyau* of *wyrion Sandde*, *wyrion Iddon* and *wyrion Arthen*.²⁷⁸ The eponym of one of the Llysdulas *gwelyau*, Hywel ap Carwed, appears in §48.4.1 as the father of Celeinion, mother of Meilyr ap Hwfa. The eponym of another Llysdulas *gwely*, Bleddrus ap Griffri, appears in §49.5 in a more interesting capacity. There we are told that 'Bleddrus ap Griffri oed henw Moelyn yn yawn' ('Bleddrus ap Griffri was correctly the name of Moelyn'), following which the pedigree of Moelyn, a supposed brother of Einion ap Gwalchmai's ancestor Tegeryn, is traced back through Aelan ap Greddf to Cillin. Strangely, subsequent details seem to relate to Bleddrus ap Griffri and make no mention of a Moelyn ab Aelan. Bartrum noted that, on chronological grounds, Bleddrus ap Griffri cannot be accepted as a son of Aelan.²⁷⁹ Bartrum saw this 'mis-identification' as an 'error', and consequently went so far as to edit the section on

²⁷³ See above, pp. 72–6. This important juxtaposition is entirely obscured by the rearrangement of the text in Bartrum's editions: *EWGT* 91–3 and 111–15.

²⁷⁴ Jones Pierce, 'Medieval Settlement', pp. 10–12; Carr, *Medieval Anglesey*, pp. 152–5.

²⁷⁵ *RC* 44, 46 and 51–2; Carr, 'Extent', pp. 161, 165–6, 179 and 181.

²⁷⁶ Jones Pierce, 'Medieval Settlement', pp. 8–10.

²⁷⁷ *RC* 58 and 60–61; Carr, 'Extent', pp. 198–9, 202–3 and 206.

²⁷⁸ Jones Pierce, 'Medieval Settlement', pp. 4–7. For Carwed, see Bartrum, 'Hen Lwythau', p. 224, n. 3.

²⁷⁹ Bartrum, 'Hen Lwythau', pp. 203 and 224, nn. 2m, 3 and 3a; *EWGT* 155.

Bleddrus ap Griffri separately from the section on *Llwyth Aelan*.²⁸⁰ However, I would argue that the statement in §49.5, while certainly propagating a mis-identification, is by no means an error, and should be read instead as a deliberate and blatant attempt to affiliate one of the prominent land-holding *gwelyau* of Twrcelyn, *gwely Bledrus ap Griffri*, to *Llwyth Aelan* and, more broadly, to *Llwyth Kelling*. The same explanation can account for another of the ‘errors’ that Bartrum detected in the text. He noticed that §48.2.2 seems to conflate Caradog Hardd, a member of *Llwyth Kelling*, with Cadrod Hardd, the father of Sanddef, Iddon and Arthen, the three brothers who gave their names to the *gwelyau* of Bodafon in Twrcelyn, who duly appear in the text as sons of Caradog Hardd in §48.2.2.²⁸¹ Bartrum attributed this to ‘confusion’, but again the effect is that the three land-holding *gwelyau* of Bodafon are affiliated to *Llwyth Kelling*. All of this indicates that the compiler of the text not only felt the need to provide a detailed account of Einion ap Gwalchmai and his extended land-holding kin-group, but also to engage in genealogical forgery in order to present the same family as the sole major land-holding force in the cantrefs of Aberffraw and Cemais.

These factors suggest that the text was composed in favour of Einion ap Gwalchmai and his family, perhaps even by Einion ap Gwalchmai himself. Like Gwyn ab Ednywain and Ednyfed Fychan, Einion ap Gwalchmai was, for a period, closely involved with Llywelyn ab Iorwerth’s administration. Although he is never explicitly called *distain* in surviving sources,²⁸² he was one of Llywelyn’s leading courtiers from around 1217 to 1223, when he witnessed a number of documents, and he may even have been Llywelyn’s court judge.²⁸³ This was after the period of Gwyn ab Ednywain’s prominence, but before Ednyfed Fychan’s position of dominance had been cemented. Does the period of Einion ap Gwalchmai’s activity in Llywelyn’s court indicate the chronological window for the composition of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies?

The text’s treatment of Gwenwynwyn ab Owain Cyfeiliog serves to strengthen the case. Gwenwynwyn was one of Llywelyn’s fiercest rivals in the early years of Llywelyn’s rule, but in 1216 he was driven out and, in an unusual move, Llywelyn took Gwenwynwyn’s territory, southern Powys, into his direct control.²⁸⁴ Llywelyn was allegedly acting as the custodian of Gwenwynwyn’s son, Gruffudd, but in reality he excluded Gruffudd from power until his own death in 1240. A pedigree for the rulers of southern Powys is a notable absence from the text, so much so that a section on the descendants of Bleddyn ap Cynfyn and on Gwenwynwyn in particular (§A3) was added to the hyparchetype of the II sub-branch, as is discussed below.²⁸⁵ However, the text does take every opportunity to demonstrate the ways in which Llywelyn was related to Gwenwynwyn’s family. Great attention is paid to Llywelyn’s mother Marared, the daughter of Madog ap Maredudd, last ruler of a united Powys. It must have been significant for Llywelyn that he was a grandson of the great Madog ap Maredudd, whereas Gwenwynwyn was not.²⁸⁶ In §12.1, it is pointed out that Gwenwynwyn’s mother was Gwenllïan ferch Owain Gwynedd, Llywelyn’s aunt. In §13.1, we are told that Cadfan ap Cadwaladr ap Gruffudd, a cousin of Llywelyn’s father, had the same mother as Owain Cyfeiliog. It would appear that the text is trying to justify Llywelyn’s rule of southern

²⁸⁰ Bartrum’s HL §2 and §3 in *EWGT* 112–15.

²⁸¹ Bartrum, ‘Hen Lwythau’, pp. 203 and 222–3, n. 1e; *EWGT* 155, n. 1e. See the note to §48.6 in Table A.4.3.1.

²⁸² Though note the presence of his descendants in Trefddisteiniad in Anglesey.

²⁸³ Stephenson, *Political Power*, pp. 14, 98 and 210; *AWR* nos 239, 242 and 250; Pryce, ‘Lawbooks’, pp. 44–5; Lynch, ‘Court Poetry’, pp. 169–70.

²⁸⁴ Stephenson, ‘Politics’, pp. 43–5; R. R. Davies, *Age of Conquest*, pp. 242–3; *HW* II, 649–50.

²⁸⁵ See below, pp. 218–19.

²⁸⁶ Llywelyn’s descent from Madog is mentioned several times in Prydydd y Moch’s praise poems for Llywelyn: e.g. CBT V, poems 17.15, 19.31, 22.19 and 24.2. Relatedly, Prydydd y Moch refers to Llywelyn as a member of the Lleision (Madog ap Maredudd’s kin-group): CBT V, poem 23.200.

Powys whilst avoiding direct acknowledgement of the status of Gwenwynwyn and his son Gruffudd, suggesting that the text was written after 1216.

From a contemporary perspective, the events of 1216 would have provided ample incentive for a new rationalisation of the political order in Wales in genealogical terms. This was the year in which Llywelyn ab Iorwerth presided over the famous council of Aberdyfi, where he divided the lands of Deheubarth between the warring descendants of the Lord Rhys.²⁸⁷ It is suggested in Chapter 3 that the dramatic demonstration of Llywelyn's hegemony over the southern princes in that year shaped the political assumptions of the compiler of the pedigrees of Rhys Gryg and Llywelyn in the Jesus 20 genealogies (JC 24–29).²⁸⁸ The compilation of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies may have been a similar response from Llywelyn's perspective, though one undertaken on a much grander scale.

It would therefore appear that the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies were composed either by or with deference to Einion ap Gwalchmai at some point between 1216 and c. 1223. The possibility of Einion ap Gwalchmai's association with the composition of this text is striking, because he may also have been associated with the recording of the poetry of his family. It has been noticed that there are certain orthographic traits in the Hendregadredd manuscript that are unique to the two quires containing the poetry of Einion, his father Gwalchmai and grandfather Meilyr Brydydd, possibly suggesting that the contents of these two quires were copied from a discrete exemplar.²⁸⁹ Perhaps this exemplar's body of poetry was committed to writing at the same time as Einion ap Gwalchmai was able to exert influence upon the composition of a genealogical text favourable to his family.

Provenance

Several aspects of the manuscript tradition can assist with localising the early lines of transmission. Important information can be gleaned from the texts transmitted alongside the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies in the early branches of the stemma. Of particular importance in this respect are the manuscripts of the X-branch.²⁹⁰ Both Hengwrt 33 and A contained copies of the short chronicle *Oed yr Arglwydd*, which shows clear signs of having been composed in Valle Crucis.²⁹¹ Another chronicle transmitted in manuscripts of the X-branch is *O Oes Gwrtheyrn*, which was used as a source for the composition of *Oed yr Arglwydd*.²⁹² Owain Wyn Jones has offered cogent reasons for regarding this text as a composition of the Cistercian abbey of Aberconwy.²⁹³ The X-branch is also witness to a particular version of *Bonedd y Saint* which includes a 'tail' of extra saints, all of whom are connected with cult centres in the north-east of Wales, and with lands belonging to Valle Crucis in particular.²⁹⁴ The same tail is found appended to the version of *Bonedd y Saint* copied by John Jones from Y into Cardiff 3.77. This is the only manuscript of the Y-branch that contains a copy of *Bonedd y Saint* deriving from the archetype of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies through the same lines of transmission as the latter. All this suggests that the archetype of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies contained a copy of *Bonedd y Saint* that had been expanded from a Valle Crucis point of view. In sum, therefore, the

²⁸⁷ See Chapter 1 above, p. 41.

²⁸⁸ See above, p. 118.

²⁸⁹ Charles-Edwards and Russell, 'Hendregadredd Manuscript', pp. 434–6 and 462, n. 32; for doubts (not necessarily well-founded), see N. A. Jones, 'Ffynonellau', p. 118, n. 151 (cf. pp. 103–6, 109–12 and 115–16).

²⁹⁰ The following arguments are laid out in full in Guy, 'Lost Medieval Manuscript'.

²⁹¹ The text is edited and translated in *ibid.*, pp. 101–4.

²⁹² For an edition and study of *O Oes Gwrtheyrn*, see O. W. Jones, 'O Oes Gwrtheyrn'.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁴ The tail comprises items 64–71 in Bartrum's edition of *Bonedd y Saint*: EWGT 64.

hyparchetype of the X-branch, and perhaps also the archetype of the whole tradition, contained a substantial chronicle of Aberconwy origin (*O Oes Gwrtheyrn*) in addition to a derivative chronicle of Valle Crucis origin (*Oed yr Arglwydd*), while the archetype itself certainly contained a Valle Crucis version of an earlier text (*Bonedd y Saint*). All of this suggests that the archetypal manuscript was written at Valle Crucis, using at least some materials derived from Aberconwy. The archetypal manuscript must have been written at some point before Hengwrt 33 was written, probably sometime in the first half of the fourteenth century.

Further evidence is provided by the geographical associations of the early copyists of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, particularly in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries when the text first surfaces in extant manuscripts. Of the three major branches of the stemma, the combined testimony of the X-branch and Gutun Owain's part of the Y-branch suggests that the tradition sprang from a well in the north-east of Wales intimately connected with Gutun Owain and Valle Crucis Abbey. Gutun Owain seems to have had access to almost every part of the tradition; he copied a derivative of Hengwrt 33 (Llanstephan 28), an early derivative of Σ (BL Add. 14919iii, fragment 2) and a complete version of the text derived from the hyparchetype of the Y-branch (Peniarth 131iii and Rylands Welsh 1). He also corrected his work at various points using both Y and Δ. It is very likely that Gutun Owain found at least some of his exemplars in Valle Crucis Abbey. He was local to the area of the abbey and for a time his uncle, Siôn ap Rhisiart, was the abbot.²⁹⁵ Of the fifteen poems written by Gutun Owain to abbots, six were to his uncle Siôn ap Rhisiart (abbot 1455–80) and eight were to Siôn ap Rhisiart's successor Dafydd ab Ieuan ab Iorwerth (abbot 1480–1503).²⁹⁶ Gutun Owain was clearly very familiar with the abbey's environs and personnel.

Various external references show that Valle Crucis was renowned as a centre of genealogical learning. In a tract concerning the division of Wales between the three sons of Rhodri Mawr, preserved in Llanstephan 12 (pp. 112–13) and probably derived from Ieuan Brechfa's work, readers are advised that 'pwyl bynag a vyno gwirioni hynn, aed i Lan Egwest yNgwynedd lle mae llyfyr gwyn, ag yno y traethir amdanant yn wrantedig' ('whosoever may want to confirm this, let him go to Valle Crucis in Gwynedd where there is a white book, and there they are discussed authoritatively').²⁹⁷ Another version of the same description of Rhodri Mawr's division of Wales was copied by Wiliam Llŷn into CUL Mm.1.13 (folio 14r), which he wrote in Llangollen near Valle Crucis. The same story appears again in an elaborate genealogy of Edward VI preserved in Royal 18. A. lxxv (f. 5r), a manuscript of ten folios written during Edward's reign, 1547–53.²⁹⁸ The genealogy begins with the following explanation (f. 2r):

This dissentt of the moost victorious and Chrysten prynce Kyng Edward the sext some and heire of Kyng Henry the viiith that goeth lynally to Brute is true lynage and agreith with the best cronycles in Wales and was at the true examinacion off the same, the abbatt of Llynegwestill [i.e. Valle Crucis], maister doctour Even Pole, Syr Johan Lyaff prist, Guttyn Owen, Robert ap Hoell ap Thomas, John Kyng, Madoc ap Llywelyn ap Hoell and Gruffudd ap Llywelyn Vichan, whiche hathe founde and proved this good and true lynage

Later in the genealogy, there is another similar statement (f. 4r):

²⁹⁵ Guy, 'Writing Genealogy', pp. 106–8; G. A. Williams, 'Owain'; Owen, 'Prolegomena', p. 351; Matonis, 'Gutun Owain', p. 160; Lloyd, *History of the Princes* III, 385–6.

²⁹⁶ Bachelery, *L'œuvre poétique*, pp. 116–83; Bowen, 'Guto'r Glyn', pp. 157–8; Smith, *Heads of Religious Houses* III, p. 344; Rowlands, 'Bardic Lore', pp. 143–4.

²⁹⁷ For the derivation of Llanstephan 12 from Ieuan Brechfa's work, see above, pp. 185–6. A version of the same tract is preserved in Ieuan Brechfa's hand in Peniarth 131viii, p. 217.

²⁹⁸ On this genealogy, see Guy, 'Writing Genealogy', pp. 107–8; Anglo, *Images*, pp. 46–7; Anglo, 'British History', pp. 24–5; Bartrum, 'Bonedd Henri', p. 330. For further discussion, see Chapter 5 below, p. 263.

[...] whiche is *proued* of a *truthe* by old *cronycles and good cronycles* in Walles, that is to saye Syr John Lyaffe priste, Guttyn Owayne, Gruffudd ap Llywelyn Vichan, Madoc ap Llywelyn ap Howell, Robert ap Howell ap Thomas of Ruthyn *and* other, at whiche making was John Kyng, and all at the *kyngis costis and commanndement* and had the *vyce and counsell* of the abbot of Llenegwestel [i.e. Valle Crucis] *and maister doctour* Owen Pole chanon of Herford

Although the opening preface mentions Edward VI, the focus of the genealogy itself is Henry VII, who heads every pedigree. The genealogy was probably composed during Henry VII's reign, as is also implied by the appearance among the contributors of Owen Pole, canon of Hereford (d. 1509), and Gutun Owain (d. c. 1500). It is striking testimony to the high regard with which Valle Crucis was held in relation to genealogical matters at that time. Later in the sixteenth century, David Powel (c. 1550–98) had a version of the same genealogy copied out for his own use (Cardiff 3.11iii, pp. 133–44), and in his *Historie of Cambria*, published in 1584, he claimed that the genealogy was the result of a royal commission to discover the pedigree of Henry VII's grandfather, Owen Tudor.²⁹⁹ Powel's notion of a commission may be supported by the claim in the Royal manuscript that the genealogy was created 'at the *kyngis costis and commanndement*'.

A further reference to the reputation of Valle Crucis for genealogical learning relates to Peniarth 127i, the influential genealogical manuscript written by Thomas ab Ieuan ap Deicws in 1510. A direct reference to Peniarth 127i by Gruffudd Hiraethog shows that the latter believed genealogical records from Valle Crucis to have been instrumental for the composition of the manuscript.³⁰⁰

Yr wyth nolen hyn hyd yma a ysgrifennais i Wyl y Seint o lyfr o law Syr Thomas ap Ieuan ap Deikws, a wnaeth ef wrth gyfarwyddyd llawer o awduriaid o achav yr abad Jhon o Lan Egwestl

I wrote these eight pages up to here on All Saints' Day from a book in the hand of Sir Thomas ab Ieuan ap Deicws, which he made with the very authoritative guidance of the genealogies of the abbot John of Valle Crucis

The abbot in question was John Lloyd, who is attested as abbot of Valle Crucis between c. 1503 and 1514.³⁰¹ As explained above, two of Thomas ab Ieuan ap Deicws's primary genealogical sources were a descendant of Σ and the work of Gutun Owain; since, as is explored below, Σ generally has more southerly connections, it is not unlikely that amongst *achav yr abad Jhon o Lan Egwestl* were genealogical manuscripts in the hand of Gutun Owain, if not indeed the earlier manuscripts used by Gutun Owain as well.

The major exception to the generally close association between Valle Crucis and the early stages in the transmission of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies is the Π sub-branch of the Y-branch. The chief early representatives of the Π sub-branch are Y, Δ and Σ. The whereabouts of Y prior to its induction into Robert Vaughan's library no later than c. 1620 is unknown. Δ was seemingly among the manuscripts encountered by Richard Longford in Rhos and Rhufoniog in the middle of the sixteenth century. However, the various accretions to this sub-branch point to more southerly associations. A major textual addition found in the

²⁹⁹ Powel, *Historie*, p. 391. For Cardiff 3.11, see *RMWL* II.i, 251–3; Pryce, 'Church', p. 19. Powel's copy of the genealogy in Cardiff 3.11iii (alongside the claim that it was the product of a royal commission) was inaccurately reproduced in an appendix to William Wynne's edition of Powel's *Historie*, first published in 1697: Wynne, *History*, pp. 331–44. In turn, Wynne's version was reprinted in Meyrick, *Heraldic Visitations* I, xiv–xx.

³⁰⁰ Quoted from Peniarth 134, p. 304 in T. Jones, 'Syr Thomas', p. 37.

³⁰¹ Smith, *Heads of Religious Houses III*, p. 344.

descendants of Y, Δ and Σ is §§A1–3, concerning the children of Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, which focus in particular on the pedigree of Gwenwynwyn ab Owain Cyfeiliog. The treatment of §34, the pedigree of Iorwerth Goch, in the members of the Π sub-branch suggests that the addition was made in Π itself. §34 is the only southern Powys pedigree in this part of *Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru* that appears in Rylands Welsh 1 and the derivatives of the Gutun Owain recension, implying that it was part of the archetypal text.³⁰² In the Cardiff 3.77 copy of Y, the additional Powys material of §§A1–3 is placed immediately before §34, as is replicated in the edition below. The same arrangement is found among the related Y-branch fragments in Peniarth 126, as mentioned above.³⁰³ In the descendants of Δ and Σ, however, §34 has been integrated into the additional Powys material, preceding Gwenwynwyn's pedigree. This might suggest that in Π the additional Powys material had been added marginally or on an inserted slip adjacent to the pre-existing pedigree of Iorwerth Goch, and was then treated differently in relation to the latter by the scribes of Y and Peniarth 126 (or their exemplars), on the one hand, and the scribe of the common exemplar of Δ and Σ, on the other. To a large extent this hypothesis is confirmed by what appears to be an entirely independent copy of *Plant Bleddyn ap Cynfyn* preserved in another part of Peniarth 126 (p. 8). This version of *Plant Bleddyn ap Cynfyn* seems to reflect a stage prior to its incorporation into the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies; the pedigree of Powys Wenwynwyn begins uniquely with Owain Cyfeiliog, rather than his son Gwenwynwyn, and, more importantly, the pedigree of Iorwerth Goch is entirely absent.

The immediate descendants of Σ provide more evidence for associations with southern Powys, the home of the dynasty of Gwenwynwyn ab Owain Cyfeiliog. The textually earliest copies of Σ were written by Ieuan Brechfa, Gutun Owain, Richard Broughton and the priest 'Sir' John Powys (the scribe of the exemplar copied by Roger Morris into NLW 3032Bi). Given the wide-ranging activities of Ieuan Brechfa and Gutun Owain, their appearance in this list is not, at first sight, particularly notable. Richard Broughton and John Powys, however, are of more immediate interest. Richard Broughton (1524–1604) was a politician, judge and antiquary from Lower Broughton and Owlbury, both near Bishop's Castle in southern Shropshire, just over the border from Powys Wenwynwyn and some fifteen miles south of Welshpool and the old Cistercian abbey of Strata Marcella.³⁰⁴ It is in Broughton's extracts from the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies that one sees the textually earliest version of Peniarth 127i's tract *Llyma Dalm o Weheliaethau a Llwythau Cymru*. Another textually early version of this material is found in NLW 3032Bi, copied from the lost manuscript of John Powys. As mentioned above, John Powys's family hailed from Mechain, and Gruffudd Hiraethog calls him a priest of Caereinion, only some nine miles west of Welshpool.³⁰⁵ There is strong evidence that *Llyma Dalm o Weheliaethau a Llwythau Cymru*, which evolved in the course of transmission from Σ to Peniarth 127i, acquired additional material of Strata Marcella provenance. This tract is a rearrangement and augmentation of material taken from three discrete sources: the *Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru* section of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, inherited from Σ; Gutun Owain's extended version of *Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru*, which includes a long tail about the families of north-east Wales and the March (LIIG (GO) G72–G78); and a third source containing detailed information about families from southern Powys and the middle March. All this material is rearranged so as to take the reader on a rough clockwise circuit of Wales, beginning in Powys Wenwynwyn and ending in the north-east.

³⁰² Cf. Guy, 'Second Witness', p. 80, n. 29.

³⁰³ See above, p. 170.

³⁰⁴ For Richard Broughton, see W. R. Williams, *History*, p. 90; P. Williams, *Council*, pp. 208, 284, 289, 310 and 344–5; Bland, "'As far from all Reuolt'", p. 77, n. 81.

³⁰⁵ See above, p. 192.

It is the detailed information provided by the third source that suggests a connection with Strata Marcella. In Appendix A.4.4, all the sections of *Llyma Dalm o Weheliaethau a Llwythau Cymru* that are not paralleled in either *Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru* or in Gutun Owain's extension of the latter are tabulated, alongside notes about the dates and geographical affiliations of the pedigrees' subjects. The result is striking; much of the remaining material concerns local and relatively obscure families living in the immediate vicinity of Strata Marcella. The text attributes *gweheliaethau* to locations where land was owned by the abbey, including Cegidfa (Guilsfield), Caereinion and Cadwnfa (Llanfihangel-yng-Ngwynfa).³⁰⁶ Although the text also describes the families of various regions of the middle March, such as Arwystli, Ceri, Elfael, Buellt and Brycheiniog, in some detail, only the families from the east of southern Powys are consistently attributed to specific, small localities. It seems likely that such detailed information came from one or more Strata Marcella sources. The hypothetical dates of such sources are very difficult to determine. The subjects of the pedigrees vary in date, though most lived either between the late twelfth and late thirteenth centuries, or in the early fifteenth century. It is possible that some of the information derives from a thirteenth-century genealogical source akin to *Bonedd y Llwythau*. Another possibility is that all of the information was written down as late as the fifteenth or early sixteenth century, and that the pedigrees of thirteenth-century individuals were included because they were remembered as important ancestors by families of a later period. Nevertheless, it is shown in Appendix A.4.4 that various members of the families described were involved with the administration of the abbey at different times in its history, sometimes as witnesses to charters, and so the abbey may have maintained genealogical records of those families prior to the formulation of the genealogies extant in the present tract.³⁰⁷

The appearance of Strata Marcella material in the line of textual transmission from Σ to Peniarth 127i might suggest that a copy of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies was, at some point, resident in Strata Marcella. This could have occurred at a comparatively early stage, considering that the additional material unique to the Π sub-group is focussed on Gwenwynwyn ab Owain Cyfeiliog, the abbey's most generous benefactor and son of the abbey's founder.³⁰⁸ Strata Marcella is exactly the kind of place where §§A1–3 might have been added to the text. Perhaps the Π sub-group originated in Strata Marcella, and copies of the sub-group stayed there until the Strata Marcella material was added to the common exemplar of Harley 1976, NLW 3032Bi and Peniarth 127i. This would explain an unusual detail in Gutun Owain's manuscript BL Add. 14919iii, fragment 2, a close relative of the previous three manuscripts. The earliest inscribed name in this manuscript is that of 'John Moltu[n] gent. in the monistary of Stredmarchell' (f. 142v), added in the mid-sixteenth century. Perhaps Gutun Owain left his manuscript in the abbey after copying some texts there. Strata Marcella was the mother house of Valle Crucis, which seems to have been responsible for initiating the other major branches of the textual tradition, and so it would not be surprising to learn that Strata Marcella had received a copy of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies at some stage from its productive daughter house.

The evidence discussed above suggests that the archetypal manuscript was written in the Cistercian abbey of Valle Crucis. There are two further considerations, however, which suggest that at least one copy of the text lay behind the archetype, and that this copy was written in the Cistercian abbey of Aberconwy. The first consideration relates to a text associated with the early transmission of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. This is the vernacular chronicle *O Oes Gwrtheyrn*, which, according to its editor, was originally composed in

³⁰⁶ For the lands owned by Strata Marcella, see D. H. Williams, *Atlas*, pp. 59–61.

³⁰⁷ Compare the preservation by English monastic houses of the genealogies of their lay patrons and benefactors: Jamroziak, 'Genealogy', pp. 115–18.

³⁰⁸ Thomas, *Charters*, pp. 3 and 10.

Aberconwy Abbey in or shortly after 1211/12, though it was later updated in or after 1265.³⁰⁹ *O Oes Gwrtheyrn* was present in the hyparchetype of the X-branch, and may well have been present too in the archetype of the whole tradition of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. The second consideration relates to the list of the sons of Egri of Talybolion near the beginning of the text (§5). There, an unusual parenthetical comment about Nwy ab Egri informs the reader that he is ‘y gwr y gelwyd o’e henw Karnwy’ (‘the man from whose name Carnwy was named’). Many of the legendary figures in the text are eponymous in some way, so why did Nwy occasion such comment? It may have been because Cornwy Lys in Anglesey (now Llanfair-yng-Nghornwy) was home to a substantial grange owned by Aberconwy Abbey.³¹⁰ Aberconwy does not seem to have owned the grange prior to Edward I’s grant in 1284,³¹¹ but it is possible that the text’s parenthetical comment, if motivated by Aberconwy’s acquisition, derives from a gloss made on an early copy present in the abbey at some point after that date. These considerations may suggest that, although the archetype of the text was very probably written at Valle Crucis, the archetype’s own exemplar may have been brought to Valle Crucis from Aberconwy, possibly sometime after 1284.

Origin

It was established above that the text maintains a strong affinity with the family of Einion ap Gwalchmai, lavishing especial attention on Einion himself.³¹² The natural deduction from this is that the text was compiled by either Einion or a close associate. As a poet from a learned family and, from around 1217 to 1223, one of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth’s leading courtiers, Einion would have been ideally placed to gather the appropriate information. The text is evidently focussed squarely on Llywelyn ab Iorwerth’s Gwynedd, chiefly north of the Dyfi and west of the Clwyd.

Where might Einion or an associate have compiled the text? During the thirteenth century, there were certain leading families in Gwynedd that were closely associated with literary activity.³¹³ One such family was that of Einion himself, a family which produced three generations of poets.³¹⁴ Another was the family that the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies refer to as *Gwyr Arfon* (§55). Among members of this family were the famous lawyers, Cyfnerth ap Morgenau and Iorwerth ap Madog, the latter’s brother Einion ap Madog, who was a poet (fl. 1234 × 1239), the judge Madog Coch Ynad, and Madog’s probable son, the poet Gruffudd ab yr Ynad Coch (fl. 1277–83).³¹⁵ The law-books bearing the names of Cyfnerth and Iorwerth show that members of this family had a reputation for deep involvement with written literary activity. Although it has been argued that the attribution of the Cyfnerth redaction of the Welsh laws to Cyfnerth and his father Morgenau in some manuscripts is incorrect, Cyfnerth’s association with a law-book is attested separately in the prologue to the Test Book of the Iorwerth redaction found in Cotton Caligula A. iii, part ii (‘C’), one of the earliest manuscripts of *Llyfr Iorwerth*.³¹⁶ This and the other earliest extant copies of *Llyfr Iorwerth* belong to the middle of the thirteenth century, and may have been written within Iorwerth’s lifetime.³¹⁷ Another is the Black Book of Chirk (Peniarth 29, ‘A’), which, so it

³⁰⁹ O. W. Jones, ‘*O Oes Gwrtheyrn*’.

³¹⁰ D. H. Williams, *Atlas*, p. 36.

³¹¹ Carr, *Medieval Anglesey*, pp. 271–2.

³¹² See above, pp. 213–16.

³¹³ Cf. Pryce, ‘Lawbooks’, pp. 44–5.

³¹⁴ See, in general, CBT I, though compare N. A. Jones, ‘Meilyr’.

³¹⁵ Jenkins, ‘Family’; Jenkins, ‘Iorwerth’; Jenkins, ‘Yr Ynad Coch’.

³¹⁶ Pryce, ‘Prologues’, pp. 155–7. The prologue to the Test Book in Caligula A. iii is edited and translated in Russell, *Prologues*, pp. 39–41.

³¹⁷ *MWM* 58 and 179–82.

has been argued, may have been ‘the product of some form of law-school certainly in North Wales, perhaps in Arfon’.³¹⁸ This manuscript, like the slightly later BL Add. 14931 (‘E’), contains a story about the *Breiniau Gwŷr Arfon* (‘Privileges of the Men of Arfon’), which verifies a certain detail by claiming that ‘Iorwerd uab Madauc druy audurdaut y kyuaruydyt ay cadarnaa’ (‘Iorwerth ap Madog through the authority of the tradition confirms it’).³¹⁹ Caligula A. iii itself, on the other hand, may have been written in Valle Crucis Abbey rather than in a secular environment.³²⁰

Is it possible to imagine that the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies were composed in a secular literary environment maintained by a family like that of Iorwerth ap Madog, akin to a ‘law-school’? The contents of the genealogical compilation are certainly overwhelmingly secular. However, it is observed below that the original compiler of the genealogies must have drawn upon a wide variety of written literary texts: not only genealogical texts of different shades, but also written copies of englyn poetry, *Brut y Brenhinedd*, *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* and a chronicle related to *Brut y Tywysogyon*. Overall, in early thirteenth-century Gwynedd, it seems more likely that such a range of textual resources would have been more readily available in an ecclesiastical library than in a personal secular collection. This is not to say that a secular individual like Einion ap Gwalchmai did not compile the text; but the compiler may have worked in an ecclesiastical institution in order to do so.³²¹

A close comparison between the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies and the vernacular chronicle *O Oes Gwrtheyrn* suggests that Aberconwy Abbey, where the earliest discernible copy of the genealogical collection was probably written, may indeed have been where the collection was originally composed. Owain Wyn Jones has noticed several significant parallels between the two texts.³²² *O Oes Gwrtheyrn* was originally written in or shortly after 1211/12, very close to the suggested date for the genealogies (1216 × c. 1223). Both texts use the formula *yn oes [NAME]* to periodise Welsh history, as shown in Table 4.2 above in relation to the genealogies. *O Oes Gwrtheyrn* is the only extant Welsh chronicle that structures time in this way (*OOG* §§1, 10, 64). In the genealogies, it is significant that the formula is even found among the legendary genealogies at the beginning of the collection (§5), the compilation of which is otherwise difficult to associate firmly with the genealogies from §11 onwards. Both texts also show especial interest in the same events: the battle of the Conwy in 881 (*LIIG* 28.5; *OOG* §§13–14), about which both texts preserve information that is unavailable in other sources, and the blinding of hostages in Coed Ceiriog by Henry II in 1165 (*LIIG* 12.10.1; *OOG* §37). The region of the Conwy receives additional attention in the genealogies when the following proverb is quoted: ‘ac etwa y diarhebir: is Konwy o ryfel Kuneda’ (‘and still it is said: below the Conwy from the war of Cunedda’, §14). In this case, however, the proverb might refer to the region of Gwynedd Is Conwy (north-east Wales) in general rather than to the immediate environs of the river. Nevertheless, these parallels encourage one to think that the two texts were composed in the same literary milieu. In the case of *O Oes Gwrtheyrn*, this milieu is demonstrably that of Aberconwy Abbey. It seems very likely that the same applies to the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies.

³¹⁸ Russell, ‘Scribal (In)competence’, p. 171; cf. Pryce, ‘Lawbooks’, p. 42; Russell, *Welsh Law*, p. xliii.

³¹⁹ Text and discussion in Owen, ‘Royal Propaganda’, pp. 238–45 and 252–4; cf. Sims-Williams, ‘Clas Beuno’, pp. 118–19 and 121–2.

³²⁰ *MWM* 189–92.

³²¹ It may be relevant that one of Einion’s poems to God has been interpreted as a composition intended for performance in a religious community, suggesting that Einion may have retired to a monastery: CBT I, poem 28; also edited and translated in McKenna, *Medieval Welsh Religious Lyric*, 188–91 (no. 9); cf. *ibid.*, p. 120.

³²² Jones, ‘*O Oes Gwrtheyrn*’. References to sections of *O Oes Gwrtheyrn* (*OOG*) in this paragraph are to Jones’s edition.

Aberconwy Abbey was not only patronised by Llywelyn ab Iorwerth; it developed a strong and enduring relationship with the princely family.³²³ At the end of his life, Llywelyn ab Iorwerth became a monk at the abbey, shortly before his death and burial there.³²⁴ Abbots of Aberconwy began working for the princes of Gwynedd in an official capacity, and, for Llywelyn ap Gruffudd at least, the literary facilities of the abbey may have been used for the creation and storage of the prince's documents.³²⁵ It may not be unimportant that the two spurious Aberconwy charters, which are dated to 1199 but in reality are probably productions of the late thirteenth century designed to support the abbey's position following the Edwardian conquest, ignore the probable role played by Llywelyn ab Iorwerth's uncles and cousins in the abbey's foundation and endowment in order to cast Llywelyn in the role of sole benefactor.³²⁶ The same stance is taken in the collection of historical materials known as the Register of Aberconwy, a collection probably produced for Hailes Abbey in the fifteenth century using sources from Aberconwy and other Welsh Cistercian houses.³²⁷ The Register only includes the text of a grant to the abbey by Llywelyn's cousin Gruffudd ap Cynan ab Owain Gwynedd on the false pretence that the person concerned was Llywelyn's great-grandfather of the same name, while it elsewhere emphasises Llywelyn's own importance as a great benefactor of the abbey.³²⁸ Needless to say, Llywelyn's once powerful cousins are also omitted from the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. Perhaps the same policy of *damnatio memoriae* was at work in the charters, Register and genealogies.

Sources: The Original Text

A variety of pre-existing written sources were used for the composition of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. These included genealogical, prose and poetic sources. Some sections, such as *Plant Brychan*, were taken almost entirely from one or more earlier sources, while other sections, such as *Bonedd y Llwythau*, consist either of original material or material deriving from sources that no longer survive. Below is a section by section survey of all the identifiable written sources that contributed to the text's composition.

The first section, *Plant Brychan*, has been taken over in its entirety from a pre-existing version of the Brychan Tract. As is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, the archetype of the extant Brychan Tract was probably written in the late eleventh or early twelfth century, and six witnesses to it survive: two Latin witnesses, called *De situ Brecheniauc* and *Cognacio Brychan*, which have a hagiographical narrative and lists of Brychan's sons and daughters, and four Welsh witnesses, comprising *Sarth Marthin gynt*, *ynawr Brycheiniawc*, which is a Welsh version of the narrative, and JC 1–3, LIIG 1 and *Llyma Frychan Brycheiniog a'i blant*, which have only the lists of children. The version in LIIG 1 does not appear to share textual innovations consistently with any other witnesses, suggesting that its exemplar derived independently from the archetype of the Brychan Tract. Although LIIG 1 has several unique readings compared with the other witnesses, its most distinctive feature, as Bartrum noted, is its rearrangement of the order of Brychan's daughters, so as to list all the married daughters first.³²⁹

³²³ Stephenson, 'Rulers', p. 91. Although Llywelyn's extant charters for Aberconwy are forgeries of the later thirteenth century, they may be based on one or more original charters: AWR 360–3; Insley, 'Fact', pp. 246–7; Stephenson, 'Rulers', pp. 97–8. For the lands granted in the primary charter, see Gresham, 'Aberconwy Charter'; Gresham, 'Aberconwy Charter: Further Consideration'.

³²⁴ BT (PRS) 1240.

³²⁵ Stephenson, *Political Power*, pp. 33–4; Smith, *Llywelyn*, p. 322; AWR 136–7; Insley, 'Fact', p. 237.

³²⁶ Insley, 'Fact', pp. 242–3; Insley, 'Wilderness Years', pp. 169–70 and n. 44.

³²⁷ See Stephenson, *Aberconwy Chronicle*.

³²⁸ Insley, 'Fact', p. 249; Insley, 'Wilderness Years', p. 169, n. 42.

³²⁹ EWGT 81.

Following *Plant Brychan* is *Oes yr Arwyr*, the first part of which provides long lists of the children of various literary and legendary heroes. It would appear that written englyn poetry was a significant source of information for this section.³³⁰ This is demonstrable in the cases of *Plant Kyndrwyn* and *Plant Llywarch Hen* due to the survival of *Canu Heledd* and *Canu Llywarch Hen*, but may once have been true of the other lists too. A link between the poetry and the genealogical lists is suggested in the first instance by the coincidence in the ordering of Cyndrwyn's daughters in *Plant Kyndrwyn* and in three consecutive stanzas of *Canu Heledd*.³³¹ In *Canu Heledd* stanzas 107–9, the third line of each stanza consists of a list of three daughters of Cyndrwyn, given as 'Heledd Gwladus a Gwenddwyn' (107), 'Ffreuer Medwyl a Medlan' (108) and 'Gwledyr Meysir a Cheinfryd' (109).³³² Compare this with the list of Cyndrwyn's daughters in LIIG 2: *Ffefur, Medfyl, Medlan, Gwledyr, Meissir, Keinvryt, Heled, Gwladus* and *Gwendwyn*. In each source, the names occur in the same sets of three, and each set of three is internally ordered in the same way; the only difference is that, in LIIG 2, the daughters from stanza 107 are listed last rather than first. A similar coincidence in ordering is found in *Canu Llywarch Hen* and LIIG 6 ('*Plant Llywarch Hen*'). In stanza 43 of the former, three consecutive lines of poetry name three of Llywarch's sons as *Gwell, Sawyl* and *Lloryen*.³³³ Again, these three sons recur consecutively in LIIG 6 in the same order.

The coincidence in ordering implies some sort of relationship between the texts, but further examples suggest that the direction of borrowing was from the poetry to the genealogies. In *Canu Heledd* stanzas 88–9, we are told the following about a certain *Hedyn*:³³⁴

As clywo a duw a dyn.
As clywo y ieueinc a hyn.
meuyl barueu madeu hedyn.

Ym byw ehedyn ehedyei
dillat yn aros gwaedvei.
Ar glas vereu naf nwyfei.

Ifor Williams and Jenny Rowland agree that the form *ehedyn* in the first line of the second stanza is probably an error for the name *Hedyn*, influenced by the following verb *ehedyei* ('he used to fly, shoot forth').³³⁵ Nonetheless, *Ehedyn* appears in LIIG 2 as the name of a son of Cyndrwyn. It seems that the genealogies incorporate a textual error deriving from the specific context of the first line of the second stanza quoted.

Two other examples from *Canu Llywarch Hen* make the same point. Stanza 44, which describes the grave of Llyngedwy ap Llywarch, begins 'Bed rud neus cud tywarch' ('Sod covers a brown grave').³³⁶ Williams and Rowland agree that *rud* ('ruddy, brown') is used here as an adjective to describe the grave of Llyngedwy, who is named in the final line, yet in LIIG 6 *Rut* is named alongside *Llynghedwy* as a son of Llywarch.³³⁷ The following stanza

³³⁰ *CLIH* xxx; Bromwich, 'Early Welsh Genealogies', p. 179; *EWSP* 56 and 60; Sims-Williams, 'Provenance', p. 39.

³³¹ *EWSP* 168; cf. *WCD* 173.

³³² *EWSP* 444. Note that these three stanzas occur only in the second copy of the englynion in John Davies of Mallwyd's *Liber B* (NLW 4973B), and not in the earlier White or Red Books: *EWSP* 399–401; Rowland, 'Manuscript Tradition', pp. 83–5.

³³³ *EWSP* 412.

³³⁴ *EWSP* 441. Rowland translates as follows: 'Let both God and man hear it, / let both the young and the older ones hear: / shame on their manhood for failing Hedyn. // In the lifetime of Hedyn he used to shoot forth / ? ... enduring on the battlefield. / With the grey spears of a lord he incited.' (*EWSP* 491).

³³⁵ *CLIH* 45 and 233; *EWSP* 441 and 605.

³³⁶ *EWSP* 412 and 472.

³³⁷ *CLIH* 94; cf. *EWSP* 56 and 472.

of *Canu Llywarch Hen*, stanza 45, concerns a certain Talan, who is named in the final line: ‘talan teleisty deigyr hediw’ (‘Talan you deserved tears today’).³³⁸ In LIIG 6, *Talan* is absent, though another son appears called *Deigir*.³³⁹ It is likely that both *Rut* and *Deigir* entered the list of Llywarch Hen’s sons in LIIG 6 due to misinterpretations of written englyn poetry.

In the second half of *Oes yr Arwyr*, which predominately concerns the Men of the North, there are traces of the influence of *Brut y Brenhinedd*. In LIIG 7.2, the sons of Cynfarch ap Meirchion are listed as ‘Llew ap Kynfarch, Arawn ap Kynfarch, Urien ap Kynfarch, Anarawn ap Kynfarch, archesgob Llydaw’. The names of the first two of Urien’s brothers derive ultimately from *De gestis Britonum*, where the three together are called *Loth*, *Vrianus* and *Auguselus*.³⁴⁰ In every version of *Brut y Brenhinedd*, these three names are given as *Llew*, *Urien* and *Arawn*, just as in LIIG 7.2.³⁴¹ Since neither *Llew* nor *Arawn* are obvious Welsh versions of *Loth* or *Auguselus*, it is unlikely that the redactor of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies hit upon the same name substitutions as *Brut y Brenhinedd* accidentally; more probably, the redactor was privy to the process of name substitution that accompanied the translation of *De gestis Britonum* into multiple Welsh versions during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.³⁴² *Llew*, *Arav[n]* and *Vrien* also appear together as sons of ‘Llywarch’ (probably a mistake for ‘Cynfarch’) in an englyn preserved in the Black Book of Carmarthen, but this is most probably due to the influence of *Brut y Brenhinedd*.³⁴³

Another likely example of dependence on *Brut y Brenhinedd*, discussed in greater detail in Appendix A.4.5, is the name *Lleon* in Llywelyn ab Iorwerth’s pedigree (LIIG 11.1). The name appears in a section of the pedigree based on *De gestis Britonum*, as is mentioned below.³⁴⁴ In *De gestis Britonum*, the equivalent name is *Leil*, the eponymous founder of *Kaerleil*, Carlisle.³⁴⁵ The substitution of *Lleon* for *Leil* in the pedigree derives from a mistake in *Brut y Brenhinedd*, where *Kaerleil* is misidentified as *Caer Lleon*, ‘Chester’, the eponymous founder of which was thus termed *Lleon*.³⁴⁶ It is uncertain whether the appearance of the correct Welsh equivalent of *Leil*, namely *Lliwelydd* (< *Caer Liwelydd*, ‘Carlisle’), in the version of the same pedigree in *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* is a deliberate correction of *Brut y Brenhinedd*’s *Lleon* or whether *Lliwelydd* was the form used to translate Geoffrey’s *Leil* directly at the time the pedigree was composed in the twelfth century.³⁴⁷ The name and epithet of *Lleon*’s son, *Run Baladyr Bras*, in the same pedigree also supports the case for LIIG 11.1 having been influenced by *Brut y Brenhinedd*, because this was the particular way in which Geoffrey’s *Rud Hudibras* was rendered into Welsh by the Llanstephan 1 and Dingestow versions of *Brut y Brenhinedd*.³⁴⁸

There are two further indications that the compiler of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies was aware of *De gestis Britonum*, whether in Latin or in Welsh. In LIIG 9.1, Maxen Wledig is called the son of Llywelyn, uncle of Elen Luyddog; these relationships derive from

³³⁸ EWSP 412 and 472.

³³⁹ Cf. EWSP 56–7.

³⁴⁰ DGB IX.152.201–2.

³⁴¹ E.g. BD IX.9; *Brut y Brenhinedd: Cotton Cleopatra Version*, f. 81r (ed. and transl. Parry, p. 163). Cf. Roberts, *Brut*, pp. 51–2, n. 928.

³⁴² Cf. Guy, ‘Constantine’, pp. 400–1; Sims-Williams, *Rhai Addasiadau*, pp. 6–9; Roberts, ‘Treatment’, p. 289; Lewis, *Brut Dingestow*, pp. xxix and xxxv; Roberts, *Brut*, p. xxxix.

³⁴³ LIDC poem 40, englyn 3; Bromwich, ‘CLIH. viii. 3’; TYP⁴ 414; EWSP 55. Bartrum unconvincingly suggested that the englyn represents a tradition ‘anterior to the time of Geoffrey of Monmouth’: ‘Bonedd yr Arwyr’, p. 243, n. 6.

³⁴⁴ See below, p. 240.

³⁴⁵ DGB II.28.110–12.

³⁴⁶ Roberts, ‘Treatment’, p. 282.

³⁴⁷ The appearance of *Lliwelydd* in Harley 673 might suggest the latter: see Appendix A.4.5.

³⁴⁸ Roberts, ‘Treatment’, p. 285.

Geoffrey.³⁴⁹ Similarly, in LIIG 21, Cadwaladr's mother is said to have been a sister of Penda of Mercia, as in *De gestis Britonum*.³⁵⁰

The ninety-four-generation pedigree of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth in LIIG 11.1 has a long history of development, as is explored in Chapter 5. It derives ultimately from the ninth-century pedigree of Rhodri Mawr, traced back through Rhodri's grandmother Epyllt to Cunedda Wledig and then to Beli Mawr (HG 1; GM 2; cf. *VS Cadoci*, §47; *VS Carantoci II*, §1). During the formation of the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension in the twelfth century, a new pedigree was created for Rhodri Mawr that traced his lineage back through a purely agnatic line to Coel Hen rather than Cunedda Wledig, and thence to Beli Mawr (cf. JC 17 and 5).³⁵¹ The next stage of development was the extension of Beli Mawr's own pedigree back in time, ultimately to Adam, which was achieved by combining elements from various sources.³⁵² It seems that the pedigree of Beli Mawr to Adam was initially attached to Rhodri's agnatic pedigree through Coel Hen rather than the earlier pedigree through Epyllt and Cunedda Wledig. This is how the pedigree appears in the twelfth-century *Vita Griffini filii Conani*, as well as in the related pedigrees of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in the late thirteenth-century Exeter 3514 and the early fourteenth-century Mostyn genealogies (MG 1).³⁵³ The common exemplar of the latter two texts had clumsily joined together the pedigree of Rhodri Mawr back to Cunedda with the pedigree of Coel Hen back to Adam by making Cunedda Wledig's grandfather, Padarn Peisrudd, the son of Cenau ap Coel Godebog. A far neater way of incorporating both of Rhodri Mawr's pedigrees into a single text is found in the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. There, the pedigree of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth is initially traced back to Adam through Cunedda Wledig's pedigree (§11.1), but the agnatic pedigree of Rhodri Mawr back to Coel Godebog is then used in a later section (§11.1.4) as the ancestry of Angharad ferch Maredudd ab Owain, mother of Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, the agnatic ancestor of Llywelyn's mother Marared (see Figure 4.7).

The use made by the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies of both Rhodri Mawr's agnatic pedigree and the pedigree of Beli Mawr back to Adam shows that the compiler had access to a developed version of the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension. A number of other genealogies in the compilation point to the same conclusion. Most obvious are the pedigrees of Rhodri Mawr's wife Angharad, grandmother Nest and great-great-grandmother Celeinion (LIIG 18–20), traced back through various earlier lineages in exactly the same way as in the Jesus 20 genealogies (JC 18, 19 and 21). Some textual evidence serves to show that the versions of these pedigrees in the Jesus 20 genealogies and Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies are related more closely to each other than either are to the Harleian genealogies (see Appendix A.3.3). For example, Selyf Sarffgadau has been introduced into the Powys pedigree of Cadell ap Brochfael, and the name Dyfnwallon has been changed to the more common Dyfnwal in the Ceredigion pedigree. The only significant difference between the two is that LIIG 19 makes Nest the mother of Merfyn, rather than the mother of Rhodri as in JC 18; this is probably because of an error in the transmission of the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension whereby Merfyn's name was accidentally omitted from the pedigree of the kings of Gwynedd, making Rhodri appear as the son rather than grandson of Epyllt ferch Cynan. To compensate, Nest was made into Rhodri's grandmother rather than his mother.³⁵⁴ A further connection with the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension might be the inclusion in the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies of the two Dogfeiling pedigrees of *Euryt* and *Cynwrig*

³⁴⁹ *DGB* V.80–1.

³⁵⁰ *DGB* XI.202.516–17.

³⁵¹ See above, pp. 116–18.

³⁵² See Chapter 5 below, pp. 235–43.

³⁵³ For the latter pedigrees, see Chapter 5 below, pp. 243–5.

³⁵⁴ As noticed by Sims-Williams: 'Historical Need', pp. 21–2.

ab Elaeth (LIIG 46). These are only paralleled by the pedigree of [?]euruc³⁵⁵ ab Elaeth in the Jesus 20 genealogies (JC 50), and so may have been inherited from the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension.³⁵⁶ In LIIG 46.2, the pedigree of Cynwrig ab Elaeth is traced back through Cunedda Wledig to Beli Mawr via the usual pedigree, except that it includes the additional generation *Peryf* (literally ‘king, lord’), attested otherwise only by the equivalent pedigree in the Life of St David, which has *Perum* in the same position.³⁵⁷

Although the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies drew on the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension, and would have had access to Rhodri Mawr’s pedigrees in that way, some features of LIIG 11.1 show an especial affinity with the version in *Vita Griffini filii Conani* and *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*. This text was certainly used by the compiler of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. It is quoted almost verbatim in LIIG 16 (*Mam Gruffud ap Kynan*).³⁵⁸ Appendix A.4.6 suggests that the compiler used the Welsh *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* rather than the Latin *Vita Griffini filii Conani*. In addition to certain verbal parallels between *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* and LIIG 16,³⁵⁹ the table in Appendix A.4.6 shows that, within this section, there are two passages in *Vita Griffini filii Conani* that are not found in either *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* or LIIG 16. However, an element of doubt exists because the Latin text of *Vita Griffini filii Conani* survives only in a single sixteenth-century manuscript, the text of which may not entirely represent the Latin text that would have circulated in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Nonetheless, if the evidence in Appendix A.4.6 can be interpreted to mean that the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies used the Welsh *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*, then the activity of the compiler of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies provides a *terminus ante quem* of c. 1223 for the translation of *Vita Griffini filii Conani* into Welsh. The other *terminus ante quem* is the date of the *Historia*’s earliest manuscript, Peniarth 17, which Daniel Huws would place in the second half of the thirteenth century.³⁶⁰ It has also been suggested that Peniarth 17, along with other manuscripts to which the same scribe contributed (Peniarth 14 and the Book of Aneirin, Cardiff 2.81), was written in Aberconwy Abbey, the place where the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies may have been assembled.³⁶¹

It is thus no surprise that Rhodri Mawr’s lineages in LIIG 11.1 and 11.1.4 show affinities with *Vita Griffini filii Conani* and particularly with *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* against even other derivatives of the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension: these include *Gwair* (LIIG 11.1.4; *HGK*; more correctly *Gwen* in *VGC*) for *Cein* as the grandson of Llywarch Hen (cf. *Ceit* JC 17);³⁶² *Brychwein* (LIIG 11.1; *HGK*; *VGC*) for *Brythwein* in the ancestry of Cunedda Wledig (cf. *Brithguein* HG 1; *Prydein* JC 6; *Brydhweyn* Harley 673);³⁶³ and the description of Brutus as *twyssawg Rufain* (LIIG 11.1; *HGK*; *ducis Romani* in *VGC*), which is absent elsewhere (cf. Exeter 3514, MG 1 and Harley 673).³⁶⁴ However, there are other features shared by the Welsh and Latin Lives of Gruffudd ap Cynan that are not present in the

³⁵⁵ For the question of the initial letter, see the note to this name in the edition in Appendix B.2.

³⁵⁶ For these pedigrees, see too Chapter 3 above, p. 139.

³⁵⁷ *VS David*, §68. Note that Sharpe and Davies incorrectly render *Perum* into modern Welsh as *Perwm* rather than *Peryf*.

³⁵⁸ As recognised in Thornton, ‘Genealogy’, pp. 79 and 81, n. 4.

³⁵⁹ Note in particular the description of Gruffudd’s half-brother Rhanallt, who in the *Historia* ‘a enillws dwy rann o Ywerdon ym pytheunos a mis’ and in LIIG 16.2.1 ‘a oresgynnws dwy rann o Iwerdon yn oet pythefnos a mis’. The equivalent in the Latin is ‘ut intra dies quatuordecim Hyberniae binas partes sibi subiugarit’.

³⁶⁰ *MWM* 58.

³⁶¹ *MWM* 75.

³⁶² See above, pp. 116–17.

³⁶³ For the pedigree of Llywelyn ab Gruffudd in Harley 673, a fifteenth-century manuscript, see Thornton, ‘Neglected Genealogy’, p. 21.

³⁶⁴ For the readings of Exeter 3514 and Harley 673, see *ibid.*, pp. 12 and 21.

Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, such as the omissions of Idwal Foel, Rhodri Molwynog, *Te(i)lpyyll* (great-grandfather of Coel Hen) and *Cetim* (great-grandson of Noah). Whilst it is possible that the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies used a version of the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension that was particularly closely related to the version used for the composition of *Vita Griffini filii Conani*, accounting for the partial sharing of innovations, it is perhaps more likely that the compiler of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies simply combined elements from *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* and a separate version of the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension when constructing the genealogies, since both sources are known to have been used elsewhere in the text.

In the section *Meibion Rhodri Mawr*, there are some indications that a chronicle has been used to supplement the genealogical record of Rhodri Mawr's sons and descendants. The relevant notices are the killing of Custenin Du in the battle of Hiraddug (§28.1.3); the killing of Clydog ap Cadell by Meurig his brother (§28.2.4); the injuring of Tudwal Gloff at the battle of the taking of the Conwy (§28.5); and the killing of Rhodri Mawr and his son Gwriad by the Saxons in the same battle (§28.6). For the first two notices, the only close parallels are found in *Brut y Tywysogyon*; none of the equivalent surviving Latin chronicles records the battle of Hiraddug or the role of Meurig in the death of Clydog ap Cadell.³⁶⁵ *Brut y Tywysogyon* is based on a Latin chronicle compiled originally at Strata Florida, and the presence of related annalistic material in *O Oes Gwrtheyrn* shows that Aberconwy Abbey, Strata Florida's daughter house and the possible centre for the compilation of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, had access to its mother house's chronicle records.³⁶⁶ Tudwal Gloff does not appear in any extant chronicles, though the battle of Conwy is usually recorded.³⁶⁷ The killing of Rhodri Mawr by the Saxons is recorded across the chronicle record, though there is some interesting variation regarding Gwriad.³⁶⁸ The various versions of *Brut y Tywysogyon*, in addition to the Breviate chronicle, disagree with the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, casting Gwriad as the brother rather than the son of Rhodri.³⁶⁹ The Cottonian chronicle more correctly says that Rhodri was killed with his son, but does not name the son.³⁷⁰ Only the Harleian chronicle, Harley 3859's copy of a version of the St Davids chronicle as it stood in the mid-tenth century, records all the information exactly as it is found in LIIG 28.6.³⁷¹

The agreement between the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, on the one hand, and *Brut y Tywysogyon* and the Harleian chronicle, on the other, is interesting because of the evidence that, in addition to the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension, the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies made significant use of a text derived from the St Davids recension. I have explored this question in detail elsewhere.³⁷² A text of the St Davids recension was one of the main sources for *Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru*, the section following *Meibion Rhodri Mawr*. It is in the second half of that section, dealing with the period 'er yn oes Arthur hyt yn oes feibion Rodri Mawr' ('from the age of Arthur to the age of the sons of Rhodri Mawr', LIIG 37), that the St Davids recension has influenced the text most extensively. This is clearest, perhaps, in the pedigree of Owain ap Hywel Dda, during whose reign the St Davids recension was

³⁶⁵ *BT* (R) [920]; (S) 917 [920]; (PS) 979 [980]; (R) [980]. For Clydog's death in the Latin chronicles, see *AC* (AC) [920].

³⁶⁶ Cf. O. W. Jones, 'O Oes Gwrtheyrn'.

³⁶⁷ Cf. *AC* (ABC) [881]; *BT* (PRS) 880 [881]. Tudwal Gloff was claimed as the ancestor of Llywarch ap Brân (LIIG 50.1). Presumably the supposed injuring of Tudwal at the battle of the Conwy was used to explain why Llywarch ap Brân's family was descended from a son of Rhodri Mawr but had not remained royal.

³⁶⁸ As discussed in Guy, 'Second Witness', p. 90.

³⁶⁹ *BT* (PS) 877 [878]; (R) [878]; *AC* (B) [878].

³⁷⁰ *AC* (C) [878].

³⁷¹ *AC* (A) [878].

³⁷² Guy, 'Second Witness'.

created (LIIG 38.1; cf. HG 2), and in the Glastening and Penllyn pedigrees, which only otherwise occur in the St Davids recension (LIIG 39 and 41; cf. HG 21 and 25). It is also likely that the pedigrees attributed to Meirionydd, Ardudwy, Rhos and Rhufoniog (LIIG 42–5; cf. HG 3, 17, 18 and 20), as well as the enlarged Cunedda origin story in the following section (LIIG 47; cf. HG 32–3), derive mainly from the St Davids recension. Although these pedigrees occurred too in the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension, there are no significant textual connections between the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth versions and the versions in the Jesus 20 genealogies, whereas certain features of the Meirionydd and Rhufoniog pedigrees link them specifically to the exemplar of Harley 3859, as indicated in Appendix A.4.7.³⁷³

It is significant that the influence of the St Davids recension does not seem to have been felt in the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies outside of *Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru*. The recension's influence is most obvious in the second half of the latter section, though it might also be present in the first half depending on one's interpretation of the Morgannwg pedigree (LIIG 35.1).³⁷⁴ It was mentioned above that the first half of *Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru* concerns, for the most part, the generation living in and around 1171, rather than Llywelyn ab Iorwerth's own generation.³⁷⁵ In particular, it seems to focus on the immediate circle of the Lord Rhys during the period of his primacy in Wales, following the death of Owain Gwynedd in 1170.³⁷⁶ This may be the result of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies having drawn on a text composed around 1171 in Rhys's Deheubarth. If the use of the St Davids recension in *Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru* (and not elsewhere in the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies) is indicative of the entire section having been taken from the same source, then perhaps the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies only had access to the St Davids recension via a Deheubarth source written around 1171. It is notable that the St Davids recension is only otherwise witnessed in texts written in or connected to South Wales (see Chapter 2). Wherever this source was produced, one might suppose that Strata Florida was responsible for making the source available in the north; as already mentioned, Strata Florida was Aberconwy's mother house, and it was a primary recipient of Rhys's monastic patronage.³⁷⁷ One can be sure that Strata Florida had access to historical materials deriving ultimately from St Davids by no later than the late thirteenth century, because the St Davids chronicle formed the basis for the Strata Florida chronicle underlying *Brut y Tywysogyon*.³⁷⁸ It is generally agreed that this St Davids chronicle was continued in Llanbadarn Fawr during the twelfth century before it was inherited by Strata Florida in or after about 1175.³⁷⁹ Llanbadarn Fawr is a possible location for the composition of a genealogical text focussed on the Lord Rhys in 1171. Since the St

³⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 85–90. The *positioning* of the Rhufoniog pedigree, however, may have been influenced by the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension: see Chapter 3 above, p. 139. The only probable textual innovations shared with the Jesus 20 genealogies in these pedigrees are the addition of the epithet *Hen* to Pobien in LIIG 43 ~ JC 40 and the insertion of Tybion as father of Meirion Meirionydd in LIIG 42 ~ JC 41. Neither of these is particularly indicative; epithets travelled independently of texts and they are generally poor indicators of textual connections, while Tybion could easily have been inserted into LIIG 42 under the influence of the following section, *Meibion Cunedda Wledig*, which probably derives from the St Davids recension. It is impossible to know whether a few other readings apparently shared by the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies and the Jesus 20 genealogies (e.g. the presence of a certain 'Hywel' in LIIG 44 ~ JC 39) are common innovations or not.

³⁷⁴ Despite their differences in emphasis, recent discussions of LIIG 35.1 have all posited that it is somehow textually related to the Glywysing/Gwent pedigrees in the Harleian genealogies: cf. Guy, 'Second Witness', p. 84; Sims-Williams, 'Kings', pp. 78–9; Sims-Williams, *Book of Llandaf*, pp. 134–5. I intend to return to this question in the future.

³⁷⁵ See above, pp. 206–7.

³⁷⁶ Guy, 'Second Witness', pp. 79–80.

³⁷⁷ Pryce, 'Eglwys', pp. 159–61; Pryce, 'Patrons', p. 84; Bezant, 'Medieval Grants', pp. 75–8 and 80.

³⁷⁸ Lloyd, *Welsh Chronicles*, pp. 16 and 19; T. Jones, *Brut y Tywysogyon or The Chronicle of the Princes: Peniarth MS. 20 Version*, pp. xxxix–xli.

³⁷⁹ Lloyd, *Welsh Chronicles*, pp. 16–19; Stephenson, "'Resurgence'", pp. 184–9; Stephenson, 'Welsh

David's genealogical recension was appended to the St Davids chronicle in the tenth century, as witnessed in Harley 3859, it is not at all unlikely that the two texts would have been transmitted together in the twelfth century. A similar package of materials, now incorporating twelfth-century additions and alterations, may later have been transmitted via Strata Florida to Aberconwy; this would explain how the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies had access both to genealogies deriving from the St Davids recension and annals found otherwise only in *Brut y Tywysogyon* and Harley 3859's copy of the St Davids chronicle.

Sources: *The Gutun Owain Recension*

Aside from the sections concerning the families of north-east Wales, much of the additional material in the Gutun Owain recension can be recognised elsewhere. Some of this material is of a fairly general nature and is consequently difficult to attribute to specific sources, such as the Arthurian genealogies at the beginning of the text, which combine Geoffrey of Monmouth's genealogical doctrines with other aspects of the Welsh genealogical tradition,³⁸⁰ or the section on the English royal family (§G12), much of which would have been common knowledge or easily discoverable from a range of sources. Other sources are more readily identifiable. A major source was a version of *Brut y Tywysogyon*, which provided much of the additional information on the princely families of medieval Wales, as appears particularly in §§G13–16. This is shown by the wholesale inclusion of a section on the children of Cadwgon ap Bleddyn (§G13.6) taken from the *Brut y Tywysogyon* annal for 1116. The text in §G13.6 is closest to the version of the annal in *Brenhinedd y Saesson*, and specifically to the version of *Brenhinedd y Saesson* in the Black Book of Basingwerk, as one might expect considering that Gutun Owain was one of the two primary scribes of that manuscript.³⁸¹

Some sources used by Gutun Owain had already been employed in some capacity by the original compiler of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. These include englyn poetry.³⁸² Not only does Gutun Owain include some names from the *Canu Llywarch Hen* corpus that were not included in the original text, such as Talan and Cenau, but he also quotes an englyn about Llywarch's sons that is found elsewhere (§G8.2).³⁸³ Another such source was *Brut y Brenhinedd*. The original Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies had not incorporated any of the kings who ruled between Seisyll ap Grwst and Beli Mawr, whereas in §G1.2 they have been inserted into the pedigree of Beli Mawr between Manogan, Beli's father, and Enaid, father of Manogan in the older texts. Gutun Owain had developed this extended Galfridian pedigree prior to incorporating it into his recension of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies.³⁸⁴

Two new sources used by Gutun Owain are worthy of mention. In §§G9–10, the material on the legendary Men of the North has been expanded using a version of *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd*, a tract found in Peniarth 45, written in the first half of the fourteenth century.³⁸⁵ This was recognised by Bartrum, who used some of the manuscripts deriving from Rylands Welsh 1 to 'correct' Peniarth 45's text.³⁸⁶ Firstly, in §§G9.5–7, the descendants of Athrwys ap Mar are enumerated, as in *BGG* 3–6; then, in §§G10.1–3, the descendants

Chronicles' Accounts', pp. 54–7; Stephenson, 'Entries'; Stephenson, *Medieval Powys*, pp. 25–8; O. W. Jones, '*Brut y Tywysogyon*'.

³⁸⁰ Compare Arthur's own pedigree (LIIG (GO) G1.1) with MG 5, CC 6 and the pedigree at Peniarth 27ii, p. 90 (cf. *RMWL* I, 357; *EWGT* 93–4, ByA 30b).

³⁸¹ Roberts, 'Llawysgrifau', pp. 99–100; T. Jones, *Brenhinedd*, p. xix; *MWM* 62 and 190, n. 20.

³⁸² See above, pp. 224–5; cf. *EWSP* 61.

³⁸³ For Talan, see *EWSP* 412, stanza 45; for Cenau, see the stray englyn in *Canu Aneirin*, ll. 535–7 (ed. I. Williams, p. 22) and cf. *EWSP* 58; for the englyn, see *CLIH* 32, poem X.2 and *EWSP* 66 and 68.

³⁸⁴ See Chapter 5 below, pp. 258–63.

³⁸⁵ *MWM* 59. *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd* is edited in Appendix B.8.

³⁸⁶ *EWGT* 72; for discussion, see the introduction to Appendix B.8.

of Dyfnwal Hen are given, exactly as in *BGG* 8–10.³⁸⁷ A second new source provided the long pedigree of Edward the Confessor in §G12.1. This begins by tracing the line of the West Saxon kings back to Woden in a relatively unremarkable way, as may be seen in such earlier sources as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum Anglorum*.³⁸⁸ Following Woden, the earlier texts continue with Friðwald and Frealaf, whereas §G12.1 inserts an extra twenty-one names in between, beginning with *Ffridwlff* and *Finni*. These additional names are not found in this position in the earlier texts, though on closer inspection it becomes clear that they are merely repetitions of names cited elsewhere in the pedigree. The additional names are found, however, in the many genealogical rolls of the kings of England that became so popular during the fifteenth century.³⁸⁹ One such genealogical roll survives in the hand of Gutun Owain himself, and indeed includes all of the additional twenty-one names.³⁹⁰ Some such genealogical roll was almost certainly used as a source for the pedigree in §G12.1.

The following are the main conclusions from the foregoing chapter. Between 1216 and *c.* 1223, during the reign of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, a substantial genealogical text was compiled in Gwynedd. I call this text the 'Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies'. The compiler was particularly favourably disposed towards the family of the poet and courtier Einion ap Gwalchmai and may perhaps be identified with Einion himself. Either way, the compiler seems to have worked in the Cistercian abbey of Aberconwy. The text was composed with the help of a wide range of genealogical and literary sources. It follows a sophisticated organisational principle, arising from the compiler's acute sense of the chronological organisation of Welsh history and the primacy of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth's family in Wales. Extant manuscripts of the compilation survive from the middle of the fifteenth century onwards, deriving most probably from an archetype written in Valle Crucis no later than the first half of the fourteenth century. From the late fifteenth century, the text became the principal medieval source for the rapidly expanding Welsh genealogical tradition. Its popularity is witnessed by its many copies and recensions, most notably the recensions of Gutun Owain and Thomas ab Ieuan ap Deicws, as found in Rylands Welsh 1 and Peniarth 127i respectively.

³⁸⁷ Additionally, Gutun Owain added the pedigree of Morgan ap Clydog (Coleddog) (LIIG (GO) G9.8), which is not paralleled in *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd*; it is only otherwise attested in HG 10 and JC 37.

³⁸⁸ ASC (AD) 855; ASC (BC) 856; Asser, §1; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, II.116 (ed. and transl. Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom I, 176–7).

³⁸⁹ For these rolls, see Chapter 5 below, pp. 253–6.

³⁹⁰ This is Hawarden D/LE 1389. Cf. Siddons, 'Welsh Pedigree Rolls – Additions and Corrections', p. 437; Siddons, *Welsh Pedigree Rolls*, pp. 5–6, 33 and 53. The roll probably dates to the reign of Henry VII; although the last portion is missing, the beginning of the line of Ednyfed Fychan is included, which would probably have culminated with Ednyfed Fychan's direct descendant, Henry VII. See the discussion in Chapter 5 below, pp. 260–3. Most of the additional names also appear in the English line (labelled *llin Saeson*) found in Gutun Owain's codex copy of the same genealogy (NLW 3026C; the English line on pp. 65–84), which was no doubt copied from a roll: for this manuscript, see Chapter 5 below, p. 260 and n. 146.

THE PEDIGREES OF THE KINGS OF GWYNEDD

The most commonly reproduced pedigrees in the medieval Welsh corpus were undoubtedly those of the kings of Gwynedd. They were included in all the major genealogical collections discussed in the preceding chapters and commonly appear in manuscripts as individual items, owing largely to the prominence of the Gwynedd dynasty in the twelfth and especially thirteenth centuries. Underlying most such pedigrees is the Merfynion pedigree of the ninth and tenth centuries, which traced the Merfynion descent through Merfyn's mother Eryllt to the earlier kings of Gwynedd as far back as Cunedda Wledig, whose own descent was then traced to Beli Mawr. This chapter examines how and why these Gwynedd pedigrees were successively elaborated between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries.

Following a brief discussion of the extant early versions of the Merfynion pedigree traced through Cunedda Wledig, the discussion is divided into five major sections. The first section attempts to explain how Beli Mawr's own ancestry was extended back to Adam in the twelfth century as part of the formation of the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension. This process drew upon several major sources, including early medieval Irish and Brittonic pseudo-history, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *De gestis Britonum*, and Trojan and biblical mythology. The second section addresses the changes made to the Gwynedd pedigree during the rule of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, prince of Gwynedd (d. 1282), as attested in Exeter 3514 and the Mostyn genealogies. It is argued that these changes formed part of a deliberate response to Edward I's adoption of Geoffrey of Monmouth's historical narrative as a means to legitimise his imperial pretensions within Britain. The third section considers some other genealogies in Exeter 3514, a Latin manuscript of the late thirteenth century, in further detail. It is observed that these genealogies exercised a decisive influence on texts as diverse as *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec*, the Icelandic *langfeðgatal* and English royal genealogies of the fifteenth century. The fourth section turns to the genealogies of the Mortimer family, which drew upon independent sources of Welsh origin. Finally, the fifth section examines the final stage in the development of the ancestral Beli Mawr pedigree within Wales, when Geoffrey of Monmouth's prehistoric narrative was integrated into it more thoroughly. This development may be attributable to Gutun Owain, working in support of the new Tudor dynasty.

Early Versions Traced through Cunedda Wledig

Extant versions of the pedigree traced through Cunedda Wledig, all of which, in their present forms, date later than the ninth century, can be divided into two groups. Members of the first group all probably derive from the tenth-century St Davids recension, while members of the second group derive from the twelfth-century pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension. The St Davids recension pedigrees seem to reflect the earlier ninth-century form of the pedigree most closely. In the St Davids recension itself, as preserved in the Harleian genealogies,

one finds the tenth-century pedigree of the Merfynion king Owain ap Hywel Dda (HG 1). Another probably tenth-century example of the St Davids recension version of the pedigree appears in *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* (GM 2), where the line of Morgan ab Owain (d. 974) is traced back through the Cunedda pedigree via Morgan's mother Nest, alleged daughter of Rhodri Mawr. The Cunedda pedigree in *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* includes the variant reading *Prydain* for OW *Brithgwein* (HG 1). The same reading is also found in the conflated version of Cunedda's ancestry given in JC 6, which, as noted in Chapter 3, includes elements from both the common source shared with *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* and from a version of the twelfth-century pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension.¹ Although, in the Jesus 20 genealogies, Morgan ab Owain is not connected to the Gwynedd pedigree in exactly the same way as in *Gwehelyth Morgannwg*, the confused statement about Morgan and his mother Nest in JC 20 was probably inspired by a pedigree like GM 2.²

By the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Cunedda to Beli/Anna section of the St Davids recension pedigree had been associated with the saintly family of Ceredig ap Cunedda, eponym of Ceredigion. Among the supposed descendants of Ceredig are Saints David, Cadog and Carannog, who are explicitly connected to the pedigree in genealogies that circulated alongside their Lives. As discussed in Chapter 2, the genealogies associated with the Lives of Saints Cadog and Carannog were probably redacted in the twelfth century.³ These versions of Cunedda's ancestry are very similar to those in HG 1 and GM 2, with the significant exception that HG 1's *Patern Pesrut* has become *Patern Pe(i)s Rudauc* in both the Cadog and Carannog pedigrees.⁴ The version of the pedigree appended to the Life of St David (and its Welsh translation *Buched Dewi*) is more corrupt.⁵ Some kind of error seems to have caused the three consecutive names *Tacit*, *Cein* and *Guorcein* to be omitted, as well as *Brithgwein* later in the pedigree. *Amalech* and *Beli Magnus* are also absent, and in their place one finds *Eugen*, *Eudolen* and *Eugen*, the last of whom is made the son of Mary's sister (Anna is not named). *Eudolen* seems to have been taken from the pedigree of Coel Hen. There is one further addition to the pedigree: *Perum*, between *Omid* and *Dobun*. *Perum* is probably modern Welsh *peryf* ('king, lord, chieftain'). This generation is only otherwise found in the version of Cunedda's ancestry appended to the Dogfeiling genealogy in the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies (LIIG 46.2), perhaps as a result of influence from the Life of St David.⁶

Versions of the pedigree traced through Cunedda deriving from the twelfth-century pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension are much more widespread, owing to the influence of the Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan and especially the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. These versions share several distinctive features. Due to an early copying error, they all omit Merfyn Frych as father of Rhodri Mawr, creating the impression that Esyllt was Rhodri's mother rather than his grandmother.⁷ Between *Tacit* and *Cein*, they all insert an additional two generations, who are called *Iago* and *Genedawc* in JC 6 (*Iago* and *Genedawg* in LIIG 11.1). These names appear at the juncture between the Latinate names of Cunedda's immediate ancestors and the pairs of rhyming and alliterating names that follow. Their origin

¹ See above, p. 148.

² EWGT 141, n. 20.

³ See above, pp. 81–5.

⁴ For the significance of this, see above, pp. 82 and 91.

⁵ VS David, §68; *Buched Dewi* (ed. Evans, p. 1; ed. Evans, *Welsh Life*, p. 1).

⁶ See Chapter 4 above, pp. 226–7. LIIG 46.2 also contains the successive names *Afloyd* and *Angwerydd*, representing *Amguoloyt* and *Anguerit* in HG 1. As discussed below, the first of these names was lost in the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension, as reflected in LIIG 11.1. The presence of both names in LIIG 46.2 again suggests influence from a pedigree like that in the Life of St David.

⁷ See above, p. 226; Sims-Williams, 'Historical Need', pp. 21–2. The only exception is Exeter 3514 and its relatives, as discussed below.

is unknown.⁸ Finally, they all omit the name that appears in HG 1 as *Amguoloyt*, possibly through an eye-skip to the following name *Amguerit*.

The Pedigree from Beli Mawr to Adam

The extension of Beli Mawr's pedigree back to Adam is only found alongside pedigrees deriving from the twelfth-century pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension. In its extant form, this extension must date to the middle decades of the twelfth century: later than the dissemination of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *De gestis Britonum* (from c. 1138), which was a source for the pedigree, but earlier than the composition of the Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan (before 1170), which includes the pedigree. Three of the primary witnesses to the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension are the Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan, the Jesus 20 genealogies and the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. In each of these three texts, Rhodri Mawr's descent from Beli Mawr is traced through two distinct lines. This is clearest in the Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan, where the descent is traced firstly through the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension version of the Gwynedd pedigree described above (via Cunedda Wledig), and secondly through the Rhodri Mawr patriline newly created in the twelfth century (via Coel Hen).⁹ The same two lines are found in the Jesus 20 and Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies.¹⁰ At an early stage in the formation of the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension in the twelfth century, the second of these two pedigrees, the agnatic line via Coel Hen to Beli Mawr, was projected back much further in time, as far as Adam. This is the arrangement found in the Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan and in the pedigree of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd underlying MG 1 and the Exeter 3514 pedigree (discussed below). In the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, the extension backwards from Beli Mawr to Adam is instead, probably innovatively, attached to the Cunedda Wledig pedigree rather than the agnatic Coel Hen pedigree, so as to draw attention to the royal line of Gwynedd rather than the agnatic line. Only in the Jesus 20 genealogies is the pedigree of Beli Mawr to Adam absent, probably because the Jesus 20 genealogies reflect the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension at an early stage in its evolution. The primary components of the Beli Mawr to Adam pedigree are discussed in the following sections.¹¹

Beli Mawr to Annun: Irish Pseudo-History in Early Medieval Wales

The twelfth-century pedigree under discussion is the earliest extant record of Beli Mawr's own ancestry. The first section of the pedigree, traced back to a certain Antonius, is not known from any earlier source. Peter Bartrum believed that this section of the pedigree originated as part of an early genealogical scheme witnessed partially by the *Historia Brittonum*.¹² His argument consists of two elements. Firstly, two of the characters in the pedigree, Cyrwyd (or Cywryd) ap Crydon and Prydain ab Aedd Mawr, appear elsewhere in pseudo-historical vernacular texts. In a triad first recorded in the fifteenth century, Cywryd ap Crydon is said to have been the father of Gwen, one of the three *gwenriein* ('fair (royal) ladies') of the Island of Britain.¹³ In the geographical tract *Enweu Ynys Brydein*, found in

⁸ They probably bear some relation to *Iacob* and his father *Genethauc* in St Gurthiern's genealogy: *VS Gurthierni*, §1 (ed. Maître and de Berthou, *Cartulaire*, p. 42); Fleuriot, 'Old Breton Genealogies', p. 3; see above, p. 87.

⁹ *VGC* §3; *HGK* 1–2.

¹⁰ Respectively, JC 22+6 and 17+5, and LIIG 11.1 and 11.1.4.

¹¹ For briefer discussions, see Thornton, 'Genealogy', pp. 86–7; Guy, 'Gerald', p. 54.

¹² Bartrum, 'Was there a British "Book of Conquests"?'; *EWGT* 134 (n. 2), 150 (n. 33) and 158 (n. 3).

¹³ *TYP* no. 78; cf. p. 327. The triad is found only in Peniarth 47iv (Siancyn ap Dafydd ap Gruffudd, s. xv^{med}) and Peniarth 185i (Robert Vaughan, 1652).

the White Book of Rhydderch (Peniarth 4–5, s. xiv^{med}) and the Red Book of Hergest (Jesus 111, 1382 × c. 1405), Prydain ab Aedd Mawr is said to have given his name to the Island of Britain.¹⁴ These texts may indicate that traditions about these characters existed independently of the pedigree, though it should be noted that the texts survive in contexts that post-date the pedigree.

Secondly, Bartrum drew attention to correspondences between certain pedigrees that connect Brutus with the legendary families of Beli Mawr and Llŷr Llediaith. These pedigrees, he pointed out, seem to be independent of Geoffrey of Monmouth's history. The pedigrees are laid out in Table 5.1.

CC 9, taken from Peniarth 50, is particularly striking.¹⁵ It traces the descent of Caradog, Brân and Llŷr Llediaith back to Brutus through a line that is only otherwise recorded in the tract *Brenhinllwyth Morgannwg*.¹⁶ Even more remarkably, CC 9 then traces Brutus's ancestry not through the classically inspired line found in other pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension pedigrees (represented in Table 5.1 by *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*), which agree with Geoffrey of Monmouth back to Aeneas, but through a line found otherwise only in section 18 of the *Historia Brittonum*, traced through Brutus's alleged grandfather Alanus and the latter's mother Rhea Silva (who is herself based on the mother of Romulus and Remus).¹⁷ In the *Historia Brittonum*, this is not the only pedigree given to Brutus. There are two others that concern his patriline, each offering a contradictory account. One, found in sections 10–11, makes him (under the alternative eponymous name *Britto*) into a grandson of Aeneas, integrating him into the story of Aeneas's arrival in Italy, as told in Virgil's *Aeneid*. The other, found in section 17, includes him (under the names *Brutus* and *Britto*) in a version of the Frankish Table of Nations, as the son of Hessitio and grandson of Alanus.¹⁸ Section 17 proceeds to trace the patriline of Alanus back through his alleged father Fetebir to Adam son of God, following an Irish pedigree that was assembled sometime between the writing of the core part of *Auraicept na nÉces* early in the Old Irish period (c. 700–c. 900) and the incorporation of the pedigree into the *Historia Brittonum* (829/30).¹⁹ Bartrum suggested that the pedigree in section 18, traced through Alanus's mother Rhea Silva rather than his father Fetebir, was an attempt to combine

¹⁴ *TYP*⁴ 246–7. Bromwich's attempt to argue that Prydain has been inserted into the pedigree as a substitution for Geoffrey of Monmouth's Porrex is ill-founded (*TYP*⁴ 484–5); there is no correspondence between the pedigree and Geoffrey's kings in generations later than Sisillius (*alias* Seisyll/Seirioel). See Appendix A.4.5.

¹⁵ The genealogies in *Y Cwita Cyfarwydd* (Peniarth 50) are edited in Appendix B.10.

¹⁶ Edited in Appendix B.11.

¹⁷ David Thornton noted that the *Historia Brittonum* has altered the standard Trojan account of Dardanus's ancestry by making him a son of 'Flise filii Iuani', who is the Elisa son of Javan of Genesis 10.4: Thornton, 'Power', p. 40; cf. *EWGT* 7, §18, n. 5.

¹⁸ For the Frankish Table of Nations, see Chapter 1 above, p. 14.

¹⁹ See Chapter 1 above, pp. 13–14. This pedigree is discussed and dated in Carey, 'Ancestry'. For further discussion, see Jaski, "'We are of the Greeks in our Origin'". For the *Historia Brittonum* in particular, see *EWGT* 125, n. 17; Bartrum, 'Was there a British "Book of Conquests"?', p. 1; Thornton, 'Power', pp. 44–5. The closest Irish parallel to the *Historia Brittonum*'s version of the pedigree is found in the Old Irish tale *Scéla Mošauluim*, §3 (ed. and transl. O Daly, *Cath Maige Mucrama*, pp. 74–5), interestingly dated by its editor to the first half of the ninth century (*ibid.*, p. 18), coeval with the *Historia Brittonum*. Thornton overlooked *Scéla Mošauluim* when he claimed that the best parallels to the *Historia Brittonum* are the early genealogical poems (*CGH* 4, 6–7 and 201–2). Other comparable versions may be found in the expanded text of *Auraicept na nÉces*, ll. 181–6 (ed. and transl. Calder, pp. 14–15), whence the version in *Lebor Gabála Éirenn* (Recension II/b), §16 (ed. and transl. Macalister I, 36–7), and in a marginal addition to the pedigree of Domnall mac Donnchada, king of Osraige (d. 1113), in Rawlinson B. 502 (*CGH* 17). For the relationship between the recensions of *Lebor Gabála Éirenn* and Macalister's edition, see Scowcroft, 'Leabhar Gabhála Part I', pp. 139–42.

The Pedigrees of the Kings of Gwynedd

Table 5.1: Non-Galfridian pedigrees traced through Brutus

<i>HB (Harl. 3859), §18</i> ²⁰	<i>CC 9</i>	<i>Brenhinllwyth Morgannwg</i>	<i>HGK 2</i>
	Elen	[...]	
	Eudaf	Kyllin	
	Karadaŵc	Kradoc	
	Bran	Bran	
	Llyr Lletieith	Llyr	
	Garar	Barar	[...]
	Gerein Hir	Kerihir Lyngwyn	Beli Mawr
	Secuyn		Manogan
	Keit	Kaid	Eneit
	Arch	Arch	Kerwyt
	Moruran	Meryran	Krydon
	Kerint	Keraint	Dyvynarth
	Cridol	Greidiol	Prydein
	Dingarth	Dingad	Aet Maur
	Annun	Annŵn	Antonius
	Lainus	Albanivs	[... (Galfridian) ...]
		Kamber	Llocrinus
Brutus	Brutus	Brutus	Brut
Hision	Ericonius	Silius	Siluius
Alaneus	Alanius		
Reae (filia)			
Silua Reae (filia)	Reesilue (m.)		
Numa Pampilius	Nenne		
	Parapilius		
Ascanius	Ascanius	Ysganŵs	Ascanius
Enēas	Eneas		Eneas Ysgwytwyn
Anchises	Anchise		Anchises
			Capis
			Assaracus
Trous	Troys		Trois
			Herictonius
Dardanus	Dardan		Dardanus
			Iupiter
			Sadurn
			Celius
			Cretus
			Ciprius
Flisa			
Iuuanus	Iauan		Iauan
Iafeth	Iaphet		Iaphet
Noe	Noe		Noe Hen
Lamech			Lamech
			[...]

²⁰ These names have been checked against the manuscript. Note that this genealogy is edited in *EWGT* 7.

the Irish genealogy of section 17 with the story of the Trojan Brutus in sections 10–11.²¹ What is less clear, however, is whether the pedigree in section 18 was created specifically in the context of the *Historia Brittonum* or whether it had an earlier history. On the face of it, it seems most likely that CC 9 derives, directly or indirectly, from the *Historia Brittonum*, but it remains possible that CC 9 derives independently from the *Historia Brittonum*'s own source. Either way, it is striking that a later genealogist should seek to contradict the standard Geoffrey-inspired account (as represented by *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*) in this way.

How does the first section of the Beli Mawr pedigree, running from Beli Mawr back to Antonius, fit into this picture? Bartrum suggested that Antonius in the Beli Mawr pedigree should be equated with Annun in the Llŷr Llediaith pedigree witnessed by CC 9 and *Brenhinllwyth Morgannwg*. The two names are equivalent etymologically, at least, since *Annun* is the regular Welsh form deriving from Latin *Antonius*. All three pedigrees, Bartrum posited, could be understood as the remnants of an early genealogical scheme that traced the two foundational lines of Beli Mawr and Llŷr Llediaith to the same progenitor, Antonius/Annun. Within the same hypothetical scheme, the latter's own ancestry was traced further back through Brutus via the pedigrees recorded in CC 9 and sections 17–18 of the *Historia Brittonum*.

Bartrum's argument receives support from the appearance of Antonius/Annun as a genealogical progenitor elsewhere. In versions of the Brychan Tract, the agnatic pedigree of Brychan's mother, Marchell, is traced back to a certain *Annhun rex Grecorum* ('*Annhun* king of the Greeks', DSB 10) or *Annun niger rex Grecorum* ('*Annun* the Black, king of the Greeks', CB 10).²² Similarly, the pedigree of the kings of Man (HG 4) is traced back to a certain *Anthun*, who is made a son of *Maxim Guletic*; one later version of the pedigree uses the Latin form *Antonius*.²³ These examples of Annun in early Welsh genealogy should be compared with 'Agnoman/Agnon of the Greeks', an important character in early Irish genealogy and pseudo-history.²⁴ Among Agnoman's roles was to be father of Nemed, one of the early invaders of Ireland in the pseudo-historical scheme that culminated in *Lebor Gabála Érenn*.²⁵ An early version of this scheme was known to the author of the *Historia Brittonum* in ninth-century Wales. According to the *Historia*, *Nimeth filius quidam Agnominis* ('Nemed, a certain son of Agnoman') was the second of the *Scotti* who travelled from Spain to Ireland, though he would later return to Spain.²⁶ One part of the scheme, however, is not mentioned by the *Historia Brittonum*: that, after the descendants of Nemed son of Agnoman had left Ireland, the group descended from Semeón ua Nemid, having first fled to Greece, returned to Ireland as the Fir Bolg.²⁷ The Fir Bolg themselves are mentioned in the *Historia Brittonum*, which claims that 'Buile

²¹ EWGT 125, n. 18.

²² Cf. JC 1 (*Annbn Du vrenhin Groec*); LIIG 1.1 (*Annun Du vrenin Groeg*) (all versions are set out in parallel in Table A.3.4.1). Note the intrusion of *Antun Du & Cleopatre* into HG 16 in an inappropriate third-century context (cf. Table A.2.2.1). In this case, *Antun Du* has been equated with Mark Antony.

²³ Namely, the derivative version in *Buchedd Llawddog*: LBS IV, 426–8; Yates, "Age of the Saints", pp. 72–5. The genealogical passage is reproduced in EWGT 31.

²⁴ Jaski, "We are of the Greeks in our Origin", pp. 19–31. For a sense of the variation between *Agnoman*, *Agnon* and other similar forms, see the tables in *ibid.*, pp. 48–51.

²⁵ E.g. *Lebor Gabála Érenn* (Recension I/a), §§166 and 237 (ed. and transl. Macalister II, 176–7 and III, 120–1); (Recension III/c), §186 (ed. and transl. Macalister II, 194–5). For other references, see Ó Riain, *Lebor Gabála Érenn*, p. 58. For Nemed in *Lebor Gabála Érenn* generally, see Scowcroft, 'Leabhar Gabhála Part I', pp. 106–7.

²⁶ HB (Harl. 3859), §13. For discussion of the relationship between the *Historia Brittonum* and *Lebor Gabála Érenn*, see Carey, *Irish National Origin-Legend*, pp. 5–9; Scowcroft, 'Leabhar Gabhála Part II', pp. 53–7.

²⁷ *Lebor Gabála Érenn* (Recension I/a), §§237–45; (Recensions II/b and III/c), §§246–65 (ed. and transl. Macalister III, 120–51); cf. Scowcroft, 'Leabhar Gabhála Part I', pp. 107–8. The earliest dateable

autem cum suis tenuit Euboniam insulam et alias circiter' ('And *Builc* and his people held the Isle of Man and other islands round about').²⁸ This statement mirrors the claim in some versions of *Lebor Gabála Érenn* that the Fir Bolg fled from the battle of Mag Tuired to Arran, Islay, Rathlin, Man and other islands.²⁹ Although the idea that the Fir Bolg were descended from Nemed son of Agnoman is absent from the *Historia Brittonum*, it may nevertheless have been known in early medieval Wales. As stated above, the pedigree of the kings of Man in HG 4 is traced back to one *Anthun*; *Anthun*'s own son, moreover, is usually called 'Ednyfed' (OW *Iutnimet*), the second element of which is etymologically identical with Nemed.³⁰ The Manx pedigree, therefore, could be understood to follow the Irish pseudo-history that made Nemed, son of Agnoman/Agnon, into the ancestor of the Fir Bolg, the people who are said in the *Historia Brittonum* to have settled in Man.

If this is accepted, it implies that, at some stage, *Agnoman* or *Agnon* was rendered into Welsh as *Annun* or *Anhun* (< Latin *Antonius*), which may have been perceived as the closest native equivalent to the Irish name.³¹ In speech, /nt/ > /nh/ seems to have begun in the eighth century, and /nh/ could be represented by *nn* (and thus *Anhun* spelled *Annun*) by no later than the time of the *Historia Brittonum* (e.g. *Trahannon, finnaun*).³² It was presumably only later that the resulting *Anthun* of HG 4 was made a son of Maxim Wledig, a marker of Brittonic royalty. Perhaps in the Brychan Tract, Marchell's family, the former rulers of Garth Madrun, who are similarly said to be descended from *Annhun rex Grecorum*, were understood to be vaguely associated with the descendants of Nemed son of Agnoman at some stage. It may be relevant that versions of the Brychan Tract locate Brychan's burial place 'in insula que uocatur Enys Brachan, que est iuxta Manniam' ('in an island which is called Ynys Brychan, which is next to Man').³³ There may even have been some awareness that, within the *Lebor Gabála Érenn* tradition, Nemed son of Agnoman was portrayed as the direct ancestor of the Britons through his son Fergus Lethderg and the latter's son Brittán Mael, who are said to have taken *Moin Conain* (probably Anglesey).³⁴ The same idea is found in the corpus of Irish saints' genealogies, where the Briton St Patrick is

reference to the descent of the Fir Bolg from Nemed occurs in a ninth-century poem by Mael Muru Othna (d. 887): Scowcroft, 'Leabhar Gabhála Part II', p. 61, n. 168.

²⁸ *HB* (Harl. 3859), §14.

²⁹ *Lebor Gabála Érenn* (Recension I/a, MS F), §§281 and 308 (ed. and transl. Macalister IV, 10–13 and 110–11); (Recension II/b), §291 (ed. and transl. Macalister IV, 22–5); Scowcroft, 'Leabhar Gabhála Part I', p. 108 and n. 86; Scowcroft, 'Leabhar Gabhála Part II', p. 54.

³⁰ E.g. JC 19, LIIG 20, *Buchedd Llawddog*, etc. The equivalent form in HG 4 (*Eidinet*) is probably corrupt.

³¹ Cf. the Ceredigion commote called *Anhuniog*: Richards, 'Early Welsh Territorial Suffixes', p. 208.

³² *HB* (Harl. 3859), §§67 and 70; *LHEB* 502–6; *CIB* 288; Rowland, 'Early Old Welsh Orthographic Feature', pp. 516–17. The orthography of HG 4's *Anthun*, with *nth*, may have been designed to represent either an intermediate stage between /nt/ and /nh/ or /nh/ itself.

³³ *DSB* 13; cf. *CB* 16. For other instances of the Isle of Man in the Brychan Tract, see *DSB* 11.6 and 12.11; *CB* 14.4, 14.6 and 15.11; JC 2.7; LIIG 1.2.3 and 1.2.6. Note too the apparent coincidence that, in *ByS* 45, Madrun ferch Gwerthefyr, a saint, is given a handmaiden called *Anhun*.

³⁴ *Lebor Gabála Érenn* (Recension I/a), §245; (Recensions II/b and III/c), §264; (Recension III/c, MS M), §267; (MS H), §271; (Recensions I/a, II/b, III/c), poem XLI, stanzas 26–7 (ed. and transl. Macalister III, 126–7, 148–57 and 176–7); cf. Scowcroft, 'Leabhar Gabhála Part I', p. 107; Scowcroft, 'Leabhar Gabhála Part II', pp. 22–3 and 61. In Recensions II/III, Brutus has been intruded into the story, so that Brutus's progeny occupy Britain while Brittán Mael's progeny occupy *Moin Conain*. In the ninth and tenth centuries, Irish annalists seem to have used *Moin Conain* to refer to Anglesey: see the references and discussion in Etchingham, 'North Wales', p. 168; Etchingham, 'Viking-Age Gwynedd', p. 154; Charles-Edwards, *Wales*, pp. 486 (esp. n. 87) and 539. I understand *Moin Conain* as an Irish rendering of a Welsh *Môn Cynan*, referring to Cynan Dindaethwy, who fought over Anglesey with Hywel ap Caradog in the early ninth century: *AC* (ABC) [815] and [816]. Charles-Edwards seems overly cautious when he says merely that *Moin Conain* is 'situated by Irish sources in Wales and, more specifically, in Gwynedd' (p. 777).

portrayed as a descendant of ‘Britinus m. Fergusu Lethdeirg m. Nemid m. Agnomain’.³⁵ Do the Welsh pedigrees in Table 5.1 above imply that, at some early stage, there was an attempt to use Nemed’s father Agnoman/Annun, alleged ancestor of Manxmen and Britons alike, as the nodal ancestor in a scheme that derived the lines of Beli Mawr and Llŷr Llediaith from the eponymous Brutus?³⁶ If so, it may have been a part of this scheme that was incorporated into the Beli Mawr pedigree in the twelfth century to bridge the gap between Beli and the early Galfridian kings.

Seirioel to Aeneas: The Galfridian Portion

Beyond Antonius, the Beli Mawr pedigree follows Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *De gestis Britonum*, from Seirioel (Sisillius) and Grwst (Gurgustius) back to Brutus and his great-grandfather Aeneas.³⁷ The pedigree maker had evidently read Geoffrey with some care, because the pedigree follows Geoffrey’s account only for those descendants of Brutus whose relationships are explicitly defined, with the exception of Sisillius. Geoffrey consistently explains the relationships between Brutus’s immediate successors, but, after Gurgustius, Brutus’s line is broken, since Gurgustius’s successor, Sisillius, is not associated with the previous ruling family. This is the point at which Antonius was grafted onto Brutus’s Galfridian family, by making him a son of Sisillius’s avatar Seirioel. The latter was made the son of Gurgustius (Grwst), and then Gurgustius’s line was traced back to Brutus and Aeneas, following Geoffrey. As is explained in Appendix A.4.5, there is variation among copies of the Beli Mawr pedigree as to how Geoffrey’s characters are presented. This appears to be because Geoffrey’s names were rendered into Welsh on two separate occasions: once when the original Beli Mawr pedigree was created in the twelfth century, and again when *Brut y Brenhinedd* was first translated in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.³⁸ Both of these renderings influenced the many later versions of the pedigree found in copies of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. For this reason, the most faithful representations of this section of the original pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension pedigree may be found in *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* and in two fifteenth-century manuscripts, Harley 673 and Gutun Owain’s BL Add. 14919iii, fragment 2.³⁹ Unfortunately, most of this section of the pedigree in the Latin *Vita Griffini filii Conani* is lacunose.

Aeneas to Adam: A Detour through Crete and Cyprus

Aeneas’s ancestry is traced back to Adam son of God through two well-known lines successively: the classical line of Aeneas back to Saturn son of Caelius, and the biblical line of Cethim (i.e. Kittim) son of Javan back to Adam.⁴⁰ The two lines are connected to one another via eponyms of the islands of Crete and Cyprus: Caelius is made son of Cretus, Cretus a son of Cyprius, and Cyprius a son of Cethim. The use of the two eponyms to link the Trojan and biblical pedigrees together was probably inspired by the

³⁵ Ó Riain, *Corpus*, pp. 1 (§1) and 125 (§689.3); cf. Anscombe, ‘Pedigree’.

³⁶ Such a scheme, no doubt unwittingly, would have contradicted the *Historia Brittonum*, which, following its Irish source, included *Ougomun* (i.e. Agnoman) as an ancestor, rather than descendant, of Brutus: *HB* (Harl. 3859), §17.

³⁷ Cf. Roberts, ‘Treatment’, p. 282.

³⁸ See Chapter 4 above, p. 225, n. 342.

³⁹ All these are laid out in Table A.4.5.1.

⁴⁰ For Aeneas’s Trojan ancestry, see March, *Cassell’s Dictionary*, p. 410. For Kittim son of Javan, see Genesis 10.4.

prior association of Cethim with the island of Cyprus, on the one hand, and of Jupiter with the island of Crete, on the other.⁴¹

In the Old Testament, *Kittim* (Vulgate *Cethim*) is often the name specifically used for the island of Cyprus, although it can sometimes have the vaguer connotation of ‘lands to the west’.⁴² The name originated as an eponym for the city of Kition in Cyprus.⁴³ The onomastic range of the name was recognised by the first-century Jewish historian Josephus.⁴⁴ In its Latin translation, Josephus’s *Antiquities* circulated widely in the Latin West, and was well-known in England (and no doubt Wales) in the twelfth century.⁴⁵ In the Latin version, we read the following:⁴⁶

Iano autem Iapheth filio et ipso tres habente filios [...] Cethim autem Cethimam insulam habuit, quae nunc dicitur Cypros, et ab ea omnes insulae et maritima loca Cethim Hebraice nominantur. testis est enim sermonis mei una in Cypro civitatum, quae appellationem valuit retinere. Cithis enim ab his qui et Graecum nomen imposuerunt vocatur neque sic fugiens Cheti nomen.

Javan was also son of Japheth and he had three sons [...] and Cethim held the island of Cethima, which is now called Cyprus, and from it all islands and maritime places are named Cethim in Hebrew. For there is a witness to what I say in one of the cities in Cyprus, which has been able to retain the name. For it is called Cithis by those who use the Greek name, which does not stray far from Cethim’s name.

The same associations were known to early Christian exegetes. In Jerome’s commentary on Genesis 10.4–5, he explains that ‘Cethim Citii, a quibus hodieque urbs Cypri Citium nominatur’ (‘Cethim: the Citii, from whom a city of Cyprus is named Citium up to this day’).⁴⁷ Almost the same words exactly were repeated by Isidore of Seville in his *Etymologiae*.⁴⁸ Through such channels, the association between Cethim son of Javan and Cyprus would have become known to the creator of the Beli Mawr pedigree in twelfth-century Wales. It would have seemed natural to attribute a son called ‘Cyprius’ to Cethim.

In a similar fashion, the use of the eponym ‘Cretus’ to link Cyprius to Caelius, Saturnus and Jupiter was probably inspired by the various stories that feature Jupiter on the island of Crete, which were themselves modelled on stories about Zeus.⁴⁹ One such story concerns Zeus’s abduction of Europa.⁵⁰ Because Zeus was enamoured with Europa, he transformed himself into a tame white bull and wandered among Europa and her friends. Europa started playing with the bull, but when she mounted it the bull bolted into the sea and carried her all the way to Crete. There, Zeus fathered three sons on her (Minos, Rhadamanthys and Sarpedon), after which she married Asterius, king of Crete. St Augustine of Hippo refers to this story in his *City of God*, where he claims that it was Xanthus, king of Crete, who abducted Europa and fathered three children on her, and not Jupiter, whose story was a mere fable.⁵¹ More important in the present context, however, may be the story of Zeus’s

⁴¹ The link between Cethim and Cyprius is also explored in Thornton, ‘Power’, pp. 41–3.

⁴² Hill, *History I*, 96–7.

⁴³ Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, p. 508.

⁴⁴ Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, I.127–8 (ed. and transl. Thackeray, pp. 60–3).

⁴⁵ Blatt, *Latin Josephus*, pp. 22, 25 and 87–94.

⁴⁶ Josephus, *Historiae antiquitatis Iudaicae*, I.127–8 (ed. Blatt, pp. 139–40).

⁴⁷ Jerome, *Hebraicae Quaestiones in Libro Geneseos*, 10.4–5 (ed. Antin, p. 12).

⁴⁸ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, IX.ii.36 (ed. Lindsay I).

⁴⁹ Boardman, *Cretan Collection*, p. 2; March, *Cassell’s Dictionary*, pp. 400–2, s.v. Zeus.

⁵⁰ March, *Cassell’s Dictionary*, p. 157, s.v. Europa.

⁵¹ Augustine, *City of God*, XVIII.12 (ed. and transl. Dyson, p. 835).

upbringing in a cave on the island of Crete by the Cretan Curetes.⁵² Zeus had been hidden in Crete by his mother Rhea, so that he might grow up without being devoured by his father Cronos. According to Solinus, the king of the Curetes, and by implication the chief fosterer of Zeus, was a certain Cres, an eponym for the island of Crete.⁵³ The story about Zeus/Jupiter's upbringing by Cres and the Curetes entered early Christian texts, such as the chronicle of Eusebius-Jerome, where it is told briefly as follows:⁵⁴

Apud Cretam regnauit primus Cres indigena. Creta dicta a Crete indigena, quem aiunt unum Curetarum fuisse, a quibus Iuppiter absconditus est et nutritus. Hi Cnoson ciuitatem in Creta condiderunt et Cybelae matris templum.

Cres, the first native, ruled in Crete. Crete was named from the native Cres, whom they say was one of the Curetes, by whom Jupiter was kidnapped and raised. They built Knossos, a city in Crete, and the temple of Cybele the mother.

In very similar words, Isidore mentions it in his *Etymologiae*:⁵⁵

Creta Graeciae pars est, iungens contra Peloponnensem. Haec primum a temperie caeli Macaronnesos appellata est; deinde Creta dicta a Crete quodam indigena, quem aiunt unum Curetum fuisse, a quibus Iuppiter ibi absconditus est et enutritus.

Crete is part of Greece, lying opposite the Peloponnese. At first it was called Macaronnesos from the mildness of the climate; after that it was named Crete from a certain native, Cres, whom they say was one of the Curetes, by whom Jupiter was kidnapped and raised there.

It may have been this idea that ultimately inspired the adoption of Cretus as father of Caelius, and therefore great-grandfather of Jupiter, in the twelfth-century Welsh pedigree.⁵⁶

However, the genealogical connection between Cretus/Cres and Caelius may have existed prior to the creation of the Welsh pedigree, for it is also found, seemingly independently, in the work of the imperial chaplain and notary Godfrey of Viterbo (c. 1125–after 1191).⁵⁷ In Godfrey's *Pantheon*, a historical compendium of world history that reached its final form around 1190, there is a genealogy from Adam to Charlemagne, in which is found the following passage:⁵⁸

Sem filius Noe, Arfata filius Sem. Arfata genuit Salem. Salem genuit Eber. Eber genuit Falec et Irari, patrem primi regis Nembrot in divisione linguarum. Nembrot, primus rex huius mundi in Babilone, genuit octo filios. Quorum primus fuit Cres, a quo Creta insula nomen accepit. Cres primus rex Cretensium genuit Celium. Celius genuit Saturnum. Rex Saturnus genuit Iovem. Rex Iuppiter genuit Dardanum et Troium [...]

⁵² Diodorus of Sicily, *The Library of History*, V.70 (transl. Oldfather *et al.* III, 284–9); for other sources, see March, *Cassell's Dictionary*, p. 118, s.v. Curetes (1). The story is first found in Hesiod's *Theogony*, but there the Curetes are not mentioned: Hesiod, *Theogony*, ll. 453–91 (ed. West, pp. 128–30, and cf. the note at pp. 290–3; ed. and transl. Johnson, pp. 34–7).

⁵³ Solinus, *De mirabilibus mundi*, 11.5 (ed. Mommsen, p. 72).

⁵⁴ Jerome, *Chronicle* (ed. Helm, p. 22b).

⁵⁵ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, XIV.vi.15 (ed. Lindsay I). Isidore seems to derive his two etymologies from Solinus, though the latter does not mention Jupiter: see above, n. 53.

⁵⁶ One may perhaps note the coincidence of Isidore's use of the word *caeli* in the context of the extract above.

⁵⁷ For an appraisal of Godfrey of Viterbo's life and works, see Weber, 'Historical Importance'. For Godfrey's political context, see Hering, 'Godfrey of Viterbo'.

⁵⁸ Godfrey of Viterbo, *Pantheon*, particula 32 (ed. Waitz, p. 300); cf. Weber, 'Historical Importance', pp. 186–9.

The Pedigrees of the Kings of Gwynedd

Shem son of Noah, Arphaxad son of Shem. Arphaxad begot Salah. Salah begot Eber. Eber begot Peleg and Irari, the father of the first king Nimrod at the division of languages. Nimrod, the first king of this world in Babylon, begot eight sons. The first of them was Cres, from whom the island of Crete took its name. Cres, the first king of the Cretans, begot Caelius. Caelius begot Saturnus. King Saturnus begot Jupiter. King Jupiter begot Dardanus and Troius [...]

The genealogical positioning of Nimrod in this text is certainly unorthodox. Nimrod's alleged father, Irari, does not seem to be known from earlier sources.⁵⁹ However, Nimrod's son Cres and, more significantly, Cres's son Caelius are both found in Godfrey's earliest work, the *Speculum regum*, which he seems never to have completed.⁶⁰ But since the Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan was written before 1170, perhaps even several decades beforehand, the Beli Mawr pedigree may well have existed before Godfrey of Viterbo wrote the *Speculum regum*. It is conceivable that Godfrey was influenced by the Welsh pedigree, though his introduction of Nimrod as father of Cres would suggest otherwise. It is more probable that the new genealogical doctrine found in both texts, by which Caelius was made the son of an eponym for Crete, derives from an earlier common (and quite possibly non-Welsh) source, which was perhaps itself inspired by the kind of story found in the works of Eusebius-Jerome and Isidore of Seville. If so, the task of the Welsh genealogist was relatively straightforward. All that was required was to invent a connection between Javan's son Cethim, a known eponym for the island of Cyprus, and Caelius's 'father' Cres/Cretus, a known eponym for the island of Crete. One obvious solution was to insert Cyprius, another eponym for Cyprus, as son of Cethim and father of Cretus. So far as it is possible to tell, the twelfth-century Beli Mawr pedigree is the earliest text to make this connection, predating other early examples by at least a century. Significantly, there is every reason to suppose that the twelfth-century Beli Mawr pedigree was the context in which the Cyprius connection originated.

The Pedigree of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd

Exeter 3514 and the Mostyn Genealogies

The next attempt to revise the pedigree of the kings of Gwynedd came during the reign of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (d. 1282) later in the thirteenth century. Two manuscripts survive that contain very similar pedigrees tracing Llywelyn ap Gruffudd's ancestry back to Adam: Exeter 3514, probably written in the Cistercian abbey of Whitland in about 1285, and NLW 3036B (Mostyn 117), written by the same scribe as the Book of Taliesin probably in south-east Wales in the first half of the fourteenth century.⁶¹ In the latter manuscript, the pedigree of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd heads a short genealogical collection known as the Mostyn genealogies.⁶² This compilation was assembled either during or shortly after Llywelyn's reign, and was intended to gather together the pedigrees of the most significant individual rulers associated with each of the major divisions of twelfth- and thirteenth-century native Wales: Llywelyn ap Gruffudd of Gwynedd (d. 1282; MG 1), the Lord Rhys ap Gruffudd of Deheubarth (d. 1197; MG 2), Madog ap Maredudd of Powys (d. 1160; MG 3), and Cadwallon (d. 1179), Hywel (d. 1142) and Einion Clud (d. 1177), sons of Madog ab

⁵⁹ In the bible, Nimrod is son of Cush, son of Ham, son of Noah: Genesis 10.1–10; 1 Chronicles 1.1–10.

⁶⁰ Godfrey of Viterbo, *Speculum regum*, I.4–5 (ed. Waitz, pp. 32–6); cf. Weber, 'Historical Importance', pp. 182–4.

⁶¹ For Exeter 3514, see Crick, 'Power'; for NLW 3036B, see Haycock, 'Llyfr Taliesin'; *MWM*, pp. 49 (n. 21), 59 and 328.

⁶² Edited below in Appendix B.9.

Idnerth, of Maelienydd and Elfael (MG 4).⁶³ These are accompanied by two further pedigrees of King Arthur (MG 5) and St Non and her son St David (MG 6); the latter two are portrayed as daughter and grandson respectively of Arthur's sister Anna. The collection is especially useful for preserving alternative versions of the pedigrees descending from Tegonwy ap Teon (MG 3–4), which can be compared with the versions of the same pedigrees in the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies (LIIG 11.1.1, 12.1, 31–3 and A3.6; cf. *ByS* 34, JC 30).⁶⁴ The Mostyn genealogies were probably compiled from more than one source. In the case of the pedigree of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (MG 1), the source may have been a Latin pedigree like that found in Exeter 3514, perhaps accounting for the unusual preservation of the Latin genitive case endings in the names *Celi*, *Creti* and *Cipri*.⁶⁵

The pedigrees of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in Exeter 3514 and MG 1 share many features in common.⁶⁶ The most obvious feature is structural. As mentioned above, the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension had contrived two ways of tracing Rhodri Mawr's ancestry back to Beli Mawr: one through the standard pedigree of the kings of Gwynedd, via Cunedda Wledig, and one through an invented agnatic patriline, via Coel Hen. The Exeter and Mostyn pedigrees stitch these two pedigrees together in a confusing way. They begin by tracing the line back through the kings of Gwynedd to Cunedda, but they then switch to the line of Coel Hen by making Cunedda's grandfather, Padarn Peisrudd (father of Cunedda's father Edern), into a son of Cenau ap Coel. Some aspect of this construction may already have existed earlier in the thirteenth century, for the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies mention a son of Cenau ap Coel called Padarn and a son of Padarn called Edern (LIIG 7.3.1).⁶⁷

Certain minor variants in Coel Hen's ancestry are unique to these two pedigrees: *Tuuil* (Ex. 3514) and *Triuil* (MG 1) are similar variants for *Telpuil* (HG 10); *Oudecant* (HG 10) is omitted; and Lludd is inserted between Aflech and Beli Mawr. More noticeably, the two pedigrees both contain versions of an additional comment about the sons of Maelgwn Gwynedd.⁶⁸

(Ex. 3514) Beli filius Run. Secundum hystoriam uero Beli finit⁶⁹ Eyniaun filius Malgonis Magni, quarti regnatoris Britannie post Arturum.

⁶³ The appearance of Hywel ap Madog ab Idnerth (d. 1142) in MG 3, alongside his much more prominent brothers Cadwallon and Einion Clud, is puzzling. Madog ab Idnerth had other sons who are not named in MG 3, such as the Cadwgon who was killed alongside Hywel in 1142 (Cott. c462), the Maredudd who was killed in 1146 (Brev. b1168; Cott. c466), and others who appear in later genealogies (*WG* 1 II, s. 'Elystan Glodrydd 33'). It is not surprising that MG 3 passes over these other sons in favour of Cadwallon and Einion Clud, because the latter were politically active over a longer period and their descendants remained prominent in Maelienydd and Elfael respectively into the thirteenth century (cf. *AWR* 14–18; Smith, 'Middle March'). But why is Hywel mentioned alongside them? So far as is known, Hywel ap Madog ab Idnerth had no such prominent descendants. Lewys Dwnn attributes to him a great-granddaughter called Gwenllian ferch Hywel ap Maredudd, who is said to have married into another family, but no son of Hywel called Maredudd or grandson called Hywel seem to be known from medieval sources (Meyrick, *Heraldic Visitations* II, 254; cf. *WG* 1 II, s. 'Elystan Glodrydd 33' and VI, 464, s.v. Gwenllian f. Hywel ap Maredudd). Perhaps he had a prominent line of descendants who escaped the notice of medieval sources. Another intriguing possibility is that MG 3 could derive from a pedigree recorded prior to Hywel's death in 1142, before which he may have been more notable.

⁶⁴ See *EWGT* 137, n. '3 and 4', and 151, nn. 1b and 2d; Bartrum, 'Pedigrees', pt 1, 126.

⁶⁵ As observed in Thornton, 'Power', p. 43.

⁶⁶ Cf. Thornton, 'Neglected Genealogy', pp. 13–20.

⁶⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 16–17. Compare too LIIG 27.2, which claims that Gwawl daughter of Coel was the wife of Edern, father of Cunedda Wledig.

⁶⁸ Thornton, 'Neglected Genealogy', p. 11. Note that Thornton misread the abbreviation *scd'm* as *sed'in*, and consequently printed *sed in* rather than *secundum*. He also overlooked the nasal suspension mark in *hystoriā*.

⁶⁹ Probably an incorrect expansion of *fi.*, the text's usual abbreviation of *filius*. Compare 'oed vab i' ('was son to') in MG 1. Thornton printed *fuut*.

Beli son of Rhun. But according to the history, Beli [was son of] Einion son of Maelgwn the Great, the fourth ruler of Britain after Arthur.

(MG 1) Beli m. Run m. Maelgwn Gwyned, herwyd dull y beird. Namyn o herwyd yr istoria, Beli oed vab y Eynyan vab Maelgwn, y gwr a uu petweryd brenhin ar Ynys Prydein gwedy Arthur.

Beli son of Rhun son of Maelgwn Gwynedd, according to the manner of the bards. But according to the history, Beli was son of Einion son of Maelgwn, who was the fourth king of the Island of Britain after Arthur.

In both texts, the additional comment contrasts the usual pedigree (with Rhun as father of Beli), characterised by MG 1 as being in ‘the manner of the bards’, with the idiosyncratic pedigree of Geoffrey of Monmouth, author of the *Historia* (with Einion as father of Beli).⁷⁰ Very few Welsh pedigrees take account of the divergence between Geoffrey and the standard genealogical tradition at this point. Interestingly, it suggests that the compiler of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd’s pedigree was aware that some readers might be more familiar with Geoffrey’s narrative than with the mainstream genealogical tradition ‘according to the manner of the bards’, perhaps as expressed in bardic poems, manuscripts of genealogy possessed by bards or indeed pedigrees recited by bards on formal occasions.⁷¹

A further noteworthy feature of these pedigrees concerns the relationship between Rhodri Mawr, Merfyn Frych and Epyllt. In MG 1, this section of the pedigree appears as follows: ‘Rodri m. Meruyn Vrych gwr priawt Epyllt verch Kynan Tindaethwy’ (‘Rhodri son of Merfyn Frych husband of Epyllt daughter of Cynan Tindaethwy’). By contrast, Exeter 3514, uniquely for a pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension pedigree incorporating the extension from Beli Mawr to Adam, makes Merfyn the son of Epyllt: ‘Rodri filius Meruen Wrech filius Dethild filia Kanan Dyntelethoe’ (‘Rhodri son of Merfyn Frych son of Epyllt daughter of Cynan’). This agrees with the St Davids recension pedigrees (HG 1, GM 2, whence probably JC 22) against the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension pedigrees (VGC §3, HGK 1, LIIG 11.1, Harley 637, MG 1). It is possible that Exeter 3514 derives from an early copy of the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension pedigree that predated the textual error by which Merfyn was omitted from the pedigree and Epyllt became the mother of Rhodri Mawr.⁷² Given that Exeter 3514 and MG 1 derive from a common source, this view would require the redactor of MG 1 to have altered the pedigree so as to make Merfyn the husband rather than the son of Epyllt, perhaps in light of a comparison between different versions of the pedigree.⁷³ However, it is also possible to envisage the opposite process: that, in this case, MG 1 preserves more closely the reading of the common exemplar, which thereby agreed with the other witnesses to the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension. Following this view, it would be necessary to imagine that the scribe of Exeter 3514 had overlooked the stated relationship between Merfyn Frych and Epyllt (*gwr priawt*) by instead mechanically writing *filius*, thereby accidentally reproducing the genealogical arrangement of the earlier pedigrees.

⁷⁰ DGB XI.195.378.

⁷¹ See the discussion in Chapter 1, pp. 32–9.

⁷² See above, p. 226 and 234. This was the opinion of Sims-Williams, ‘Historical Need’, pp. 22–3.

⁷³ Such a process of comparison might be implied by the gap that is left for the name between *Keyeirn* and *Endos*. The form of the intermediate name varies greatly across different copies of the pedigree: it is *Ebiud* in HG 1 and the St Cadog genealogies, *Elud* in JC 5 and *Elvydd* in GM 1, *Enid* in HGK and *Eneid* in LIIG 11.1, and *Eunit* in Exeter 3514. The extant manuscript of VGC omits it altogether.

Locrinus, Kamber and the Genealogical Politics of Edward I's Reign

A more radical difference between the pedigrees in Exeter 3514 and MG 1 and those in other witnesses to the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension may be seen in the section linking Beli Mawr back to Brutus. The original Beli Mawr pedigree, as described above, was traced initially through an otherwise unknown line to Antonius, and then through the early royal line in Geoffrey's history from Sisillius back to Locrinus son of Brutus. In Exeter 3514 and MG 1, the pedigree has been shortened dramatically. Between Beli Mawr and Brutus only four names are found, spelled in Exeter 3514 as *Menogan*, *Dyuawal Hen*, *Gormoniaun* and *Cambri* (gen. sg), and in MG 1 as *Manogan*, *Dyfnwal Hen*, *Gorwynyawn* and *Kamber*. Mynogan is the father of Beli Mawr in the earlier pedigree too and was probably well-known; he derives from the *Historia Brittonum* and appears in *Brut y Brenhinedd* and elsewhere.⁷⁴ Dyfnwal Hen and *Gormoniaun*/*Gorwynyawn* are both characters found in pedigrees of the Men of the North. In the earliest pedigrees, they belong to separate lineages: Dyfnwal Hen is the ancestor of the kings of Alclud and other collateral lines (HG 5–7; cf. LIIG 9.2), whereas *Garbaniaun* is a son or grandson of Coel Hen (HG 10; JC 37; LIIG 7.3; LIIG (GO) G9.8). Only in *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd*, a tract preserved in Peniarth 45 from the early fourteenth century, are the two conjoined, *Garmonyawn* being made the son of *Dyfnwal Hen* (BGG 10). Although Exeter 3514 and MG 1 depict the opposite relationship, it is very probable that the two names were drawn into Llywelyn ap Gruffudd's pedigree together from a tract like *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd*.

The presence of the final name, *Kamber*, may explain the motivation for this drastic alteration of Beli Mawr's pedigree. The original Beli Mawr pedigree, composed in the twelfth century, had traced the line back to Locrinus son of Brutus. Although Geoffrey's Locrinus was an eponym for England (Modern Welsh *Lloegr*) and Locrinus's brother Kamber was an eponym for Wales (Modern Welsh *Cymru*), the creator of the Beli Mawr pedigree co-opted Locrinus rather than Kamber as the ancestor of the Welsh princes, because it was Locrinus's descendants who provided the early kings of Britain in Geoffrey's narrative. By the time that Llywelyn ap Gruffudd's pedigree was compiled in the second half of the thirteenth century (as is extant in Exeter 3514 and MG 1), the situation had seemingly changed; it was now advantageous to claim descent from Geoffrey's Kamber, even though the names between Beli Mawr and Kamber had to be furnished by other sources.

What motivated the change? It is likely that the change was inadvertently prompted by Llywelyn's adversary Edward I. It is well-known that Edward occasionally made conscious appeals to Geoffrey's history and to King Arthur in particular, whose reign could be viewed as the golden age of the monarchy that Edward I still held.⁷⁵ The implication was usually that the kingdom of England was the direct continuation of the ancient kingdom of Britain described in Geoffrey's history.⁷⁶ In his famous letter to Pope Boniface VIII in May 1301, Edward attempted to outline an historical justification of his right to rule Scotland by appealing to the prior unity of Britain under Brutus and his successors, including Locrinus, Belinus and Brennius, and Arthur.⁷⁷ Edward presented Geoffrey of Monmouth's ancient British monarchy as the direct precursor of the contemporary English monarchy, confirming by ancient precedence the legitimacy of the idea of a single kingship dominating the island of Britain. It was almost certainly for this reason that it was no longer politically expedient for Llywelyn to claim descent from Locrinus, as his recent

⁷⁴ *HB* (Harl. 3859), §19; *BD* III.19–20. Cf. *TYP*⁴ 288–9; *WCD* 491–2.

⁷⁵ Loomis, 'Edward I'; Carley, 'Arthur', pp. 50–2; Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 120–2.

⁷⁶ R. R. Davies, *First English Empire*, pp. 39–43.

⁷⁷ For an edition and translation of the letter, see Stone, *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, pp. 192–219 (no. 30). For the context, see Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 490–2.

ancestors had done. If Llywelyn proclaimed himself to be a descendant of Locrinus, then he would be acquiescing to Edward's narrative about Britain being a single, united kingdom transmitted to Edward from the line of Locrinus son of Brutus. In this imagined history, Llywelyn's dynasty would be no more than a minor branch of Edward's dynasty. It would have been much more prudent for Llywelyn to emphasise a different aspect of Geoffrey's history: the division of Britain between Locrinus, Albanactus and Kamber upon Brutus's death.⁷⁸ If Llywelyn could claim to be the contemporary representative of Kamber, then he could acquire a pseudo-historical argument to counter Edward's imperial pretensions.⁷⁹ That this is exactly what Llywelyn did is demonstrated by a letter known as 'the reply of the Welsh to Archbishop Peckham', dated 11 November 1282, which was the response of Llywelyn's council to the terms proposed through the archbishop for Llywelyn's unconditional surrender to Edward.⁸⁰ The letter opens with a reference to the 'Four Cantrefs' of north-east Wales, the subject of a dispute between Llywelyn and Edward. According to the text, these were territories 'in quibus merum ius habuerunt principes et predecessores sui a temporibus Kambri filii Bruti' ('to which the princes and their predecessors from the time of Kamber son of Brutus have had the sole right').⁸¹ The emphasis on Llywelyn's right to rule Wales as a descendant of Kamber is striking, and must represent a conscious departure from the claim of his immediate predecessors to descend from Locrinus. The same historical ideology lies behind the pedigree of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd traced back to Kamber son of Brutus in Exeter 3514 and MG 1. Edward may have been the successor of Locrinus, but Llywelyn was the successor of Kamber, and neither should hold power over the other.⁸²

Predictably, Edward I's backwards projection of imperial pretention through Geoffrey's British monarchy is found in the genealogical productions of the period. The kings of England could not claim literal descent from Geoffrey's British kings (as the Welsh princes could from the twelfth century onwards, thanks to the Beli Mawr pedigree examined above), but it remained possible for them to be cast as the direct successors of the British kings as a way of demonstrating the longevity and continuity of what was now the English kingdom.⁸³ In a genealogical context, the British kings are first found

⁷⁸ *DGB* II.2.

⁷⁹ An alternative but comparable strategy was pursued in Scotland, where Edward's claim to be ruler of all Britain as the heir of Locrinus and Brutus was countered by the observation that the Britons had been overthrown in both Scotland and England since the time of Brutus, thereby invalidating descent from Brutus as a mark of legitimacy in either kingdom. See Tebbit, 'Papal Pronouncements', pp. 49–50.

⁸⁰ Smith, *Sense*, pp. 14–15. For the context, see Smith, *Llywelyn*, pp. 530–6 and 542–6. The connection between this letter and the presentation of Llywelyn's genealogy is noticed in Thornton, 'Neglected Genealogy', pp. 12–13.

⁸¹ *AWR*, no. 431. Subsequently, the letter refers only to Llywelyn's descent from Brutus rather than Kamber son of Brutus.

⁸² Smith interprets Llywelyn's claim to descend from Kamber somewhat differently, believing it to represent the view that Britain should rightfully be ruled by three rulers, 'two of whom acknowledged the primacy of the third, who was vested with the territory of England': Smith, *Llywelyn*, pp. 543–4; Smith, 'Biography', pp. 372–3. Although the latter view articulates the policy generally pursued by the thirteenth-century princes of Gwynedd, it does not necessarily correlate with the political ideology of the letter of 1282 and the associated genealogy. Llywelyn's reduced circumstances following the treaty of Aberconwy in 1277 were partly a consequence of his prior refusal to do homage to Edward, and in the letter of 1282 he specifically refused to submit himself to the king's will. In this context, Llywelyn evidently preferred to draw attention to Geoffrey's unambiguous statement that Britain was divided between the three sons of Brutus, who all ruled together, conveniently ignoring the subsequent supremacy of Locrinus's lineage in Geoffrey's narrative and his silence concerning the fate of Kamber and his descendants.

⁸³ Laborderie, 'New Pattern', p. 58.

presented in this way in the royal genealogical rolls of Edward I's reign.⁸⁴ Although these rolls were not royal propaganda disseminated by the central government, they circulated widely and must have contributed to the view that the English kingdom was the lineal successor of Geoffrey's British kingdom.⁸⁵ The rolls employed the innovative diagrammatic 'family tree' format that had been developed by Peter of Poitiers (d. 1205) for representing the genealogy of Christ, a format adapted by Matthew Paris for the genealogy of the kings of England.⁸⁶ Most genealogical rolls of Edward I's reign begin with King Ecgerht of Wessex, rather than Brutus and the British kings, even though some of them acquired a short 'Brutus prologue' setting out the main achievements of Geoffrey's British kings with respect to the establishment of the kingdom.⁸⁷ But other rolls begin with a much fuller treatment of Geoffrey's British kings.⁸⁸ These rolls encountered the problem of dealing with the transition from British to English rule, with the concomitant implication of discontinuity in the history of the kingdom. In some cases, the problem was overcome by adding a central line to the diagram that could illustrate the royal succession, regardless of the biological relationships between successive kings.⁸⁹ This allowed genealogical complications to be elided, enabling Edward I to be portrayed as the direct successor of Brutus and Locrinus.

Some of the creators of these English pedigree rolls must have been aware of prior Welsh claims to descend from Locrinus, since there is at least one early example of a roll that repeats the Welsh pedigree tracing Adam's line to Brutus via Cyprius and Cretus.⁹⁰ Bodley Add. E. 14, written sometime during Edward I's reign (1272–1307), preserves the following passage at the beginning of the roll.⁹¹

Iaphet engendra Yewan. De ly vint Tharsis e Techyn. De ly Cypre, de ky noun vne ylle de la mer de Grece est apelée Cypre. De Cypre vynt Crete, de ky noun vne ylle de la mer de Grece est apelée Crete. De ly vynt Celii. De ly Saturne. De ly Iubiter. De ly Dardanii. De ly Erictonie. De ly Troys, ky fist la grant Troye. De ly Asarak. De ly Capys. De ly Anchise. De ly Enyas. De ly Ascanii. De ly Silue. De ly vynt Brut.

Japheth begot Javan. From him came Tarshish and *Techyn* [*recte Cethym*]. From him Cyprus, from whose name an island in the sea of Greece is called Cyprus. From Cyprus came Cretus, from whose name an island in the sea of Greece is called Crete. From him came Caelius. From him Saturnus. From him Jupiter. From him Dardanius. From him Erictonius. From him Trois, who built the great Troy. From him Assaracus. From him Capis. From him Anchises. From him Aeneas. From him Ascanius. From him Silvus. From him came Brutus.

⁸⁴ For these rolls, see Laborderie, *Histoire*. For a summary of Laborderie's work, see his 'New Pattern'.

⁸⁵ Laborderie, *Histoire*, p. 259.

⁸⁶ Laborderie, 'New Pattern', pp. 51–2. For the role of Matthew Paris in developing the new format, see Laborderie, '*Genealogiae orbiculatae*' and Laborderie, *Histoire*, pp. 81–144. For the development of family tree diagrams across the Middle Ages, see Klapisch-Zuber, *L'ombre*.

⁸⁷ Rajsic, 'Looking for Arthur', p. 452; Laborderie, *Histoire*, p. 372. For an example of a Brutus prologue (from Ashmole Rolls 38), see Rajsic, "'Par ceste figure l'en poet savoer'", pp. 190–3.

⁸⁸ Rajsic, 'Looking for Arthur', pp. 466–7; Rajsic, 'Britain', pp. 126–7, n. 338; Laborderie, *Histoire*, p. 164 and n. 3.

⁸⁹ Laborderie, *Histoire*, pp. 335 and 378–9; Rajsic, 'Britain', p. 114, n. 327. Two other rolls feature galleries of kings from Brutus to Edward I, set out in multiple rows of horizontal medallions: Monroe, 'Two Medieval Genealogical Roll-Chronicles'.

⁹⁰ Cf. Rajsic, 'Britain', p. 127.

⁹¹ My thanks to Joshua Byron Smith for discussing this passage with me. For the date of this roll, see the table in Laborderie, *Histoire*, pp. 441–2. Between 1301 and 1307, and possibly in 1301–2, Bodley Add. E. 14 was copied into BL Add. 11713: *ibid.*, pp. 441 and 445. The latter was continued between 1316 and 1318: *ibid.*, p. 250.

Not only does this passage reproduce a genealogical doctrine that seems to have originated in twelfth-century Wales, but it also paraphrases another genealogical text found in Exeter 3514 ('text 3', discussed below). This text, which appears immediately after Llywelyn ab Gruffudd's pedigree traced through Kamber, begins as follows (p. 56):

Cyprius quidam filius Ieuan in Cipro insula primus regnavit. A quo Cipro Cretus genitus est, de cuius nomine Creta insula uocata est, quia ibidem monarchiam tenuit.

A certain Cyprius son of Javan was the first to reign in the island of Cyprus. From this Cyprius Cretus was born, from whose name the island of Crete was named, because he held the monarchy in that very place.

The statements about Cyprus and Crete, set into the context of a descending genealogy, appear in closely comparable fashions in both texts. The only genealogical discrepancy between them concerns the father of Cyprius, who is Cethim son of Javan in the French text but Javan himself in the Latin. This should probably be explained as an idiosyncrasy of the version of the Latin text preserved in Exeter 3514, since the retrograde pedigree at the end of the same tract does include Cethim in his usual position as father of Cyprius and son of Javan.⁹² The change in Exeter 3514's main text may have been deliberate, if it were felt that Cethim, as a known eponym for the island of Cyprus, was merely a duplicate of Cyprius.⁹³ It is very likely that the creator of Bodley Add. E. 14 discovered this pedigree in some version of the Latin tract preserved in Exeter 3514. As shown below, the influence of the compilation of genealogical texts found in Exeter 3514 is even more readily apparent in the English royal genealogies of the fifteenth century.

The Exeter 3514 Genealogies

Exeter 3514 is a large compilation of Latin historical texts whose most prominent components are Dares Phrygius's *De excidio Troiae historia*, the First Variant version of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *De gestis Britonum*, and Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*.⁹⁴ At the end of the manuscript are four interconnected texts of Welsh interest: the chronicles *Cronica de Wallia* and *Cronica ante aduentum Domini*, and genealogical texts on the progeny of the Lord Rhys (d. 1197) and the relations of the lords of Carew, which are sandwiched between the chronicles.⁹⁵ The pedigree of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, however, appears earlier in the manuscript, in a section containing a series of interlocking genealogies (pp. 54–8). The contents of this section are as follows:

1. A genealogy from Adam to Cadwaladr, based initially on the Beli Mawr pedigree and latterly on Geoffrey of Monmouth's history, and punctuated by sections of prose narrative (pp. 54–6).

⁹² The same idiosyncrasy is found in TCD 515 and Cardiff 2.611, but has been corrected in Notre Dame cod. Lat. d. 3. These manuscripts are discussed further below (p. 250–1).

⁹³ Cethim may have been omitted from the pedigrees in *Vita Griffini filii Conani* and its Welsh translation *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* for the same reason.

⁹⁴ The contents are listed in Crick, 'Power', pp. 36–8. My work on Exeter 3514 has been carried out alongside Georgia Henley, who has contributed much to my understanding of the manuscript.

⁹⁵ These four texts are printed in T. Jones, "'Cronica de Wallia'" (though *Cronica ante aduentum Domini* is not printed in its entirety). For analysis, see Smith, "'Cronica de Wallia'"; Hughes, 'Welsh Latin Chronicles', pp. 76–9; Henley, 'Rhetoric'; Henley, 'Use'. For other texts of Welsh interest in this manuscript, see T. Jones, 'Triawd Lladin'; *TYP* lxxiv–lxxv; Roberts, 'Pen Penwaedd'.

2. A pedigree of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd back to Adam (related to MG 1) (p. 56).
3. A genealogical history beginning *Cyprius quidam filius Ieuan*, drawing on the Beli Mawr pedigree (for Cyprius and Cretus) and on classical legend.⁹⁶ It ends with ascending pedigrees of Locrinus son of Brutus and Hector son of Priam, both traced back to Noah (pp. 56–7).
4. A pedigree of the West Saxon king Æthelwulf traced back to Noah, taken from William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum Anglorum* (pp. 57–8).⁹⁷
5. A short account of the settlement of Normandy followed by a genealogy of the Norman dukes of Normandy and kings of England, traced from Rollo to Henry III (p. 58).⁹⁸

The juxtaposition of these five genealogical texts creates an interesting political message. It emphasises the legitimacy of the line of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, whose pedigree appears before those of the English and the Normans and is the only one traced back to Adam via the prestigious line of the Trojan and British kings. This is reinforced by the surrounding texts 1 and 3, which respectively detail the British and classical aspects of Llywelyn's genealogy.⁹⁹ The ending of text 3 is particularly revealing, leaving no doubt as to who were the true heirs of the Trojan lineage:

Quicumque hystoriam Britonum legit uel scivit, nouerit quod hoc nomen Brutus nomen Troianum est, sed a Latinis corruptum. Troianorum enim lingua, uel Britonum qui a Troianis originem ducunt, non Brutus sed Predus uocatur, quod interpretatur formosus usque hodie: Britannia, que a Bruto nomen sortita est, a Britonibus Predeyn¹⁰⁰ nominatur.

Whoever has read or known the history of the Britons, may he have understood that this name, Brutus, is a Trojan name, but one corrupted by the Latins. For in the language of the Trojans, or of the Britons who derive their origin from the Trojans, he is not called Brutus, but Predus, something that is understood properly up to this day: Britain, which draws its name from Brutus, is called Predeyn by the Britons.

Only the Britons are the true heirs of Brutus and the Trojans, for only they preserve the true Trojan name of the island. Henry III, by contrast, is not even traced back to Noah via the Anglo-Saxon lineage; instead, his line is traced back to Rollo, who, so the text explains, was the leader of a band of Norman Danes who left Scythia in 806. Considering the emphasis on Henry III rather than Edward, this set of genealogical texts was probably assembled prior to Henry's death in 1272.

Texts 1 and 3, detailing the British and classical aspects of Llywelyn's pedigree, seem to have circulated widely.¹⁰¹ Two other Latin manuscripts from Wales, both dating

⁹⁶ This text shares material with the earlier Trojan genealogy known as *Origo troianorum*: see Clark, 'Reading the "First Pagan Historiographer"', pp. 214–16 and 219; Thomson, *William*, p. 57.

⁹⁷ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, II.116 (ed. and trans. Mynors, Winterbottom and Thomson, pp. 176–7). Identified in Crick, 'Power', p. 37.

⁹⁸ Without explicitly recognising its presence in Exeter 3514, Crick listed two other manuscripts containing the same account of the settlement of Normandy, seemingly without the accompanying genealogy: *Dissemination*, p. 43. She identified the source as Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Priorum Excerptio libri decem*, X.10 (called *Liber de tribus circumstantiis* by Crick), printed in *PL* 177, cols 191–284 (at col. 284).

⁹⁹ The significance of texts 1 and 3 is noted in Thornton, 'Power', pp. 42–3.

¹⁰⁰ Exeter 3514 reads *Predae* for this word, after which is a small gap. The reading *Predeyn* has been taken from the copy of the same text in TCD 515, which is discussed below.

¹⁰¹ Crick lists the four copies of text 3 in *Dissemination*, pp. 43–4.

to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century and both, like Exeter 3514, containing all or parts of the First Variant version of Geoffrey of Monmouth's history, preserve versions of text 3. These are TCD 515, which contains Middle Welsh glosses on its text of Geoffrey's history and also preserves text 1 (ff. 10ra–11rb),¹⁰² and Cardiff 2.611, which contains a Latin poem by a certain brother Madog of Edeirnion (ff. 9r–9v).¹⁰³ Another, later Latin manuscript, now Notre Dame cod. Lat. d. 3, dated to the first half of the fifteenth century, has been identified as containing text 3 (ff. 13r–13v), sandwiched between a text beginning *Ab origine mundi circa annos tria milia* (a version of the Albina story) and the *De excidio Troiae*.¹⁰⁴

Y Bibyl Ynghymraec

The Latin genealogical texts in Exeter 3514 and its relatives were also translated into Welsh. As noted above, it is likely that the Welsh pedigree of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in the Mostyn genealogies (MG 1) derives from a Latinate genealogy comparable to text 2. Similarly, most of text 3 was translated into Welsh and used as the second part of the final section of *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec*.¹⁰⁵ The latter is a Middle Welsh translation and adaptation of the *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi* by Peter of Poitiers, chancellor of the University of Paris between 1193 and 1205.¹⁰⁶ The *Compendium* is a summary of biblical history taken mainly from Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica* and arranged

¹⁰² Crick, *Summary Catalogue*, pp. 110–12; Wright, *First Variant Version*, pp. lxxx–lxxxii. For the glossing, see Roberts, 'Glosau Cymraeg'.

¹⁰³ Crick, *Summary Catalogue*, pp. 89–90; Wright, *First Variant Version*, pp. lxxix–lxxx. Madog of Edeirnion's poem is printed in Hammer, *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, p. 18. According to David Dumville, the text of *De gestis Britonum* in Cardiff 2.611 is an amalgamation of two versions of the text: 'Origin of the C-text'. Dumville saw Madog as the redactor of the first source. It has been suggested that Madog of Edeirnion can be identified with the Welsh poet Madog ap Gwallter: I. Williams, 'Cyfeiriad'. For discussion, see CBT VII, 347–50. Hammer, followed by Dumville, thought that Cardiff 2.611 was written somewhere on the borders of France and Germany, possibly in Metz, but later scholars have preferred to attribute the manuscript to Wales: Hammer, *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, p. 8 and n. 10; Dumville, 'Origin of the C-text', p. 315; cf. *MMBL* II, 357–8 (Ker also notes England as a possible place of origin); Crick, *Summary Catalogue*, p. 89; Wright, *First Variant Version*, p. lxxix; Huws, *Repertory*, s. Cardiff 2.611.

¹⁰⁴ For this manuscript, see Gura, *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 316–21; Crick, *Summary Catalogue*, pp. 212–14. Gura suggests as the manuscript's origin 'England (Wales?)'; the tentative attribution to Wales is presumably on the strength of the presence of our text 3. Note that Crick calls the manuscript 'Notre Dame MS 40', using the older designation. Crick notes that this manuscript contains our text 3 in *Dissemination*, pp. 43–4, but she confuses the issue when she states that 'the text [...] ends with Iaphet, son of Noah, and therefore seems to trace the ancestry of Cyprus, rather than that of his descendants; the three Variant-Version manuscripts bring Cyprus's line down to the foundation of Britain' (p. 44). In fact, the text in the Notre Dame manuscript is identical to that found in the other manuscripts and does indeed bring Cyprius's line down to the foundation of Britain, but it finishes with the genealogy of Locrinus to Noah and does not proceed to give the genealogy of Hector to Noah or the etymological account of the name *Prydain*, as do Exeter 3514 and TCD 515. For *Ab origine mundi circa annos tria milia*, see Crick, *Dissemination*, p. 22; Carley and Crick, 'Constructing Albion's Past', p. 50. I would like to thank Georgia Henley for bringing this manuscript to my attention, and David Gura, curator of Ancient and Medieval Manuscripts in the Hesburgh Library at the University of Notre Dame, for kindly providing us with images of the relevant folios.

¹⁰⁵ The texts are printed in parallel in Appendix A.5.1. Thornton also noticed the connection: 'Neglected Genealogy', p. 10, n. 6; 'Power', pp. 42–3.

¹⁰⁶ The corresponding section appears at T. Jones, *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec*, pp. 62–3. Jones called Peter of Poitiers's work the *Promptuarium Bibliae*, though the standard name since the publication of Philip Moore's *The Works of Peter of Poitiers* in 1936 has been *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi*.

around a diagrammatic representation of the genealogy of Christ.¹⁰⁷ Witnesses to *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* do not generally replicate the diagram, but they present the same genealogies in prose.¹⁰⁸ The earliest witness to *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* is Peniarth 20, written in c. 1330, and it is probable that the text itself was translated from Latin in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.¹⁰⁹ Thomas Jones identified the final section of *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* as an addition to the text translated from the *Compendium*, since the latter does not contain the line descending from Japheth to Brutus.¹¹⁰ As Jones observed, this line allowed *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* to link the Genesis narrative explicitly to two other historical narratives: the history of the Britons (called *Ystorya y Brut*, i.e. *Brut y Brenhinedd*) and the history of the Trojans (called *Ystorya Daret*). The Latin versions of text 3 in Exeter 3514, TCD 515, Cardiff 2.611 and Notre Dame cod. Lat. d. 3 do not contain such explicit links to other texts, despite those manuscripts preserving Latin copies of the relevant works of Geoffrey of Monmouth and Dares Phrygius. This suggests that the Welsh text has expanded the Latin rather than that the Latin has slightly abbreviated the Welsh. The same is suggested by the genealogical element. *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* makes two genealogical errors that are absent from the Latin text: the relationship between Cretus and Caelius (i.e. *Selus*) is reversed, and Anchises, the father of Aeneas, is omitted. It is less economical to imagine that the errors were made in the Welsh text and then corrected again in the Latin. Rather, the Latin text 3 provided the translator of *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* with the opportunity to link his biblical narrative to the Trojan and British narratives of *Ystorya Dared* and *Brut y Brenhinedd*.¹¹¹

The Icelandic langfeðgatal

Since the genealogical texts in Exeter 3514 were written in Latin, their circulation need not have been restricted to Wales. As we have seen, it seems most likely that versions of these

¹⁰⁷ For an introduction to the *Compendium*, see Moore, *Works*, ch. 4. For an example of a copy of the *Compendium* in roll format, probably created at Canterbury in c. 1220, see Monroe, 'Roll-Manuscript'. The *Compendium* proved extremely popular during the Middle Ages, and in some cases provided the basis for longer genealogical histories beginning with the Creation: see Fossier, 'Chroniques'. For the development of the *Compendium* in England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see Panayotova, 'Peter of Poitiers's *Compendium*'. Two English continuations of the *Compendium* dating to the middle decades of the thirteenth century (Cotton Rolls XIV. 12 and Eton College 96) include Geoffrey of Monmouth's British kings alongside the biblical lines, but they do not trace Brutus's ancestry back to Japheth, as in *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec*. See Cleaver, 'From Codex to Roll'; Cleaver, 'Past'. My thanks to Laura Cleaver for her advice on this matter.

¹⁰⁸ T. Jones, *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec*, pp. xlvi–liii.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. liii–liv.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. xi–xii and xlv–xlvii.

¹¹¹ Jones thought that the final section of *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* had been taken ultimately from an expanded version of the Latin *Compendium*, via a 'Welsh chronicle' such as that found in Gutun Owain's manuscript Jesus 141. However, he did not realise that the genealogical matter in the text, which includes the Cyprius/Cretus link, derives ultimately from a Welsh pedigree that existed by 1170 (the *terminus ante quem* for the composition of *Vita Griffini filii Conani*). Even if one were to suppose that the final section of *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* derives from an expanded version of the *Compendium*, it would still be necessary to postulate that this expanded version had drawn its genealogical matter from a Welsh pedigree such as that which accompanies text 3 in Exeter 3514. Instead, it is more economical to envisage this as happening at the time when *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* itself was assembled; there is no need to postulate any intermediate steps. Jesus 141 is misleading in this respect, since it is a rearrangement of *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* prefaced by matter (f. 4r) comparable to the widely circulating fifteenth-century English pedigree rolls discussed below, which themselves drew on both the *Compendium* and text 3 of Exeter 3514 (compare Jesus 141's additional text, printed in *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec*, p. lix, with the text beginning to the right of Noah's roundel at the top of the Canterbury roll, on which see below, p. 253, n. 118). Gutun Owain used English pedigree rolls for other aspects of his work: see above, p. 231.

texts were responsible for the appearance of the Adam to Brutus pedigree, traced through Cyprius and Cretus, in the thirteenth-century English royal pedigree roll Bodley Add. E. 14. The same texts were probably a pivotal source for certain Icelandic *langfeðgatal* ('ancestral lists') tracing a genealogy of Norwegian kings and Icelandic families back through Woden to Adam.¹¹² Anthony Faulkes has traced the process by which the pedigree of Woden was extended back in successive stages until it eventually reached Adam.¹¹³ The final stage was the linking of the Trojan ancestry of Priam to the biblical ancestry of Cethim son of Javan, via Cretus and Cyprius. The earliest extant witnesses to this final stage are probably the genealogies of the Sturlung family found in two manuscripts of Snorra Edda: the thirteenth-century genealogy in the Uppsala manuscript (s. xiv^m), and the updated version of the same genealogy in AM 748 II 4to (c. 1400).¹¹⁴ According to Faulkes, it is likely that parts of these genealogies were constructed by Snorri Sturluson himself (1179–1241), since they concern his family.¹¹⁵ Faulkes noticed the parallel between the Icelandic and Welsh formulations, and quite reasonably assumed that they must both go back to a common Latin source.¹¹⁶ However, Faulkes did not consider that this Latinate source could itself have been written in Wales. In fact, the source could have looked very much like the Exeter 3514 genealogies, perhaps in a slightly earlier form than that in which they survive. Even if one believes that Snorri Sturluson himself was responsible for extending the Sturlung genealogy back to Adam, there can be no doubt that the concept of linking the Trojan and biblical lines together through Cretus and Cyprius arose at an earlier stage, in the twelfth century, and in a Welsh context.

English Royal Genealogies in the Fifteenth Century

The clearest evidence for the influence of the genealogies in Exeter 3514 outside of Wales may be found in English royal genealogies of the fifteenth century. Such genealogies were usually written on pedigree rolls, though they sometimes appear in codices too. Following the format of their thirteenth- and fourteenth-century predecessors, they all feature a central genealogical diagram tracing one or more lines of descent vertically down the page. Around the diagram are arrayed sections of text drawn from a variety of sources that describe the deeds of prominent individuals named in the diagram. Genealogies of this kind flourished especially during the reigns of Henry VI (1422–61 and 1470–1) and Edward IV (1461–70 and 1471–83), most probably due to the heightened sense of awareness of royal descent instigated by the Wars of the Roses. Such genealogies, especially when displayed on rolls, were an obvious way to illustrate Lancastrian or Yorkist claims to the kingship.¹¹⁷

The earliest genealogies in this group are probably those in the so-called 'Noah' category.¹¹⁸ These genealogies begin with Noah and end with Henry VI. They were probably produced early

¹¹² For an overview of early Icelandic genealogy in relation to orality, see Quinn, 'From Orality', pp. 46–51.

¹¹³ Faulkes, 'Descent'.

¹¹⁴ For the pedigree in the Uppsala manuscript, see Heimir Þálsson and Faulkes, *Snorri*, pp. 118–19 (discussion at pp. lxxvii–lxxviii). For the pedigree in AM 748 II 4to, see *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar* III, pp. lxxiii–lxxiv. The latter manuscript is available to view online: <<https://handrit.is/en/manuscript/imaging/is/AM04-0748-II>> [accessed 15 August 2019].

¹¹⁵ Faulkes, 'Descent', p. 13.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 13–14 and 16.

¹¹⁷ For an introduction to fifteenth-century English royal pedigree rolls and their value as 'propaganda', see Allan, 'Yorkist Propaganda'. Sydney Anglo, however, has rightly emphasised that such rolls were unlikely to influence political opinion; they were more probably created for those who already subscribed to a certain point of view: *Images*, p. 46. For a more recent introduction to these rolls, see Rajsic, 'Genealogies', pp. 838–9.

¹¹⁸ For partially overlapping lists of Noah genealogies, see Allan, 'Yorkist Propaganda', p. 189, n. 3 and Kidd,

in Henry VI's reign, because the latest events described in the text accompanying the genealogies are the rebellion of Owain Glyndŵr in the reign of Henry IV and the subsequent pacified state of the Welsh in the reign of Henry V. Later in Henry VI's reign, the Noah genealogy was revised and updated, creating a new form of genealogy that became exceptionally popular. This genealogy began instead with Adam, and paraphrased Peter of Poitiers's *Compendium* for the early sections of the accompanying text describing biblical history. Copies of this genealogy generally extend as far as the birth of Henry VI's son Edward in 1453, and in many of them the final pope listed is Calixtus III (1455–8), though some have added Pius II (1458–64). Presumably, the first genealogy of this kind was created between 1455 and 1458. This genealogy is often attributed to a certain Roger of St Albans, supposedly a Carmelite friar in London who flourished around 1450, on the basis of the list of British authors published by John Bale in 1557–9.¹¹⁹ Bale quotes the prologue of the Adam to Henry VI genealogy and ascribes it to *Rogerus Albanus uel Albon*. Bale also attributed Peter of Poitiers's *Compendium* to Roger of St Albans, for which reason certain modern writers have ascribed various fifteenth-century English copies of the *Compendium* to Roger, but the nature of any connection between Roger and the *Compendium* remains highly uncertain.¹²⁰

The 'Roger of St Albans' genealogies begin with a prologue modelled on the preface of Peter of Poitiers's *Compendium*. The end of the prologue provides a clear statement of the genealogical scope of the work:¹²¹

Sed ab Adam incipiens, per Noe et Iaphet usque ad Brutum, regem primum et conquestorem istius regni, et ab illo vsque ad Henricum sextum originaliter finem produxi.

But starting from Adam, I traced the terminal point from the beginning through Noah and Japheth and on to Brutus, the first king and conqueror of this kingdom, and from him as far as Henry VI.

Descriptive Catalogue, p. 81, to which can be added BL Add. 18002 and the Canterbury roll (Christchurch 1). The latter, formerly the Maude roll, may be viewed online: <<http://www.canterbury.ac.nz/canterburyroll/>> [accessed 15 August 2019]. This roll was also published in a print edition in 1919: Wall, *Handbook*. In her article on the Canterbury roll, Rouse claimed that it originally detailed the lineage of Henry V but was later altered by a second hand to represent the Yorkist claim of Edward IV: Rouse, 'Inscribing Lineage', pp. 109–12. However, it is clear that the original hand was responsible for the line descending vertically from Henry V, which has been partially erased to make way for the line of Edward IV. This line must have originally ended with Henry VI. For further discussion of Noah rolls, see Neil Ker's description of Cambridge, King's College, 43 in *MMLB* II, 229.

¹¹⁹ Bale, *Scriptorium illustrium Majoris Brytanniae quam nunc Angliam et Scotiam vocant, catalogus* II, 94. Roger of St Albans is absent from the earlier *Index Britanniae Scriptorum* (ed. Poole and Bateson) in Bale's autograph notebook.

¹²⁰ For partially overlapping lists of Roger of St Albans genealogies, see Allan, 'Yorkist Propaganda', p. 189, n. 3; Moore, *Works*, p. 112; Mare, *Catalogue*, pp. 84–5; Fossier, 'Chroniques', p. 173, n. 4; Copsey, 'Carmelites', p. 177; and Sharpe, *Handlist*, p. 580 (no. 1544), to which can be added BL Add. 21058. In terms of correct classification, only Allan and Mare are reliable. Fossier includes many slightly later genealogies that are not strictly attributable to Roger, while Moore, Sharpe and especially Copsey attribute to Roger various copies of Peter of Poitiers's *Compendium*: Royal 8 C. ix (Moore), Oxford, St John's College, 58 (Copsey), CUL Dd.3.55 and Dd.3.56 (Copsey, who erroneously calls them Ff.3.55–6, and Sharpe, who only mentions Dd.3.55) and Bodley 302 (Copsey). In 1748, Tanner claimed that Oxford, The Queen's College, 168 was the original copy of the genealogy and that it had been presented by the author to Henry VI, but this is very doubtful: Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, p. 640 (note that Sharpe, following the nineteenth-century catalogue of Henry Coxe, erroneously dated Queen's 168 to s. xvi¹, but it was probably written in the 1450s: Kidd, *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 82–4). For a Roger of St Albans genealogy, see CCCC 98A, available on Parker Library on the Web: <<https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/>> [accessed 15 August 2019]. On the same website may be found CCCC 116, a Latin genealogy of Edward IV related to Roger of St Albans genealogies: cf. Rajsic, 'Britain', p. 174. The latter half of a related Latin genealogical roll from the reign of Henry VI was printed in Wright, *Feudal Manuals*, pp. 125–53 (notice the Welsh names on pp. 129–30, 132–3, 135–7, 139–41, 144 and 148).

¹²¹ Text taken from Bodley Rolls 7.

The 'Noah' and 'Roger of St Albans' genealogies are closely related and share many features. One feature that unites them and indeed distinguishes them from most of the English royal genealogies of the preceding period is their inclusion of a direct connection between the biblical lines of Genesis and the royal lines of Britain. In Roger of St Albans genealogies, this is achieved with the help of Peter of Poitiers's *Compendium*, which was the source of much of the text accompanying the generations between Adam and Noah.¹²² Both Noah and Roger of St Albans genealogies then proceed to trace Geoffrey of Monmouth's line of British kings, beginning with Brutus. However, neither Peter of Poitiers nor Geoffrey of Monmouth provided any genealogical link between the genealogies of Genesis and the Trojan ancestry of Brutus. Without such a link, the main line of legendary British kings, and thus, to fifteenth-century eyes, the foundation of the kingdom of England, could not be portrayed as a natural extension of biblical history, as was clearly the intention of the genealogies' makers. The solution to this conundrum seems to have been discovered in a manuscript closely related to Exeter 3514. Noah and Roger of St Albans genealogies trace the line of Japheth through Cyprius and Cretus to Brutus, just as in the twelfth-century Rhodri Mawr pedigree. What is more, the text that accompanies these names was taken from Exeter 3514's text 3.¹²³

Confirmation of a direct connection with a collection of texts like that in Exeter 3514 may be seen in the way that Noah and Roger of St Albans genealogies represent Brutus's descendants. As in the thirteenth-century pedigree roll Bodley Add. E. 14, the main line of British kings is traced through Locrinus. But unlike any earlier English genealogies, those of Henry VI's reign trace an additional line through Kamber that descends to the Welsh princes. This line bifurcates at Rhodri Mawr, and then proceeds to trace the northern Welsh dynasty through Rhodri's son Anarawd to Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (d. 1282) and his three brothers, and the southern Welsh dynasty through Rhodri's son Cadell to Rhys ap Maredudd (d. 1292).¹²⁴ The latter was the only member of the southern dynasty to survive the 1282–3 Edwardian conquest, although he later rebelled against Edward in 1287–8 and was executed in 1292.¹²⁵ The sequence of names bears a very close resemblance to the names in Exeter 3514's text 2. The pedigree is traced through the revised line from Kamber to Beli Mawr, and proceeds through the ancestral line of Coel Hen before joining up clumsily with Cunedda Wledig's grandfather, Padarn Peisrudd, exactly as in Exeter 3514 and MG 1. Specific details follow the pedigree in Exeter 3514 closely: for example, most Henry VI genealogies call Cynan Dyndaethwy's daughter *Dechild* rather than *Esyllt*, paralleling *Dethild* in Exeter 3514. That all versions of the Welsh pedigree in the Henry VI genealogies derive from a single common exemplar is shown by the many unique features that they share. For instance, they all claim that Gruffudd ap Cynan was 'decollatus a suis' ('decapitated by his own people'), an historical error that may have been inspired by the death of the more famous Gruffudd ap Llywelyn (d. 1064).¹²⁶ They also all incorporate into the main line of descent Geoffrey's Malgo (usually called *Maylgo Magnus* and presented as son of Maelgwn Gwynedd, who is similarly called *Maylgo*) and Geoffrey's Iuor and Yni (respectively son and nephew of Cadualadrus). Nevertheless, despite their many shared features, it is normally possible to distinguish between Noah and Roger of St Albans genealogies on the basis of their Welsh

¹²² Moore, *Works*, pp. 112–13; Fossier, 'Chroniques', pp. 172–3. Mare downplays the extent to which Roger of St Albans genealogies draw on the *Compendium*: Mare, *Catalogue*, p. 84.

¹²³ For a comparison, see Appendix A.5.1.

¹²⁴ Compare the descriptions of the Welsh lines in Anglo, 'British History', pp. 41–3. Anglo claimed that some of the northern lines finish with Dafydd ap Gruffudd (d. 1283) alone, but this does not seem to be correct. All the relevant manuscripts that I have inspected, including some of those which, according to Anglo, terminate the northern line with Dafydd ap Gruffudd, in fact name all four of Gruffudd's sons.

¹²⁵ For Rhys ap Maredudd, see Smith, 'Origins'; Griffiths, 'Revolt'.

¹²⁶ See Hudson, 'Destruction'. I owe this suggestion to Rebecca Thomas.

pedigrees. In general, Noah genealogies preserve the pedigree more accurately. Roger of St Albans genealogies, on the other hand, share several distinct corruptions. Most notably, they all mysteriously insert two additional generations, usually called *Dyndei* and *Cunda*, between Merfyn Frych (*Morwen Birth*) and Rhodri Mawr (*Rodri Vaur*); presumably these corrupt forms derive from the name of Merfyn's grandfather, Cynan Dyndaethwy, who usually appears in these genealogies as *Kanaan Dyndeichos*.¹²⁷

During the reign of Edward IV, versions of the Roger of St Albans genealogy continued to be produced, but they were now extended to include Edward IV and his Yorkist line of descent.¹²⁸ Sometimes the original prologue, featuring Henry VI, was maintained, but on other occasions it was altered to name Edward IV instead.¹²⁹ In some instances, it is clear that the genealogy was originally produced in the reign of Henry VI, but was later updated to include Edward IV.¹³⁰ Edward IV versions of the Roger of St Albans genealogy generally maintain the Welsh line of Kamber in its Roger of St Albans form. However, the Welsh line is less commonly found among the various new types of royal genealogy that came to the fore during Edward IV's reign. Among these, four chief categories have been discerned, labelled 'Long English', 'Long Latin', 'Short English' and 'Short Latin' genealogies.¹³¹ The Long English and Long Latin genealogies make much greater use of Peter of Poitiers's *Compendium* than the earlier Roger of St Albans genealogies, continuing the biblical lines as far as Christ. Of these four types of Edward IV genealogy, only the Long English versions include the Welsh line through Kamber.¹³² This version of the Welsh line follows that of Roger of St Albans closely, except that it omits the *decollatus a suis* statement about Gruffudd ap Cynan and adds in Gwladus Ddu, daughter of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, wife of Ralph Mortimer and thus ancestress (through the Mortimer line) of Edward IV.

Mortimer Genealogies

Edward IV's claim to descend from Welsh royalty through Gwladus Ddu was occasionally employed as an argument for Edward's legitimacy as king.¹³³ This is most readily apparent in the short pedigree roll preserved as BL Add. 18268A. This roll depicts three lines of descent: a British/Welsh line (labelled *Rubius Draco*, 'Red Dragon'), a French line (labelled *Sol*, 'Sun') and an English line (labelled *Albus Draco*, 'White Dragon'). The British/Welsh line begins with Geoffrey's final three British kings *Caduanus*, *Cadwallo* and *Cadwaldrus* and proceeds through the line of Gwynedd to *Lewellinus princeps Northwallie* (Llywelyn ab Iorwerth) and his daughter *Gladus Duy*, after whom the Mortimer line continues. Strikingly,

¹²⁷ I owe this latter suggestion to Barry Lewis.

¹²⁸ For example, Oxford, Magdalen College, lat. 248: see *MMBL* III, 646.

¹²⁹ An example of the former is Cambridge, Emmanuel College, 231 (which omits the Welsh line from Kamber); an example of the latter is BL Add. 24342, of which only the first half of the original roll (including the prologue) is preserved.

¹³⁰ Such was the case with the Canterbury roll: see Rouse, 'Inscribing Lineage', pp. 109–12. Another example is Marshall 135.

¹³¹ The descriptive labels are Allan's, and they correspond respectively to Mare's categories A, B, C and D: Allan, 'Yorkist Propaganda', pp. 172–3 and 189, nn. 5–6; Mare, *Catalogue*, pp. 82–4. Allan and Mare both list relevant examples. For a Long English genealogy, see the online edition of Yale University, Marston 242: <<https://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3446276>> [accessed 15 August 2019]. Selected images of Harley Roll C. 9, a Long Latin genealogy, may be found at <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=7186>> [accessed 15 August 2019].

¹³² The parallel between *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* and 'Long English' genealogies, with regard to the way that Japheth was connected to Brutus, was recognised by Thomas Jones, though he was not aware of the role of Exeter 3514's text 3 as the common source: *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec*, p. xxiii.

¹³³ This subject is explored in Anglo, 'British History'.

the end of the roll features the defeated Henry VI as the *Albus Draco* and the victorious Edward IV as the *Rubius Draco*. This clearly equates Edward IV's regality with his descent from British kings, through the Welsh line of Gwynedd.

The idea that Mortimer regality derived from their British descent existed prior to Edward IV's accession to the throne, since it is found in three related Mortimer genealogies from preceding generations. All three trace the Mortimer line back through Gwladus Ddu to the Welsh and then British kings, following the Gwynedd pedigree in a form broadly comparable to that in the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies (LIIG 11.1).¹³⁴ The first genealogy is the pedigree of Gwladus Ddu found in the Wigmore manuscript (Chicago 224, ff. 51v–52r), which was written in the Abbey of Wigmore in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.¹³⁵ Wigmore Abbey had been founded in 1172 and its church consecrated in 1179 at the instigation of Hugh de Mortimer, and since that time it had continued to support Mortimer power and act as their dynastic mausoleum.¹³⁶ The genealogy is embedded in a genealogical chronicle of the Mortimer family composed between late 1399 and 1401, the latest event in which is the death of Roger Mortimer, fourth earl of March, in 1398.¹³⁷ Gwladus Ddu's pedigree is the first of several pedigrees that seek to demonstrate the Mortimer descent in turn from the Welsh and British kings, from the first Ralph Mortimer who came to England with William the Conqueror, from the Angevin and Anglo-Saxon kings of England, and from the dukes of Normandy. Gwladus Ddu is the crucial link for all but the Mortimer line, as she was both the daughter of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth and, through her mother Joan, the granddaughter of King John.

The second Mortimer genealogy is the pedigree of Roger Mortimer that is incorporated into Adam Usk's chronicle.¹³⁸ As a native of the Mortimer lordship of Usk in Monmouthshire, Adam Usk had been patronised by Edmund Mortimer (d. 1381), third earl of March and father of Roger. Edmund Mortimer had paid for Adam to study in Oxford and had later employed him. It was natural that Adam should write in highly laudatory terms about the family, even after he had left their service and found himself in a position of influence in the new Lancastrian regime of Henry IV. It is clear that this section of Adam's chronicle is based on the genealogical chronicle found in the Wigmore manuscript, and it is possible that the Wigmore manuscript itself was Adam's source.¹³⁹

The third Mortimer genealogy is the elaborate pedigree roll preserved as CCCC 98, which seems originally to have depicted the ancestry of Richard, earl of York (d. 1460), father of Edward IV and, through his mother Anne, grandson of Roger Mortimer.¹⁴⁰ The roll was later

¹³⁴ For detailed treatment of the first two of these Mortimer genealogies, see Henley, 'Monastic Manuscript Networks', pp. 319–53.

¹³⁵ For the Wigmore manuscript, see Giffin, 'Wigmore Manuscript'. For the genealogies in the Wigmore manuscript, see Giffin, 'Cadwalader', pp. 117–19. The Wigmore manuscript may now be viewed online: <<https://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/scr/findingaids/view.php?eadid=ICU.SPCL.MS224>> [accessed 15 August 2019].

¹³⁶ Mason, 'Mortimer'.

¹³⁷ Given-Wilson, 'Chronicles', pp. 72–5.

¹³⁸ Given-Wilson, *Chronicle*, pp. 40–3.

¹³⁹ Giffin, 'Wigmore Manuscript', pp. 322–3; Given-Wilson, *Chronicle*, pp. lii, lix, 46 (n. 2) and 48 (n. 1); Given-Wilson, 'Chronicles', pp. 72 (n. 13) and 77. Henley has argued against the Wigmore manuscript being Adam Usk's immediate source, but her argument rests mainly on orthographical differences between the two renditions of the Welsh pedigree, which cannot bear much weight: 'Monastic Manuscript Networks', pp. 333–5, and esp. 335, n. 144. The only significant evidence either way is that Adam Usk does not reproduce the error in the Wigmore manuscript by which *Celii* has become *Relii* (no doubt through an intermediate *Kelii*); Adam instead has *Seluis*, paralleling certain other pedigrees (e.g. LIIG 11.1 *Silius*). But it is possible that Adam could have corrected this small error, perhaps with reference to another source.

¹⁴⁰ CCCC 98 is available to view online on Parker Library on the Web: <<https://parker.stanford.edu/parker>> [accessed 15 August 2019]. It is described in Tyson, 'Adam and Eve Roll'. Remarkably, Tyson

updated, probably in or shortly after 1461, to include Edward, described as ‘*Dei gratia verus et indubitatus rex*’ (‘by the grace of God true and undoubted king’), as well as Edward’s sister Anne and Anne’s first daughter Anne Holland, born in 1461. Following the sentiment of the other two Mortimer pedigrees, the first half of this roll grants the most prominent central position to the British and latterly Welsh line of descent, up until the union of Gwladus Ddu and Ralph Mortimer. The union is represented by a shield showing the Mortimer arms impaling the arms of the princes of Gwynedd, accompanied by the caption ‘*Monnseignur Rauf qui espousa dame Gwladuse*’ (‘Lord Ralph who married Lady Gwladus’).¹⁴¹

These three Mortimer genealogies clearly derive from a common archetype. For example, they are the only versions of the very common pedigree of Brutus to insert Mercury as son of Dardanus and father of Erictonius. This common archetype had been influenced by *Brut y Brenhinedd* in the same way as the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, since, for Geoffrey’s Leil and Rud Hudibras, the Mortimer genealogies use the names *Lleon* and *Run*, unlike other versions of the Beli Mawr pedigree which use *Lliwelyt* and *Rud*.¹⁴² However, the Mortimer genealogies do not simply derive from the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, because they correctly include *Anylywyd*, equivalent to HG 1’s *Amguoloyt*, who is omitted in JC 6, *VGC* §3, *HGK* 1, *LIIG* 11.1 and Harley 673. It seems, therefore, that the Mortimer genealogies were influenced by at least one independent representative of the Gwynedd pedigree. It is notable that the Mortimer genealogies bear no especial resemblance to the Welsh pedigrees found in other fifteenth-century English royal genealogies; the writers of the Mortimer genealogies clearly had access to Welsh sources that were not ordinarily available to other English pedigree makers.¹⁴³

The Fifteenth-Century Extended Galfridian Pedigree

It is perhaps ironic that Llywelyn ap Gruffudd’s anti-Edwardian genealogical propaganda, by which he was proudly proclaimed to be a descendant of Kamber rather than Locrinus, came to circulate more widely in England than in Wales. In later Welsh genealogies, the earlier Locrinus pedigree continued to dominate, largely due to the influences of *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* and the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. In some instances, it was lengthened even further through additional names taken from Geoffrey’s history (via *Brut y Brenhinedd*).¹⁴⁴ I call this lengthened version the ‘extended Galfridian pedigree’. The original Beli Mawr pedigree had traced the descent of Beli Mawr back to Antonius via an otherwise unknown line that joined Geoffrey’s kings with Sisillius, but, in copies of the extended Galfridian pedigree, an additional series of Geoffrey’s kings has been inserted, reaching back from Beli Mawr to Dyfnwal Moelmud son of Clydno (i.e. Geoffrey’s Dunuallo Molmutius son of Cloten).¹⁴⁵ Because Geoffrey did not specify who Cloten’s father was, he could be made into a son of Enaid, who, in the original Beli Mawr pedigree,

completely overlooks the prominent position given to the Welsh line in this roll, opting instead to call it the ‘*HRB* [*Historia regum Britanniae*] line’, even though Geoffrey of Monmouth does not name any members of this line later than Cadualadrus and his supposed son Iuor.

¹⁴¹ Tyson mis-transcribes Gwladus’s name as ‘Ewladuse’, and wrongly claims that she married ‘Roger II de Mortimer’, despite the text correctly stating that she married Ralph: ‘Adam and Eve Roll’, p. 305 and n. 9.

¹⁴² See Appendix A.4.5.

¹⁴³ It may be relevant that Iolo Goch, in a poem addressed to Roger Mortimer between 1394 and 1398, drew attention to Roger’s descent from Ralph Mortimer and the ‘*iôr Aberffraw*’ (‘lord of Aberffraw’), probably Llywelyn ab Iorwerth: Iolo Goch, *Moliant Syr Rosier Mortimer*, ll. 4 and 14 (ed. Johnston, p. 84); Johnston, ‘Iolo Goch’, pp. 87–9.

¹⁴⁴ See Appendix A.5.2.

¹⁴⁵ *DGB* II.34.305–6; *BD* II.17.

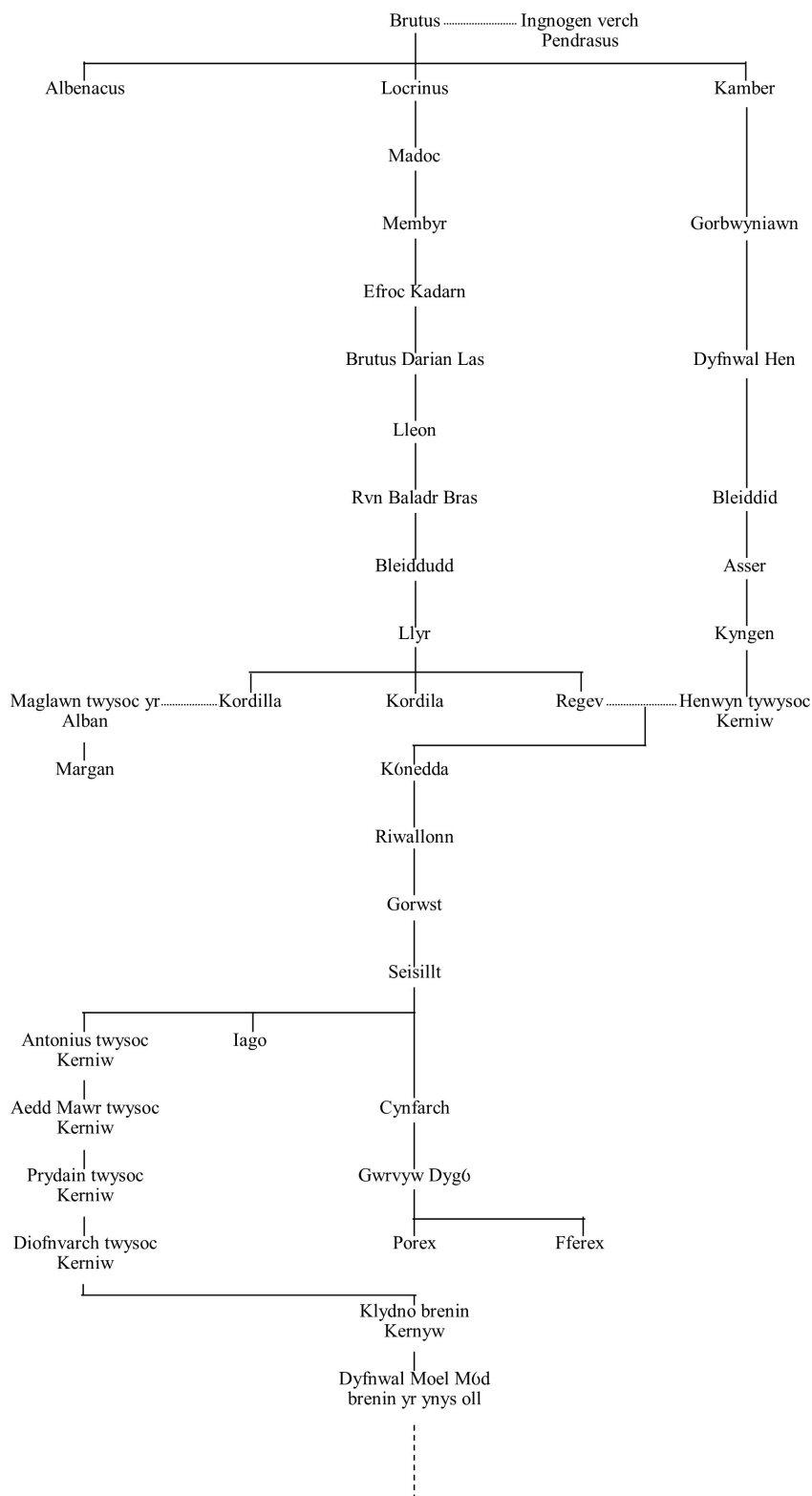


Figure 5.1: Galfridian history in Gutun Owain's pedigree roll

was Beli Mawr's grandfather. The pedigree could then continue back to Antonius and on to Geoffrey's earlier kings as it had done in earlier versions.

The rationale for inserting the additional Galfridian names in this way is set out most clearly in Hawarden D/LE 1389, the only extant pedigree roll in Gutun Owain's hand, as shown in Figure 5.1 and Appendix A.5.2. Exactly the same arrangement is found in a codex written by Gutun Owain in 1487–9 (NLW 3026C, Mostyn 88), which preserves a copy of the first half of a very similar genealogical roll (on pages 63–85); below, I focus on Hawarden D/LE 1389, since this preserves the genealogy in its intended medium, but all observations apply equally to NLW 3026C.¹⁴⁶ In Geoffrey's original history, the agnatic line descending from Locrinus ended with King Leir. A second agnatic royal line then sprang from Leir's daughter Regau, who married Henuinus, duke of Cornwall. When the line of kings following Regau and Henuinus ended with the deaths of Ferreux and Porrex, a third new agnatic line was initiated by Dunuallo Molmutius, son of Cloten, king of Cornwall. In Hawarden D/LE 1389 (and likewise in NLW 3026C), both of the new royal dynasties founded by Cornishmen are linked together.¹⁴⁷ The Cornish associations are clearly indicated: Henwyn (Henuinus) is 'tywysoc Kerniw' ('prince of Cornwall') and Klydno (Cloten) is 'brenin Kernyw' ('king of Cornwall'). Although Hawarden D/LE 1389 correctly shows the ultimately unproductive line from Henwyn to Fferex and Porex, it also shows alongside them another line descending separately from Fferex/Porex's great-grandfather Seisyll. The members of this other line (Antonius, Aedd Mawr, Prydain, Diofnvarch) have been taken from the original Beli Mawr pedigree. But in Hawarden D/LE 1389, all four of these figures are called 'twysoc Kerniw' ('larll Kerniw' in NLW 3026C), and Diofnvarch (NLW 3026C's Dynvarch) is made into the father of Klydno, king of Cornwall (thus omitting Crydon, Cerwyd and Enaid, who usually appear between 'Diofnvarch' and Mynogan in the Beli Mawr pedigree). By this means, the pedigree succeeds in making Klydno, king of Cornwall, a descendant of Henwyn, duke of Cornwall, via a specifically Cornish line. Furthermore, Hawarden D/LE 1389 provides an agnatic ancestry for Henwyn himself, even though no notion of Henwyn's ancestry had been given by Geoffrey. Henwyn is made into a direct descendant of Kamber, through names taken from Llywelyn ap Gruffudd's pedigree: Kamber's son Gorbwyniawn and grandson Dyfnwal Hen.¹⁴⁸ The pedigree portrays the latter as the great-great-grandfather of Henwyn. Altogether, therefore, the arrangement shown in Hawarden D/LE 1389 succeeds in overcoming two of Geoffrey's dynastic breaks (Regau/Henuinus and Dunuallo Molmutius son of Cloten) whilst also claiming that the main lines of kings from Henwyn onwards descended from Kamber rather than Locrinus. This was deft genealogical artistry with a bare minimum of fresh invention.

The name-forms found across the different versions of the extended Galfridian pedigree imply that it was based on the Cotton Cleopatra version of *Brut y Brenhinedd*.¹⁴⁹ For example, all versions of the pedigree include Geoffrey's Cherin, whom other versions of *Brut y Brenhinedd* omit;¹⁵⁰ they all call Geoffrey's Eliud *Ithel*, even though other versions of the *Brut* usually call him *Elyyt*; and, more generally, they all follow the Cotton Cleopatra

¹⁴⁶ For NLW 3026C, see Owen, 'Prolegomena' (the genealogy is discussed at pp. 352–4). NLW 3026C is available to view online: <<https://www.library.wales/discover/digital-gallery/manuscripts/the-middle-ages/a-gutun-owain-manuscript/>> [accessed 14 August 2019].

¹⁴⁷ The Cornish aspect of Geoffrey's original arrangement is discussed by Padel, 'Geoffrey', esp. p. 6.

¹⁴⁸ For an alternative suggestion about the relationship between Llywelyn ap Gruffudd's pedigree and the Cunedda ap Henwyn pedigree, see *EWGT* 136–7, n. 1 and Thornton, 'Neglected Genealogy', p. 19. What may be an earlier attempt to incorporate Henwyn into the family is found in Gutun Owain's manuscript Peniarth 131iii, p. 74, which gives a short pedigree consisting only of 'Dyfnwal Hen ap Gorwyn ap Henwyn ap Kamber'.

¹⁴⁹ For this version, see Roberts, 'Ystoriaeu' and Lambert, 'À propos de la traduction galloise'.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Appendix A.3.2.

Brut in making the list of kings in DGB III.52 into a sequence of father-to-son successions. Further aspects of the genealogy in Hawarden D/LE 1389 (and NLW 3026C) support the idea that the extended Galfridian pedigree was based on the Cotton Cleopatra version of the *Brut*. For example, in Hawarden D/LE 1389, there are prose passages that clearly derive from the Cotton Cleopatra version of the *Brut*. This is most noticeable for the kings immediately preceding Beli Mawr. In Geoffrey's text and in other versions of *Brut y Brenhinedd*, very little is said about these kings. But in the Cotton Cleopatra version of the *Brut* and in Hawarden D/LE 1389, their reign lengths and the dates of their deaths are consistently given, calculated in years from the Flood.¹⁵¹ Finally, one small indication suggests that, while compiling Hawarden D/LE 1389, Gutun Owain used the copy of the Cotton Cleopatra *Brut* in the Black Book of Basingwerk (NLW 7006D) rather than in Cotton Cleopatra B. v. This would not be surprising, given that Gutun Owain was one of the two scribes who wrote the Black Book of Basingwerk. Hawarden D/LE 1389 gives the name of Mynogan's father as *Pabo ne Kapoir* ('Pabo or Kapoir', similarly *Kapoir nev Pabo* in NLW 3026C). Cotton Cleopatra B. v, following Geoffrey and the other *Brutiau*, has this name simply as *Capoir*, but the Black Book of Basingwerk, indeed on the first page actually written by Gutun Owain (p. 89), has *Kapoir nev Pabo*.¹⁵²

It seems that there were two stages in the creation of the extended Galfridian pedigree, and Gutun Owain may have been involved with both. What may be an earlier version of the pedigree is preserved in Peniarth 27ii (pp. 88–9). This manuscript was written in the second half of the fifteenth century, probably somewhere in north-east Wales.¹⁵³ With regard to the additional Galfridian names in the immediate ancestry of Beli Mawr, at least, a closely related pedigree has been preserved in Peniarth 131ii (p. 41), written early in the sixteenth century by Ieuan ap Madog ap Rhys.¹⁵⁴ Both of these pedigrees preserve an error found in the Cotton Cleopatra version of the *Brut* that is rectified in Gutun Owain's copies of the pedigree. The father of Dyfnwal Moelmud is called *Dodyon* in Peniarth 27ii and *Dodiaw* in Peniarth 131ii; these forms replicate the *Dodiein* in the Black Book of Basingwerk and Cotton Cleopatra B. v, errors for Cloten/Clydno.¹⁵⁵ It may be relevant that the pedigree in Peniarth 27ii traces the ancestry of Owain ap Maredudd, *alias* Owen Tudor, grandfather of Henry VII. Owen Tudor died in 1461. The annals at the end of the Black Book of Basingwerk's copy of *Brenhinedd y Saesson*, written by Gutun Owain, end in the same year with the deposition of Henry VI and the inauguration of Edward IV.¹⁵⁶ It may be that the Black Book of Basingwerk version of *Brenhinedd y Saesson* and the pedigree of Owen Tudor preserved in Peniarth 27ii were aspects of a single historical effort taking place around 1461, perhaps stimulated by the Yorkist revolution. Gutun Owain may have been involved with this effort as a young man.

The second stage in the creation of the extended Galfridian pedigree is associated with Gutun Owain's pedigree roll, Hawarden D/LE 1389. Although the roll is now incomplete, enough survives to suggest that it traced the Tudor line, possibly as far as Henry VII or perhaps, like Peniarth 27ii, Owen Tudor (or his sons).¹⁵⁷ As already noted, Hawarden D/LE

¹⁵¹ *Brut y Brenhinedd: Cotton Cleopatra Version*, ff. 29r–31v (ed. and transl. Parry, pp. 59–64); cf. Roberts, 'Ystoriaeu', p. 225.

¹⁵² Cf. *Brut y Brenhinedd: Cotton Cleopatra Version*, f. 31v (ed. and transl. Parry, p. 64). Readings from the Black Book of Basingwerk have been taken from the online images of the manuscript at <<https://www.library.wales/discover/digital-gallery/manuscripts/the-middle-ages/black-book-of-basingwerk>> [accessed 15 August 2019].

¹⁵³ *MWM* 190; Huws, *Repertory*, s. Peniarth 27ii; cf. *MWM* 63, where the slightly later date of s. xv/xvi is given. Evans, followed by Barttrum, wondered whether this manuscript was written by Gutun Owain, but this has been dismissed by Daniel Huws: *RMWL* I, 355; *EWGT* 121; *MWM* 190.

¹⁵⁴ See Chapter 4 above, p. 166.

¹⁵⁵ *Brut y Brenhinedd: Cotton Cleopatra Version*, f. 21v (ed. and transl. Parry, p. 44).

¹⁵⁶ *BT* (S) [1461]; cf. Pryce, 'Chronicling'.

¹⁵⁷ Since the similar genealogy in NLW 3026C ends incomplete during the reign of Asclepiodotus

1389 follows the Black Book of Basingwerk in many respects, but it also seems to have been produced in consultation with other versions of Geoffrey's history. The Black Book of Basingwerk's *Dodiein* is corrected to *Klydno*. More strikingly, the roll makes Iago a son of Seisyll (Geoffrey's Sisillius). In the Black Book of Basingwerk, Iago is described as *Iago nei Gorwst* ('Iago nephew of Grwst'), following Geoffrey's *Iago Gurgustii nepos*; this implies that Iago was Seisyll's cousin, since Seisyll is described by the Black Book as Grwst's son.¹⁵⁸ In Welsh, *nei* can only mean 'nephew' or some similar relation; but in Latin, *nepos* can mean both 'grandson' and 'nephew'. It must therefore have been due to reading the Latin *Iago Gurgustii nepos* that Gutun Owain made Iago a son of Seisyll, and therefore grandson of Grwst, rather than a nephew of Grwst. This suggests that Gutun Owain was checking the Black Book of Basingwerk against a Latin copy of Geoffrey's history, indicating that Gutun Owain may have become more familiar with Latin than is usually supposed.¹⁵⁹

It seems that Gutun Owain's corrected version of the extended Galfridian pedigree, as found in Hawarden D/LE 1389 or some similar roll, formed the basis for the pedigree in another manuscript by Gutun Owain: Peniarth 131iii, page 77.¹⁶⁰ The latter manuscript was written between 1483 and 1489; if Hawarden D/LE 1389 was written around the same time, this may support the view that it originally culminated with Henry VII (note that the incomplete but related genealogy in NLW 3026C was similarly written in 1487–9). Peniarth 131iii includes the generation *Blegowryd* between *Seisill* and *Arthavael*. No equivalent of *Blegowryd* is found in the version of the pedigree in Peniarth 27ii and Peniarth 131ii, and it is almost certain that the presence of the name here indicates that Peniarth 131iii's version of the pedigree was transcribed from a roll like Hawarden D/LE 1389. The roll shows both succession and filiation. In the main line of the diagram, it shows *Blegowryd* succeed his father *Seisyll*, and then *Arthafael* succeed *Blegowryd*. An additional roundel makes it clear that *Arthafael* was the brother rather than the son of *Blegowryd*, but it would be easy to miss this point when transcribing the pedigree from the roll. The arrangement in NLW 3026C is even more confusing, since here there is no additional roundel to show that *Arthafael* was son of *Seisyll* rather than *Blegowryd*; it is left to the accompanying text to explain this. It is possible that the pedigree in Peniarth 131iii was transcribed from a lost roll, rather than the extant Hawarden D/LE 1389 (or the codex NLW 3026C), since it includes the usual names *Crydon*, *Cerwyd* and *Enaid*, which are omitted from the Hawarden roll; but it is equally possible that Gutun Owain took these names from an additional source. Gutun Owain's process of correction evidently continued, for the errors in Peniarth 131iii, including *Blegowryd*, were rectified in what was probably Gutun Owain's latest version of this pedigree, which he incorporated into his redaction of the *Llywelyn ab Iorwerth* genealogies (LIIG (GO) G1.2). Although this section of the genealogical compilation does not survive in Gutun Owain's own manuscript Rylands Welsh 1, it is preserved in two derivative manuscripts, Peniarth 129 and Peniarth 75.¹⁶¹ Furthermore, it was probably due to Gutun Owain's influence that the same extended pedigree was used for the ancestry of St David in certain sixteenth- and seventeenth-century copies of *Bonedd y Saint*, all of which belong to the 'third branch' of the textual tradition of that text.¹⁶²

(*Asclobitotus*), there is no way to ascertain whether it was copied from a roll that depicted the Tudor line.

¹⁵⁸ DGB II.33.290.

¹⁵⁹ See GP xlvii.

¹⁶⁰ Peniarth 131iii's version of the pedigree was printed in EWGT 121 as MP 1; see too Appendix A.5.2.

¹⁶¹ Other copies of the extended Galfridian pedigree may be found in Edward ap Roger's Peniarth 128, p. 297 and Wiliam Llŷn's CUL Mm.1.3, f. 2r.

¹⁶² As found in Peniarth 75, pp. 9–10; Peniarth 74ii, p. 135; NLW 16962–3a, ff. 400v–401r; Rawlinson B. 466, ff. 15v–17r; and NLW 1554A, ff. 307v–308r. See Appendix 2 in Barry Lewis's forthcoming edition of *Bonedd y Saint*. One may note that, in the copy of Rylands Welsh 1 in Harley 1970ii, LIIG (GO) G1.2 is curtailed after 'Sawl benisel' with a comment saying 'val o'r blaen yn yach ddewi' ('as before in the

It is notable that the extended Galfridian pedigree was produced on more than one occasion on behalf of the Tudor dynasty: firstly in Peniarth 27ii, with Owen Tudor as its subject, and then in Hawarden D/LE 1389, which may have culminated with Henry VII before it was damaged. The version of the extended Galfridian pedigree in Peniarth 27ii (and Peniarth 131ii), with *Dodiein* for *Klydno*, was again used to trace the descent of Henry VII in the elaborate genealogy in Royal 18. A. lxxv (ff. 2r–4r), supposedly drawn up by Gutun Owain and others.¹⁶³ The same genealogy of Henry VII was copied out for David Powel later in the sixteenth century in his manuscript Cardiff 3.11. In his *Historie of Cambria*, published in 1584, Powel claimed that this pedigree was the product of a royal commission appointed to discover the pedigree of Henry VII's Welsh grandfather, Owen Tudor.¹⁶⁴ In Royal 18. A. lxxv, it is similarly claimed that the genealogy was created 'at the kyngis costis and commanndement'. The claim is not as implausible as it may seem, since the people who are said to have examined the pedigrees on behalf of the commission include some who did not outlive Henry VII, including Gutun Owain himself. What remains of Hawarden D/LE 1389 shows that Gutun Owain did indeed produce a pedigree of exactly this kind on behalf of some member of the Tudor dynasty.

The southern genealogist Ieuan Brechfa also wrote a pedigree for Henry VII. This survives in Ieuan Brechfa's own hand in Peniarth 131viii (p. 291).¹⁶⁵ Although Ieuan Brechfa's pedigree has not been extended with additional Galfridian names, following instead the earlier pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension pedigree back from Beli Mawr to Antonius, it does incorporate the descent of Henwyn from Kamber, as also found in Hawarden D/LE 1389. Through these means, Ieuan Brechfa's pedigree of Henry VII could be entirely patrilineal, since it did not need to be traced through Regau daughter of Leir.¹⁶⁶ Ieuan Brechfa used the Henwyn to Kamber pedigree elsewhere: it is followed in his pedigree of Sir Rhys ap Thomas (Peniarth 131viii, p. 219); it is incorporated into his pedigree roll, CA Muniment Room 12/16, which culminates with the families of both Henry VII and Sir Rhys ap Thomas; and it appears as a stand-alone item in Llanstephan 12, pages 152–3, which was probably copied from one of Ieuan Brechfa's manuscripts, as discussed in Chapter 4.¹⁶⁷ Ieuan Brechfa's version of the Henwyn to Kamber pedigree is slightly different from Gutun Owain's, in that the names Kyngen and Bleiddudd have been transposed.¹⁶⁸ There is no way to be certain about which version has priority, or indeed who might have borrowed the Henwyn to Kamber pedigree from whom. But, fittingly, it is in the pedigrees of Henry VII, as composed by the foremost Welsh genealogists of the end of the fifteenth century (Gutun Owain and Ieuan Brechfa), that the pedigree of the kings of Gwynedd reached its ultimate stage of development.

pedigree of Dewi'). However, no version of the extended Galfridian pedigree traced back from Dewi appears in Harley 1970ii. This suggests that just such a pedigree may have once existed in Rylands Welsh 1, perhaps at the beginning of a copy of *Bonedd y Saint*.

¹⁶³ Discussed in Chapter 4 above, pp. 217–18.

¹⁶⁴ See above, p. 218, n. 299.

¹⁶⁵ It was printed by Bartrum in 'Bonedd Henrri', pp. 330–1. The portion of the same pedigree from Cunedda ap Henwyn to Brutus is also printed in *EWGT* 121 as MP 2a.

¹⁶⁶ It is noticed in the genealogy of Henry VII in Royal 18. A. lxxv (f. 4r) that Regau is the only woman in an otherwise entirely agnatic pedigree.

¹⁶⁷ See above, pp. 185–6.

¹⁶⁸ Gutun Owain's version is followed in the full extended Galfridian pedigree in CUL Mm.1.3, f. 2r and in stand-alone pedigrees of Henwyn in Royal 18. A. lxxv, f. 10r, Peniarth 138, p. 217, Rawlinson B. 466, f. 17r (following the extended pedigree of St David) and Peniarth 127i, p. 87 (and thus in Peniarth 127i's descendants, including NLW 17112D, f. 20r, BL Add. 15041, f. 20v, NLW 6434Diii, f. 161r and Brogyntyn I. 15, p. 29). Peniarth 127i's copy was printed in *EWGT* 121 as MP 2b. Ieuan Brechfa's version is followed in Gruffudd Hiraethog's Peniarth 177i, p. 206 and Edward ap Roger's Peniarth 128, p. 297 (also mentioned at p. 69a).

The pedigrees of the kings of Gwynedd had longer afterlives and exercised wider influence than any other medieval Welsh pedigrees. This was arguably for two reasons. Firstly, it was a consequence of the princely dynasty of Gwynedd having emerged as the dominant force in native Wales during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Members of the dynasty married foreign royalty, providing the Mortimers, for example, with the ability to trace themselves back to multiple royal lineages, via Llywelyn ab Iorwerth and his wife Joan, daughter of King John. Moreover, the dynasty's fame enabled it to represent the medieval Welsh polity in external environments, as in the fifteenth-century English royal genealogies that incorporated Llywelyn ap Gruffudd's pedigree from Kamber. Secondly, it was because the pedigrees of the kings of Gwynedd were the only Welsh pedigrees ever to connect Welsh ruling families with Galfridian, Trojan and biblical history, following the redaction of the Beli to Adam pedigree in the twelfth century as part of the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension. This was achieved through the two innovations that made Antonius/Annun the son of Geoffrey's Sisillius, and Saturnus's mythological father Caelius the great-grandson of the biblical Cethim, via eponyms for the islands of Crete and Cyprus. These innovations were useful for genealogists elsewhere, and accordingly they were borrowed by pedigree makers in England and Iceland. The process was completed in the fifteenth century, probably by Gutun Owain, who cleverly reconciled the contradictions of earlier constructions while simultaneously emphasising the primacy of the male-line descent of Kamber. Appropriately, though somewhat paradoxically, this most elaborate version of the pedigree came to be attached to the Tudor dynasty. This was the apogee of the medieval Welsh tradition of literary genealogy, in all its glory and absurdity.

CODA

Literary genealogy in medieval Wales was a distinct and pervasive phenomenon. Due to genealogy's elegant ability to express perceptions of society in relation to space and time, writers of literary texts constantly engaged with the genealogical tradition, stimulating its reproduction and evolution. Although in its surviving contexts genealogy might often appear to be a peripheral element of texts whose primary focus lies elsewhere, the writers of these texts did not create their genealogies indiscriminately; rather, they consciously gave deference to pre-existing genealogical forms, conventions and indeed content, so as to render their genealogical exposition culturally legible to others who were immersed in the same tradition. This tradition of written, literary genealogy interacted continuously with the broad genealogical knowledge maintained by society as a whole. The more learned members of this society were ultimately the source for much of the genealogical information that entered the literary tradition, while the literary tradition itself acted to shape the mental structures that facilitated each individual's capacity for expressing social relations. Much of this process is hidden from view, but must be considered when seeking to understand the literary genealogical texts that survive.

The Welsh literary tradition of genealogy was arguably an offshoot of a wider Insular tradition originating in Ireland in the seventh century. Although this Insular tradition drew freely on literary models offered by the Bible, it was probably stimulated by the common political circumstances of the early medieval Irish, English and Britons, who, in order to express the political order of their ethnic groups, were required to present multiple kings' pedigrees in relation to one another. From these beginnings, the tradition developed among the Britons of Wales in accordance with a unique combination of political, social and cultural factors. Chief among such factors was the relationship between perceptions of royal status and the chance events of political history. Major events that stimulated the writing of literary genealogy were the rise of the Merfynion dynasty in the ninth and tenth centuries, the emergence of two branches of the Merfynion as the foremost dynasties of Gwynedd and Deheubarth in the twelfth century, and the successive attempts by Llywelyn ab Iorwerth and his grandson Llywelyn ap Gruffudd to impose their hegemony across the remainder of native Wales in the thirteenth century. Each of these developments was rationalised by contemporaries in genealogical terms, and partisans of the successful parties attempted to harness such genealogical rationalisations to promote their own views of the political order. This could be done at the level of the individual pedigree, as shown by the successive aggrandisements of the Merfynion pedigree, or at the level of an entire genealogical schema, as with the Cunedda origin legend and its associated genealogies. Following the destruction of Welsh princely power in 1282–3, literary genealogy came to be adopted for similar purposes by the Welsh gentry, especially in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Although the genealogies recorded in that period could express the perceptions or aspirations of individual families, the resulting aggregated corpus of genealogies of the Welsh gentry fulfilled a similar function to earlier medieval collections of royal genealogies, by expressing the Welsh political order in terms of its own conception of status and identity.

The complexity of the literary tradition is underlined by the stark differences between the three major collections of secular genealogy examined in this book. The Harleian genealogies seem to be based on a ninth-century genealogical collection that was haphazardly updated and interpolated up to the middle of the tenth century. The Jesus 20 genealogies preserve a loosely integrated assemblage of earlier genealogical tracts which themselves were probably redacted between the tenth and thirteenth centuries. By contrast, the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, surviving in scores of manuscripts written between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, are a masterfully executed expression of Welsh dynastic, tenorial and legendary history, as viewed from the vantage point of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth's hegemony over native Wales at some point between 1216 and c. 1223. Yet despite the differences in approach that are necessary to comprehend these three contrasting texts, they are each connected to one another and to a host of minor genealogical texts through a complex and multifarious web of textual transmission. A rich thread in this web is the history of development undergone by the pedigrees of the kings of Gwynedd, which culminated with the lengthy pedigrees produced for the Tudor dynasty, but there are many other such threads awaiting further investigation.

The extant evidence suggests that there were certain environments that, at certain times, were instrumental for the development of the literary genealogical tradition. In the earlier period, one could point to some of the Welsh *clas* churches, especially St Davids in the tenth century and Llancarfan in the twelfth. In the later period, Cistercian abbeys came to the fore, including Aberconwy, where the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies were probably composed, and Valle Crucis, where the lost Hengwrt 33 was probably written in the early fourteenth century and where Gutun Owain discovered the riches of the medieval genealogical tradition in the fifteenth. But the vagaries of textual and manuscript survival no doubt distort our view. Evidence is adduced in Chapter 4 for the Cistercian abbey of Strata Marcella in southern Powys having been home to genealogical activity between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, and one may well wonder where the Powys material in the Harleian genealogies was originally written down. Furthermore, genealogies could be written down or used in non-ecclesiastical contexts that are now more difficult to discern. Although the books possessed by the poets of Gerald of Wales's day were most probably produced in ecclesiastical institutions, it became progressively more common in Wales between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries for members of the laity to write as well as own books. Books written by poets certainly incorporated genealogy in the fifteenth century, but it is difficult to judge the extent to which this may have been true for earlier periods. A further imponderable is the extent to which literary genealogy was communicated or deployed on single, portable sheets of parchment, rather than in codices. Such a process is now entirely hidden from view but could have been a major method of sharing genealogical writing even in the early medieval period.

The vast body of genealogical material that is addressed in this book could be explored from many other angles. There would be much to gain from comparing the development of the Welsh tradition of literary genealogy more closely with the Irish and English traditions, but further detailed work on the latter would be required before such comparisons are possible. Within the Welsh tradition, a vast amount of material remains virtually untouched in the manuscripts of the late medieval and early modern periods, despite the heroic efforts of Peter Bartrum and Michael Siddons. Further detailed examination of these manuscripts would no doubt refine our tentative view of the evolution of the genealogical literary genre in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and there is every possibility that even earlier texts (like *Gwehelyth Morgannwg*) survive in these manuscripts awaiting discovery. Beyond the manuscripts, the genealogies offer an unrivalled body of source material for other forms of historical investigation. Their potential for refining our understanding of onomastic trends over time is virtually untapped. Their calculated presentation of gender could be profitably read alongside sources such as the Welsh laws

to inform a study of gender in medieval Wales. The many eleventh- and twelfth-century liaisons recorded especially in the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies have yet to be fully integrated into accounts of the political history of the period.

The underlying purpose of this book is to render the substantial body of genealogy surviving from medieval Wales into a profitable source for historical and literary enquiry. This body of evidence, while superficially familiar to specialists, is too easy to treat as transparent, unreliable or downright boring. But when understood in its proper context, medieval Welsh genealogy can illuminate some of the darkest corners of the past. The historical genealogist J. Horace Round once acerbically commented that ‘the Welsh genealogist may well pray, “From all facts and dates, good Lord, deliver us!”’.¹ But he did not pause to consider that the ‘venerable absurdities’² of Welsh genealogy may have borne more truth and meaning for the people of the medieval past than any facts or dates.

¹ Round, ‘Origin’, p. 48; cf. Round, ‘Lords’, p. 83.

² Round, ‘Lords’, p. 83.

APPENDIX A: SUPPORTING MATERIAL

Sections of Appendix A are numbered in the format A.1.1, A.1.2, etc. The first numeral indicates the chapter to which the section pertains.

Appendix A.2.1: Manuscripts of the St Cadog Genealogies

The St Cadog genealogies appear in five of the nine manuscripts of the Life of St Cadog. The seven primary manuscripts, along with the sigla assigned to them by Hywel Emanuel, are as follows:¹

A: Cotton Vespasian A. xiv, part i (St Mary's Priory, Monmouth, s. xii^{3/3}).

B: Gotha Mm.I.81 (?South-west England, s. xivⁱⁿ).

C: Ashmole 1289 (?Wales, s. xivⁱⁿ).

D: Peniarth 385 (?Glamorgan, s. xiv/xv).

E: Cotton Titus D. xxii (?Glamorgan, 1429).

F: Ashmole 794 (?Glamorgan, s. xv^{ex}).

G: Peniarth 50 (Glamorgan, c. 1445–56).

Highlighted in bold are the manuscripts containing the St Cadog genealogies. In addition to these seven, there are two further, derivative witnesses: Peniarth 275, written by Robert Vaughan in c. 1658–9, which was copied from D, and Cardiff 3.77, written by John Jones of Gellilyfdy in 1640, which was copied from G.² Following their exemplars, Peniarth 275 omits the genealogies whereas Cardiff 3.77 includes the portion found in G.

The absence of the genealogies from B, C and D is readily explicable. B is the only manuscript containing the full version of the Life of St Cadog by Caradog of Llancarfan.³ It is unlikely that Caradog's version of the Life ever contained the genealogies, since it seems to have been written for an Anglo-Norman audience, who would probably not have appreciated the long lists of Welsh names.⁴ C contains only a summary of the Life and ends with Cadog's martyrdom.⁵ D contains the full text in a form comparable to E (which preserves the genealogies), but *Henricus*, D's scribe, chose to omit the genealogies deliberately, notifying his readers of his decision with the words *quere extra* 'look elsewhere' (f. 41v) placed at the point of omission.⁶

¹ For a full study of the manuscripts of the Life of St Cadog, see Emanuel, 'Latin Life'.

² Emanuel seems to have been unaware of Cardiff 3.77.

³ Edited in Grosjean, 'Vie de saint Cadoc'.

⁴ Cf. W. Davies, 'Property Rights', pp. 522–3 and above, p. 96, n. 252.

⁵ Emanuel, 'Latin Life', p. lxix.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xc.

Hywel Emanuel argued that the witnesses to the Life of St Cadog are related in the way indicated in Figure A.2.1.1.⁷ If Emanuel is correct, it may be seen that all later manuscripts containing the St Cadog genealogies derive ultimately from A. Emanuel expressed uncertainty only in relation to Peniarth 50, manuscript G.⁸ Peniarth 50 (pp. 82–4) contains only small portions of the Cadog material, comprising half of the genealogies followed by the preface, the latter also being genealogical in content. These pages of Peniarth 50 are presently very difficult to read on account of gall staining, a product of John Jones's encounter with the manuscript. However, Jones's copy of these pages in Cardiff 3.77 (pp. 101–6) can aid interpretation.

In general, there seems little reason to doubt that G was copied from an exemplar containing the composite version of the Life of Cadog found in C, D, E and F. This is shown by various agreements between G and the latter four manuscripts against A. For example, Brychan Brycheiniog's Irish ancestor is called *Brisceathach* in A but *Brischac* in E and Cardiff 3.77 (G is illegible at this point).⁹ Again, the words *huius seculi uanitates* in the preface in A appear as *vanitatem huius saeculi* in both E and G.¹⁰ However, one sentence in Cadog's 'Roman emperor' genealogy deserves further consideration. This appears in A, E and G as follows:¹¹

A: In illius enim cronico^{i. tempore} beati martires Albanus scilicet Iulianus Aaron alique plures martirium passi sunt

E: In illius enim cronico .i. tempore beati martires Albanus scilicet Iulianus et Aaron alique plures martirium passi sunt

G: In illius enim diebus passi sunt in Britannia sanctus Albanus Julius et Aaron et alii plures

Compare the equivalent sentence in HG 16, here representing the source used for the composition of the original St Cadog genealogies:

In tempore illius passi sunt beati martires in Brittannia Albanus Iulianus Aron cum aliis compluribus

At a few points G agrees with HG 16 against A and E: the omission of A's interlinear gloss *.i. tempore*; the positioning of *passi sunt* before rather than after the subjects of the verb; the addition of *in Britannia* before (*sanctus*) *Albanus*; and the omission of *scilicet* after *Albanus*. Individually, none of these points is decisive, but perhaps cumulatively they suggest that G or its exemplar may have been influenced by a separate copy of the St Davids recension.

⁷ Figure A.2.1.1 is based on Emanuel's stemma, given at *ibid.*, p. cxlix.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. cxxvi.

⁹ *VS Cadoci*, §46 (ed. *VSBG* 118.11); Emanuel, 'Latin Life', p. 114, n. 4.

¹⁰ *VS Cadoci*, pref. (ed. *VSBG* 24.18–19); Emanuel, 'Latin Life', p. 15, n. 36. The preface is absent from C because the text has been abbreviated and from D because the first folio of the manuscript is missing.

¹¹ Cf. *VS Cadoci*, §45 (ed. *VSBG* 116.33–4); Emanuel, 'Latin Life', p. 113, nn. 29–33.

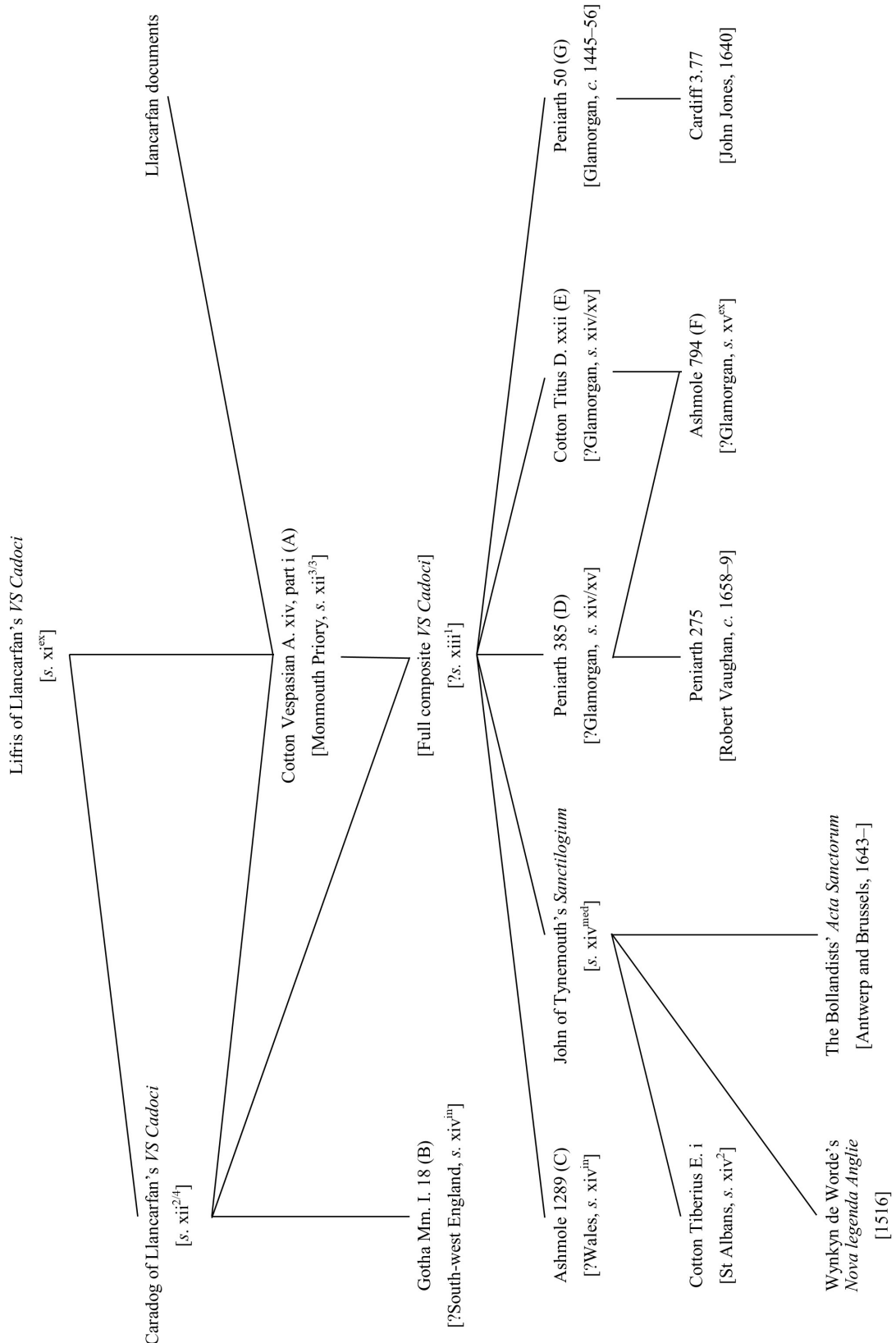


Figure A.2.1.1: Hywel Emanuel's view of the relationships between the manuscripts of the VS Cadoci

Appendix A.2.2: The St Cadog Genealogies

All pedigrees directly comparable to the four pedigrees included in the St Cadog genealogies are here laid out in parallel in order to illustrate the discussion in Chapter 2. Although the pedigrees in the St Cadog genealogies trace the lines of descent forwards in time from the earliest ancestors, the lists in the tables below have been reversed, so that they may be juxtaposed with the ascending pedigrees of other sources. For comparison, the first table also includes the names of the *imperatores Romanorum* in the *series regum* found in manuscripts of Jerome's translation of Eusebius's chronicle.¹²

Table A.2.2.1: Analogues to VS Cadoci, §45

<i>VS Cadoci, §45</i>	JC 4	HG 16	<i>Series regum</i>
Cadocus	Cattŵc		
Gundleius	Gwynlliŵ		
Gliuguis	Gliŵs		
Solor	Filur		
Nor	Nor		Valentinianus et Valens
Ouguein	Owein	[...]	Jovinianus
Maximianus	Maxen	Teuhant	Julianus Apostata
Constantius		Constantis	Constantinus
Constantinus magnus		Constantini magni	Constantius et Constans
		Constantini	Constantinus
Galerius (& Helena)		Galerii	Galerius
Dioclitianus		Diocletiani	Diocletianus
Carocius		Caroci	Carus cum filiis Carino et Numeriano
Probus		Probi	Probus
Titus		Titti	Tacitus
Aurelianus		Auriliani	Aurelianus
Cleopatra		Antun Du & Cleopatre	Claudius
Ualerianus		Valeriani	Valerianus Gallienus
Gallus		Galli	Gallus et Volusianus
Decius		Decius Mus ¹³	Decius
Philippus		Philippus	Philippus
Gordianus		Gordianus	Gordianus
Maximus		Alaximus	Maximinus
Alexander		Alaxander	Alexander Mameae filius
Aurelianus		Aurilianus	M. Aurelius Antoninus
Maucanus		Mapmau Cannus	Macrinus
Antonius		Antonius	Antoninus Caracalla

¹² Schoene, *Eusebii Chronicorum Libri Duo* I, appendices, cols 35–6. See above, pp. 81–2.

¹³ In the *series regum*, Decius is one of only two emperors in the list from Verus to Valerianus to be attributed a reign length with a specified number of months as well as years (*an. 1. mensibus* 3). Might the curious epithet 'Mus' in HG 16 derive from a misunderstanding of a Latin abbreviation for *mensibus*? The other such emperor with a reign length including a specified number of months, Aelius Pertinax, is replaced in the two Welsh lists by the mysterious *Meobus* or *Moebus*; does the latter derive from another misunderstanding of *mensibus*?

Supporting Material

<i>VS Cadoci, §45</i>	JC 4	HG 16	<i>Series regum</i>
Seuerus		Seuerus	Seuerus
Meobus		Moebus	Aelius Pertinax ¹⁴
Commodus		Commodus	Commodus
			M. Antonius qui et Verus, ¹⁵ et L. Aurelius Commodus
Antonius		Antonius	Antonius Pius cum filiis Aurelio et Lucio
Adrianus		Adiuuandus	Hadrianus
Traianus		Troianus	Trajanus
Nero		Nero	Nerva
Domicianus		Domitianus	Domicianus
Titus		Titus	Titus Vespasianus
Uespasianus		Vespasianus	Vespasianus
			Nero
Claudius		Claudius	Claudius
Gaius			C. Caligula
Tiberius		Tiberius	Tiberius
Octavianus		Octavianus ¹⁶	
Augustus Cesar		Augusti Cessar	Augustus Caesar
			C. Julius Caesar

Table A.2.2.2: Analogues to VS Cadoci, §46.1

<i>VS Cadoci, §46.1</i>	<i>DSB 2–8</i>	<i>CB 10</i>	<i>Sarth Marthin gynt, ynawr Brycheiniawc¹⁷</i>	JC 1	LIIG 1.1	<i>LIFB 1</i>
Cadocus						
Gladusa	Kynauc	Kynaucus	Cynawc	Kynaŵc		
Brachanus	Brachan	Brachan	Brychan	Brachan	Brychan Brycheinawg	Brychan Brychainioc
Anlach	Anlach	Anlach	Aflach vrenhin			Evallach
	Coronac	Gornuc	Cormoc vrenhin Iwerdhon	Chormuc	Korvmawc vrenin Iwerdon	Korniwc
Urbf		Eurbre de Hibernia		Eurbre Gŵydel o Iwe[r]don		
Brusc						
Briscethach						

¹⁴ Aelius was actually the name of the person who held the consulship with Pertinax in 192, the year in which Commodus was assassinated. See too the previous note.

¹⁵ This is incorrect; Verus was the name of *Lucius (Aelius) Aurelius Commodus*.

¹⁶ In HG 16, there is no *map* preceding either *Octavianus* or *Augusti Cessar*.

¹⁷ See Appendix A.3.4.

Medieval Welsh Genealogy

Table A.2.2.3: Analogues to VS Cadoci, §46.2

<i>VS Cadoci,</i> §46.2	DSB 10	JC 9	JC 5	GM 1	HG 10
Cadocus					
Gladusa					
	Brachan	[...]		[...]	
Marchell	Marchel	Meuric		Mayrig	
Teudiricus	Teuderic	Thevdric		Tewdrig	
Teitfall	Teudfäll	Llywarch		Taithfälc	
Idnerh	Teuder	Nynnyaŵ		Nynyaw	
Yrb	Teudfāl	Erb		Yrp	
Erbic	Annhun rex Grecorum	Erbic		Erdig	
Mouric		Meuric	Meuric	Meyrig	
Henninni		Enenni	Emminni	Henvyn	
Cinmarch			Kynvarch	Gynfarch	
Merchiaun			Meirchaŵn	Mairchiawn	
Guorgust			Gŵrgust Letlŵm	Gwr Galed Lym	[...]
			Ceneŵ	Kenay	Garbaniaun
Coilhen			Coyl Hen	Koel Hen	Coyl Hen
Guotepauc			Godebaŵc	Godebawg	Guotepauc
Tecmant			Tecwant	Tegvant	Tecmant
Teuhuant			Eweint	Ywain	Teuhant
Teilpuill			Tepŵyll	Taithpayl	Telpuil
Urban			Vrban	Yrban	Vrban
Grat			Grad	Grat	Grat
Rimetel			Rŵuedyl	Ryueddel	Iumetel
Ritigirrus			Rudeern	Vndeyrn	Ritigirn
Oudicant			Tegant		Oudecant
Outigirun			Kyndeern Wledic		Outigir
Ebiud			Elud	Elvydd	Ebiud
Eudos			Eudos	Endos	Eudos
Oudolenn			Eudolen	Enddolay	Eudelen
Baallad			Auallach	Afallach	Aballac
Aballach			Aphlech	Amaleg	
Beli			Beli Maŵr	Beli Mawr	Beli et Anna
Anna			Anna	Anna	

Supporting Material

Table A.2.2.4: Analogues to VS Cadoci, §47

<i>VS Cadoci</i> , §47	<i>PK 5</i>	<i>VS Carantoci II</i> , §1	<i>HG 1</i>	<i>JC 6</i>	<i>GM 2</i>
Cadocus					
Gundleius	Gunlyu				
Guaul	Guaur	Carantocus	[...]		[...]
Credic	Keredic	Keredic	Eniaun Girt		Einon Yrth
Cuneda		Cuneda	Cuneda	Cuneda	Kynhedda Wledig
Etern		Ethern	Ætern	Edern	Edymn
Patern Peis		Petern Pes	Patern Pesrut	Padarn Beisrud	Patarn Beisrydd
Rudauc		Rudauc			
Tacit		Tacit	Tacit	Tegyth	Tegydd
				Iago	
				Genedaŵc	
Ceint		Kein	Cein	Cein	Kaint
Guorceng		Guorchein	Guorcein	Gorein	
Doli		Doli	Doli	Doli	Doli
Guordoli		Gurdoli	Guordoli	Gŵrdoli	Gorddoli
Dubn		Domn	Dumn	Dŵfyn	Dwfn
Guordubn		Guordomn	Gurdumn	Gordofyn	Gorddwfn
Amgoloit		Amguoloid	Amguoloyt		Amgolaith
Anguerit		Amguerit	Anguerit	Anuueret	Anerod
Oumiud		Omnid	Oumun	Eimet	Ennot
Dubunn		Dubunn	Dubun	Dibun	Dybion
Brithguein		Britguenin	Brithguein	Prydein	Prydain
Euguein		Eugen	Eugein	Ewein	Ywain
Baallad		Aballach	Aballac	Auallach	Avallach
Aballach		Canalech	Amalech	Amalech	Analeg
Beli		Beli & Anna	Beli magnus & Anna	Beli	Beli
Anna				Anna	Anna

Appendix A.2.3: Geoffrey of Monmouth's Use of the St Davids Recension

The table below lists all the names used by Geoffrey of Monmouth that correspond to names found in the St Davids recension.¹⁸ For Geoffrey, the edition of Reeve and Wright has been used (*DGB*), while for the St Davids recension the edition in Appendix B.1 has been used. The names are listed in the order of Geoffrey's text. The section numbers of *De gestis Britonum* in the first column indicate the places in the text where each new character bearing a relevant name first appears. I have not grouped together characters of the same name, because it has been thought more useful to position each name within the context in which it appears in the text. For name correspondences, I have erred on the side of comprehensiveness rather than caution, meaning that some of the equations suggested below may ultimately prove to be false. For the same reason, names have been included even if Geoffrey clearly took them from elsewhere; in these cases, the alternative source is noted in the footnotes. The only names deliberately omitted are those of Roman emperors and the three British martyrs, Albanus, Iulius and Aaron, all of whom appear in HG 16.¹⁹

Table A.2.3.1: Names in *De gestis Britonum* that are paralleled in the St Davids recension

<i>De gestis Britonum</i>		St Davids Recension	
§§	Name	§§	Name
1.4	Arturus	2	Arthur ²⁰
2.11	Cadualdrus	1	Catgualatr
2.11	Caduallo	1	Catgollaun
27.97	Margadud	2; 13; 14	Margetiut; Morgetiud
27.97	Sisillius	26	Seissil
27.98	Regin	2; 13; 14	Regin
27.98	Moruid	20	Moriud
27.98	Bladud	17	Bleydiud
27.98	Iagon	1	Iacob
27.98	Kincar	2; 10	Cincar
27.98	Gaul	16	Gallus
27.99	Cangu	3	Cangan ²¹
27.99	Kerin	24	Cerennior ²²
27.99	Rud	1	Pesrut ²³
27.100	Gloigin	2	Gloitguin ²⁴
27.101	Tangustel	2	Tancoystl
27.101	Ragan	2; 13; 14	Regin

¹⁸ For further correspondences between the names used by Geoffrey and names in other sources, see Hutson, *British Personal Names*.

¹⁹ For these names, see Tatlock, *Legendary History*, pp. 118–22, 159–60 and 235.

²⁰ Geoffrey doubtlessly did not need a specific source for Arthur's name.

²¹ Closer parallels to *Cangu* are provided by *Cincu* in LL 74, *Concu* in LL 168 and perhaps *Kyngu* in *Bonedd y Saint* (ByS 46–7), as noted by Roberts, 'Treatment', p. 280, n. 7.

²² Hutson (*British Personal Names*, p. 15) compared *Ciaranus* in Harl. [544].

²³ Compare the versions of this epithet in the St Cadog genealogies and in the Life of St Carannog, where the *rut* element is written separately as *rudauc*: *VS Cadoci*, §47; *VS Carantoci* II, §1.

²⁴ See Guy, 'Second Witness', pp. 86–7.

Supporting Material

<i>De gestis Britonum</i>		St Davids Recension	
§§	Name	§§	Name
27.102	Chein	1	Cein ²⁵
27.102	Aballac	1; 10	Aballac
27.104	Anor	20	Amor
27.104	Egron	24	Ecrin
30.124	Bladud	17	Bleydiud
32.261	Marganus	10; 25; 28; 29	Morcant
32.262	Cunedagius	1; 3; 17; 18; 26; 32	Cuneda ²⁶
33.289	Gurgustius	8	Gurgust
33.290	Sisillius	26	Seissil
33.290	Iago	1	Iacob
33.290	Kinmarcus	8	Cinmarc
33.298	Iudon	14	Iudon
34.306	Dunuallo Molmutius	10	Dumngual Moilmut
34.306	Clotenus	2	Cloten
34.308	Pinner	2	Pincr
34.309	Rudaucus	1	Rudauc ²⁷
34.310	Staterius	2	Stater
35.1	Beli	1; 5; 10	Beli
35.1	Brennius	10	Bran ²⁸
45.233	Gurguint Barbtruc	18	Guurgint Barmb Truch
47.262	Sisillius	26	Seissil
47.266	Kimarus	8	Cinmarc
47.267	Moruidus	20	Moriud
47.268	Tangustela	2	Tancoysl
49.287	Gorbonianus	10	Garbaniaun
50.298	Arthgallo	5	Arthgal
50.302	Elidurus	12	Eleuther
51.333	Iugenius	1; 3; 5	Eugein
51.333	Peredurus	12	Peretur
52.345	Regin	2; 13; 14	Regin
52.348	Marganus	10; 25; 28; 29	Morcant
52.350	Enniaunus	1; 3; 32	Eniaun; Enniaun
52.355	Runo	1; 4; 5	Run
52.355	Catellus	1; 16; 22; 23; 27	Catell; Catel ²⁹

²⁵ Hutson ('Geoffrey', p. 365; *British Personal Names*, p. 21) compared Geoffrey's *Chein* with *Kein*, daughter of Brychan, in *DSB* 12.21.

²⁶ Judging by the presence of the *g* in *-dag-*, Geoffrey probably took this name from *HB* (Harl. 3859), §62, rather than the St Davids recension. For the etymology, see Isaac, 'Cunedag'.

²⁷ Note that this form only occurs in the version of the Gwynedd pedigree found in the St Cadog genealogies and the Life of St Carannog. See above, pp. 82 and 91.

²⁸ Geoffrey actually took the name *Brennius* from the historical Gaulish leader *Brennus* who sacked Rome in the fourth century BC: Tatlock, *Legendary History*, p. 169, but cf. Roberts, 'Treatment', p. 279, n. 10.

²⁹ Tatlock (*Legendary History*, p. 124) commented on the obscurity of Geoffrey's form *Catellus*, which

Medieval Welsh Genealogy

<i>De gestis Britonum</i>		St Davids Recension	
§§	Name	§§	Name
52.356	Coillus	8; 9; 10; 11; 12; 19	Coil; Coyl; Goyl
52.359	Eliud	2; 27	Eliud
52.359	Cledaucus	26	Clitauc
52.359	Clotenus	2	Cloten
52.359	Gurgintius	18	Guurgint
52.360	Merianus	3; 18; 21; 32	Meriaun
52.360	Bledudo	17	Bleydiud
52.360	Oenus	1; 2	Ouen; Ouein
52.360	Sisillius	26	Seissil
52.363	Arthmail	29	Artmail
52.363	Redion	[LIIG 41]	[Roet] ³⁰
52.364	Rederchius	5; 6	Riderch
52.364	Samuil Penissel	19	Samuil Pennissel
52.364	Pir	[LIIG 41]	[Pybyr] ³¹
52.364	Capoir	[LIIG 41]	[Caper] ³²
52.365	Cligueillus	1; 3	Higuel
53.382	Tenuantius	10; 16	Teuhant ³³
56.39	Bellinus	1; 5; 10	Beli ³⁴
61.147	Cuelinus	17	Cuhelin
64.272	Kimbelinus	7; 16	Cinbelin ³⁵
65.279	Guider	16	Guidgen
70.374	Rodric	1	Rotri ³⁶
71.392	Coillus	8; 9; 10; 11; 12; 19	Coil; Coyl; Goyl
72.403	Eleutherius	12	Eleuther ³⁷
72.407	Duuianus	16	Adiuuandus ³⁸

appears as a Roman name only in a few inscriptions, but he did not consider the obvious parallel with OW *Catel(l)*.

³⁰ This name was perhaps part of a longer version of HG 21 in the original St Davids recension. See Guy, 'Second Witness', pp. 86–7.

³¹ For *Pir* and *Capoir* in the St Davids recension, see Guy, 'Second Witness', p. 87.

³² Hutson (*British Personal Names*, p. 42) compared *Camuir* in HG 23, but this seems to be a less likely source. See the previous note.

³³ See Koch, 'Llawr en asseð', pp. 266–70.

³⁴ Geoffrey's source for this name was undoubtedly the *Bellinus* of *HB* (Harl. 3859), §19.

³⁵ Possible classical sources for these names are Κυνοβελλίνου in Dio Cassius and *Cynobellini* in Suetonius: Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, LX.20.1 and LX.21.4 (ed. and transl. Foster and Cary VII, 416–17 and 420–1); Suetonius, *C. Caligula*, XLIV.2 (ed. and transl. Rolfe I, 472–3). However, Geoffrey's form *Kimbelinus* is more likely to have been taken from a Welsh source such as the St Davids recension, because it shows syncope and uses *i* for /ə/ in the first syllable (unless *Kim-* is a mistake for *Kun-* rather than *Kin-*).

³⁶ For the Latinisation of Welsh *Rotri* as *Rod(e)ric(us)*, see Phillimore *apud* Owen, *Description* III, 210–13.

³⁷ Geoffrey took the name of this pope from Bede: *HE* I.4.

³⁸ This form in the Harleian genealogies is found in error for *Adrianus*, who appears correctly in the St Cadog genealogies. Nicholson suggested that the *Adiuuandus* of the Harleian genealogies was an attempt to render *Duuianus*, but it is perhaps more likely that *Adiuuandus* is an error, unconnected to *Duuianus*.

Supporting Material

<i>De gestis Britonum</i>		St Davids Recension	
§§	Name	§§	Name
78.122	Coel	8; 9; 10; 11; 12; 19	Coil; Coyl; Goyl
78.137	Helena	2	Helen ³⁹
81.201	Caradocus	3; 16; 17	Caratauc
81.211	Mauricus	17; 26; 29	Mouric ⁴⁰
100.368	Katigern	22; 23; 27	Cattegirn ⁴¹
100.368	Paschent	22; 27	Pascent ⁴²
106.515	Dinabutius	4; 17	Dinacat ⁴³
107.541	Maugantius	27	Maucant
115.110	Conanus	1; 22; 27	Cinnan; Cinan
115.124	Anna	1	Anna
138.536	Anna	1	Anna
143.28	Cador	25	Catgur
156.329	Caduallo Lauihr	1	Catgolaun Lauhir
156.330	Stater	2	Stater
156.335	Moruid	20	Moriud
156.336	Anaraut ⁴⁴	4	Anaraut
156.336	Arthgal	5	Arthgal
156.336	Iugein	1; 3; 5	Eugein
156.337	Cursalem	5	Cursalem
156.337	Kinmarc	8	Cinmarc
156.337	Gualauc	9	Guallauc
156.338	Vrbgennius	8	Urbgen
156.338	Ionathal	17	Iouanaul ⁴⁵
156.340	Donaut Mappapo	11	Dunaut map Pappo
156.340	Cheneus Mapcoil	9; 11; 12; 19	Ceneu map Coyl; Ceneu map Goyl
156.340–1	Peredur Maberidur	12	Gurci ha Peretur mepion Eleuther
156.341	Grifud Mapnogoid	15	Gripiud [...] filii Nougoy
156.342	Kincar Mabbangan	10	Cincar braut map Bran Hen
156.342	Kinmarc	8	Cinmarc

Tatlock showed that Geoffrey probably took his *Duuianus*, one of the two missionaries sent by Pope Eleutherius to King Lucius, from elsewhere. Nicholson, ‘Dynasty’, p. 95; Tatlock, *Legendary History*, pp. 230–5.

³⁹ Knowledge of Constantine’s mother Helena was widespread in Geoffrey’s time, and so it is improbable that the St Davids recension was the source for this name. See Tatlock, *Legendary History*, p. 236; Harbus, *Helena*, pp. 78–82.

⁴⁰ This may be a misleading correspondence, since Tatlock notes that *Mauricius* was a genuine late Roman name: *Legendary History*, pp. 124 and 135; but cf. *ibid.*, p. 167; Roberts, ‘Treatment’, p. 279, n. 3.

⁴¹ *Katigern* and *Paschent*, sons of Vortigern, were probably based on the *Catgirn* and *Pascent* of *HB* (Harl. 3859), §48.

⁴² See previous note.

⁴³ This correspondence is doubtful.

⁴⁴ This name is not found in all of the witnesses: see Reeve and Wright, *Geoffrey*, p. 211, n. to l. 336.

⁴⁵ Cf. also *Ionathan* in *AC* (AB) [858].

Medieval Welsh Genealogy

<i>De gestis Britonum</i>		St Davids Recension	
§§	Name	§§	Name
156.342	Gorbonian	10	Garbaniaun
156.342	Masgoit ⁴⁶ Clofaut	9	Masguic Clop
156.342	Run Mapneton	4; 16	Run map Neithon
156.343	Kinbelin Maptrunat	16	Cinbelin map Teuhant
156.343	Cathleus Mapcatel	16	Catleu map Catel
158.410	Maugannius	16; 22	Maucanus; Maucann
158.410	Duuianus	16	Adiuuandus ⁴⁷
158.411	Eledenius	12	Eleuther
165.34	Helena	2	Helen
167.224	Mauricus ⁴⁸	17; 26; 29	Mouric ⁴⁹
178.82	Constantinus	2; 16	Constantinus ⁵⁰
184.122	Kareticus	5; 26; 32	Ceritic; Ceretic ⁵¹
189.206	Brochmail	17; 18; 22; 27; 29; 31	Brochmail; Brocmail; Brocmayl ⁵²
189.213	Margadud	2; 13; 14	Margetiut; Morgetiud
189.213	Caduanus	1	Catman
195.378	Ennianus	1; 3; 32	Eniaun; Enniaun
195.378	Run	1; 4; 5	Run
195.378	Beli(n)	1; 5; 10	Beli
195.379	Iago(n)	1	Iacob

⁴⁶ Reeve and Wright have *Masgoit* as the epithet of the preceding name, *Gorbonian*, but the reading of the Harleian genealogies clearly suggests that *Masgoit* should be paired with the following *Clofaut*.

⁴⁷ See above, p. 278, n. 38.

⁴⁸ Note that this name is written as *Mauricius* in Reeve and Wright's translation.

⁴⁹ See above, p. 279, n. 40.

⁵⁰ This is Gildas's Constantine of Dumnonia: Gildas, §28.1.

⁵¹ Other possible sources are the Harleian chronicle, the *Historia Brittonum* and Bede: Harl. [616]; *HB* (Harl. 3859), §63; *HE* IV.23.

⁵² Geoffrey's source for this character was Bede, who used the form *Brocmayl*: *HE* II.2.

Appendix A.3.1: The Contents of Jesus 20

The first three columns of the table are based on the similar table in the TEI header for Jesus 20 on the website of the *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300–1425* project.⁵³ The footnotes to the table indicate where the readings of Jesus 20 and other manuscripts related to it may be consulted. The following abbreviations have been used: LlSt. = Llanstephan; Pen. = Peniarth; BBC = Black Book of Carmarthen (Pen. 1); RBH = Red Book of Hergest (Jesus 111); RBT = Red Book of Talgarth (LlSt. 27); WB = White Book of Rhydderch (Pen. 4–5).

Table A.3.1.1: The contents of Jesus 20

Text	Jesus 20 Folios	Scribe	Closest independent manuscript witness(es) (starred if the only other manuscript witness)	
			Witness(es)	Scribe(s)
Ymddiddan Arthur a'r Eryr ⁵⁴	1r–3r	A	<i>Later copies derive from a lost sister text.</i> ⁵⁵	
Cysul Addaon ⁵⁶	3r	A	<i>These five englynion recur in BBC (pp. 84–5)⁵⁷ and RBT (f. 163v).⁵⁸</i>	BBC scribe; RBT: Hywel Fychan
Eiry mynydd ⁵⁹	3v–12r	A	<i>RBH (256r–256v, cols 1028–30)⁶⁰</i>	Hywel Fychan
Englynion y Clyweit ⁶¹	12r–15v	A	<i>*RBT (161v–163r)⁶²</i>	Hywel Fychan
Owein ⁶³	16r–21v	B	<i>RBH (154v–161v, cols 627–55);⁶⁴ WB (49r–54v, cols 225–36 and 245–56)⁶⁵</i>	RBH: Hywel Fychan; WB hand D

⁵³ See above, p. 101, n. 3.

⁵⁴ Ed. I. Williams, 'Ymddiddan', pp. 272–8; ed. Haycock, *Blodeugerdd*, poem 30.

⁵⁵ I. Williams, 'Ymddiddan', pp. 281–2.

⁵⁶ Ed. I. Williams, 'Ymddiddan', p. 278 as englynion 43–7 of *Ymddiddan Arthur a'r Eryr*; cf. *ibid.*, p. 282.

⁵⁷ *LIDC* poem 27; ed. Haycock, *Blodeugerdd*, poem 28; cf. I. Williams, 'Ymddiddan', p. 282. The five englynion in Jesus 20 correspond to englynion 1–3, 5 and 7 of the eight englynion in the BBC poem, and occur in the same relative order.

⁵⁸ Ed. I. Williams, 'Dwy Gân', pp. 120–1; ed. Haycock, *Blodeugerdd*, poem 29; cf. I. Williams, 'Dwy Gân', pp. 118–20; *LIDC* 110. The first two of the five englynion in Jesus 20 correspond to englynion 7 and 8 of the poem in RBT, as edited by Williams, or englynion 1 and 2, as edited by Haycock. The following englyn 9 in RBT also corresponds with englyn 4 in the BBC poem, though this is absent from Jesus 20. The englynion from BBC and RBT were amalgamated into a single poem in Lewis, *Hen Gerddi*, pp. 18–19, ll. 20–59; cf. *EWSP* 287, n. 35.

⁵⁹ Variants from Jesus 20 are given in *EWGP* 22–35 and Jacobs, *Early Welsh Gnomie and Nature Poetry*, pp. 4–8.

⁶⁰ Ed. *EWGP* 22–35; see the stemma on p. 11. Cf. Jacobs, *Early Welsh Gnomie and Nature Poetry*, pp. 38–9.

⁶¹ A text very similar to that found in Jesus 20 appears in *MA*² 127–30. The manuscript source is not noted, but Ifor Williams thought that it might have been the source (directly or indirectly) for the text in Jesus 20: Williams *apud* Williams and Parry-Williams, 'Englynion', pp. 5 and 9.

⁶² Ed. I. Williams and Parry-Williams, 'Englynion', pp. 9–15; ed. Haycock, *Blodeugerdd*, poem 31.

⁶³ Ed. R. M. Jones, 'Rhamantau', pp. 114–16. Variants from Jesus 20 are given in Thomson, *Owein*, pp. 1–7.

⁶⁴ Ed. Thomson, *Owein*.

⁶⁵ Ed. Evans *apud* Evans and Jones, *Llyfr Gwyn*, cols 223–61, with missing text supplied from RBH.

Medieval Welsh Genealogy

Jesus 20		Closest independent manuscript witness(es) (starred if the only other manuscript witness)		
Text	Folios	Scribe	Witness(es)	Scribe(s)
Pryd y Mab (< Ymborth yr Enaid) ⁶⁶	22r–30r	A	Pen. 190 (pp. 167–224) ⁶⁷	X91 (Llyfr Teg scribe)
Epistol y Sul	30r–32r	A	Uncertain ⁶⁸	
Mi yw Pedr Esgob Antioys	32r	A	RBT (f. 56r); Cotton Titus D. xxii (ff. 158v–159r) ⁶⁹	RBT: Hywel Fychan
Mappa Mundi	32v			
Genealogies	33r–40r	A		
Enwau Brenhinoedd ⁷⁰	40v–41r	A		
Ending colophon from Brut y Brenhinedd ⁷¹	41v	C (s. xv ¹)	Philadelphia 8680.O (f. 68r)	Hywel Fychan
Seith Doethon Rufein ⁷²	42r–70r	A	RBH (127v–134v, cols 527–55) ⁷³ and Llst. 2 (ff. 38–59)	RBH: Hywel Fychan; Llst. 2: Siancyn ap Dafydd ap Gruffudd
Enwau Brenhinoedd y Saeson		D (s. xv ²)		

⁶⁶ Variants from Jesus 20 are given in Daniel, *Ymborth*, pp. 39–46, for the text printed on p. 17, l. 1 to p. 24, l. 47.

⁶⁷ Variants from Pen. 190 are given in Daniel, *Ymborth*, pp. 31–48.

⁶⁸ Detailed textual work on this text remains to be undertaken. For a list of manuscripts containing the text (also known as *Am gadw dyw Sul*), see Foster, ‘Book’, p. 226. Although Foster claims that the text is found in the eighteenth-century NLW 6882D, I have not been able to find it there. For editions of the text in *Llyfr yr Ancr* (Jesus 119), see J. M. Jones and Rhŷs, *Elucidarium*, pp. 157–9 and J. M. Jones, *Life*, pp. 73–6. A text and translation of the copy in Cotton Titus D. xxii was printed in Powel, ‘Ebostol’.

⁶⁹ This short text follows *Epistol y Sul* in Jesus 20, RBT and Cotton Titus D. xxii. The version in Cotton Titus D. xxii is printed in Powel, ‘Ebostol’, pp. 168–9.

⁷⁰ Ed. in Appendix B.2. See Appendix A.3.2 for analysis.

⁷¹ This colophon belongs to the Red Book version of the *Brut* and was almost certainly copied directly from Philadelphia 8680.O: see Guy, ‘Medieval Welsh Genealogy’ II, 259–61.

⁷² Variants from Jesus 20 are given in Lewis, *Chwedleu*, pp. 83–92.

⁷³ Ed. Lewis, *Chwedleu*.

Appendix A.3.2: The Jesus 20 King-list

The table below compares the list of *enweu Brenhined y Brytanyeit* given on folios 40v–41r of Jesus 20 with the British rulers mentioned in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *De gestis Britonum* (DGB) and in two versions of *Brut y Brenhinedd*, the Red Book of Hergest version (RB) and the Dingestow version (BD).⁷⁴ The footnotes provide a few alternative name forms found in the two other thirteenth-century versions of *Brut y Brenhinedd*, the Llanstephan 1 version (Llst. 1) and the Peniarth 44 version (Pen. 44).⁷⁵

Table A.3.2.1: The names in the Jesus 20 king-list compared

Jesus 20 king-list	DGB	RB	BD
Eneas Yscŷdydwn	Aeneas	Eneas Ysgŷdydŷyn	Eneas Yscvydwn
Ascanius	Ascanius	Ascanius	Ascanius
Siluius	Siluius	Siluius	Syluyus
Brutus	Brutus	Brutus	Brutus
Locrinus	Locrinus	Locrinus	Locrinus
	Guendoloena	Gwendoleu	Guendoleu
Madaŷc	Maddan	Madaŷc	Madavc
Membyr	Mempricius	Membyr	Membyr
Efraŷc	Ebraucus	Efraŷc	Euravc
Brutus Taryanlas	Brutus Viride Scutum	Brutus Daryan Las	Brutus Taryan Las
Llyr Lletieith	Leil	Lleon	Lleon
	Rud Hudibras	Run Palatyruras	Run Paladyr Bras ⁷⁶
Bleidud	Bladud	Bleiddut	Bleidud
Llyr	Leir	Llyr	Llyr ⁷⁷
Cordiella	Cordeilla	Cordeilla	Cordeilla
Cunada	Cunedagius	Kuneda	Cuneda
Riwallaŷn	Riuallo	Rywallaŷn	Riwallavn
Gŷrgan Varyftrŷch	Gurgustius	Gorŷyst	Gorvsst
Seissyl	Sisillius	Seissyll	Seissill
Iago	Iago	Iago	Iago
Kynvarch	Kinmarcus	Kynuarch	Kynuarch
Gorbannyaŷn	Gorbodugo	Goronyŷ Digu	Goronvy Dygu ⁷⁸
Porrex	Ferreux, Porrex	Porrex a Ffernex	Porrex a Feruex
Dyfywnaŷl	Dunuallo Molmutius	Dyfyŷnal Moel Mut	Dyuyŷnwal Moel Mut
Beli	Beli, Brennius	Beli a Bran	Beli a Bran
Gŷrnet Vrichhir	Gurguint Barbruc	Gŷrgan Varyfdrŷch	Gvrgant Varyftvrch
Cuelyn	Guithelinus	Kuelyn	Kuhelyn
	Marcia	Marcia	Marcia
Seissyll	Sisillius	Seissyll	Seissill
Kynuarch	Kimarus	Kynuarch	Kynuarch

⁷⁴ The forms from the Red Book version of *Brut y Brenhinedd* have been taken from Rhŷs and Evans, *Text*, pp. 40–256.

⁷⁵ These forms have been taken from Roberts, 'Treatment'.

⁷⁶ Rvn Dvrras Pen. 44.

⁷⁷ Lleyr Pen. 44.

⁷⁸ Gvrfyw Dygv Llst. 1, Pen. 44.

Medieval Welsh Genealogy

Jesus 20 king-list	DGB	RB	BD
Dainus	Danius	Dan	Dan
Maredud	Moruidus	Morud	Morud
Gorbanniaŵn	Gorbonianus	Gorboniaŵn	Gorbonyavn ⁷⁹
Arthgal	Arthgallo	Arthal	Arthal
Elidyr	Elidurus	Elidyr	Elidir
Vigenius	Iugenius	Owein	Owein ⁸⁰
Paredur	Peredurus	Peredur	Peredur
Gorbannyaŵn m.	Regin Gorboniani filius	Rys uab Gorbonyaŵn	Rys ⁸¹ uab Gorbonyavn
Morgan	Marganus	Morgan	Margan
Einon	Enniaunus	Einyaŵn	Eniavn
Idwal	Iduallo	Idaŵl [<i>sic</i>]	Idwal
Run	Runo	Run	Run
Cereint	Gerontius	Gereint	Gereint
Catellvs	Catellus	Kadell	Kadell
Coel	Coillus	Coel	Coel
Porex	Porrex	Porrex	Porrex
Fferuex			
	Cherin		
Ffulgen	Fulgenius	Fulgen	Fulgen
Eldagius	Eldadus	Eidal	Eidal
Andreŵ	Andragius	Andryŵ	Andryv ⁸²
Kynon	Vrianus	Uryen	Vryen
Eliud	Eliud	Eluyd	Elvyt
Cledno	Cledaucus	Clydaŵc	Clydauv
Cloten	Clotenus	Clydno	Clydno
Gŵrgant	Gurgintius	Gorŵst	Gorvst
Meiryaŵn	Merianus	Meiryaŵn	Meiryavn
Bledyn	Bledudo	Bleid dut	Bleidud
Caap	Cap	Kaph	Caph
Ewein	Oenus	Owein	Ewein
Seissyll	Sisillius	Seissyll	Seissill
Blegywryt	Bledgabred	Blegywryt	Blegyvryt
Arthuael	Arthmail	Armael ⁸³	Arthmael ⁸⁴
Eidol	Eldol	Eidol	Eidol
Reidon	Redion	Rydyon	Rydyon
Ryderch	Rederchius	Ryderch	Ryderch
Samuel	Samuil Penissel	Saŵyl Ben Uchel	Sawyl Ben Yssel
Pir	Pir	Pyrr	Pyrr
Catŵr	Capoir	Kapoyr	Capoyr
Eligullus	Cligueillus	Manogan	Manogan
Beli	Heli	Beli Maŵr	Beli Mavr

⁷⁹ Gorvynyavn Llst. 1; Gvrvynyavn Pen. 44.

⁸⁰ Jvgeyn Llst. 1

⁸¹ Rvn Pen. 44.

⁸² Andras Pen. 44.

⁸³ *Sim.* Pen. 44.

⁸⁴ Arthvael Llst. 1.

Supporting Material

Jesus 20 king-list	DGB	RB	BD
Llud	Lud	Llud	Llud
Catwallaŵn	Cassiballaunus	Cassŵallaŵn	Caswallaŵn
Tenean	Tenuantius	Teneuan	Teneuan
Kynuelyn	Kimbelinus	Kynuelyn	Kynuelyn
Gwider	Guider	Gŷydyr	Gvydyr
	Aruiragus	Gŷeiryd Adarweindaŵc	Gueirid Adar Wenydyawc
Marius	Marius	Meuruc	Meurvc
Coel	Coillus	Coel	Coel
Lles	Lucius	Lles	Lles
Seuerus	Seuerus	Seuerus	Seuerus
Basian	Bassianus	Basianus	Bassianus
Carancius	Carausius	Karaŵn	Caravn ⁸⁵
Alectus	Allectus	Allectus	Allectus
Asclepiodotus	Asclepiodotus	Asclepiodotus	Asclepiodotus
Coel	Coel	Coel	Coel
Llyr			
Constans	Constantius	Constans	Constans
Constantinus	Constantinus	Custenin	Custennyn
	Octavius	Eudaf	Eudaf
	Trahern	Trahaearn	Trahayarn
	Maximianus	Maxen Wledic	Maxen Wledic
	Gratianus Municeps	Gracian	Gracian Rodgymryt ⁸⁶
	Constantinus	Custennin Uendigeit	Custennyn Uendigeit
Constans Vanach	Constans	Constans	Constans
Gŷrtheyrn	Vortegirnus	Gŷrtheyrn Gŷrtheneu	Gortheyrn Gortheneu
Gwertheuyr Vendigeit	Vortimer	Gŷyrthefyr Uendigeit	Guertheuyr Uendigeit
Emrys Wledic	Aurelius Ambrosius	Emrys Wledic	Emreis Wledic
Vthur Pendreic	Vther Pendragon	Uthur Benn Dragon	Uthyr Bendragon
Arthur	Arturus	Arthur	Arthur
Constantinus	Constantinus	Custenin	Custennyn
Aurelius	Aurelius Conanus	Kynan Wledic	Kynan Wledic
Iuor	Vortiporius	Gŷrthefyr	Guertheuyr
Maelgŵn Gŷyned	Malgo	Maelgŵn Gŷyned	Maelgwn Gvyned
Caterius	Kareticus	Keredic	Keredic
Catuan	Caduanus	Katuan	Catuan
Catwallaŵn	Caduallo	Katwallaŵn	Catwallaŵn
Catwaladyr Vendigeit	Cadualdrus	Kadŵallaŵdyr Uendigeit	Catwaladyr Uendigeit

The Jesus 20 list has several peculiarities. Some rulers have had their names altered, the names of some are idiosyncratic, while others still have been omitted altogether. One sequence of rulers (Octavius to Constantinus) has been omitted due to an eye-skip between Constantinus I (i.e. Constantine the Great, d. 337) and Constantinus II (i.e. Constantine III, d. 411), showing that the list has been copied from another list, rather

⁸⁵ Karansyvs Pen. 44.

⁸⁶ Gradlawn Rodgymeryat Llŷt. 1; Gratyan Llavrodyat Pen. 44.

than compiled directly in Jesus 20. Some names in the list appear closer to Geoffrey's Latin than to *Brut y Brenhinedd*:⁸⁷

Table A.3.2.2: Parallels between the Jesus 20 king-list and De gestis Britonum

Jesus 20 king-list	DGB	RB
Dainus	Danius	Dan
Vigenius	Iugenius	Owein
Cloten	Clotenus	Clydno
Gŵrgant	Gurgintius	Gorŵst
Eligullus	Cligueillus	Manogan
Marius	Marius	Meuruc
Carancius	Carausius	Karaŵn
Constantinus	Constantinus	Custenin
Aurelius	Aurelius Conanus	Kynan Wledic

In other instances, the list is closer to *Brut y Brenhinedd* than to Geoffrey:

Table A.3.2.3: Parallels between the Jesus 20 king-list and Brut y Brenhinedd

Jesus 20 king-list	DGB	RB
Cuelyn	Guithelinus Cherin	Kuelyn
Andreŵ	Andragius	Andryw
Blegywryt	Bledgabred	Blegywryt
Lles	Lucius	Lles
Constans	Constantius	Constans
Gwertheuyr Vendigeit	Vortimer	Gŵyrthefyr Uendigeit
Emrys Wledic	Aurelius Ambrosius	Emrys Wledic
Maelgŵn Gŵyned	Malgo	Maelgŵn Gŵyned
Catwaladyr Vendigeit	Cadualadrus	Kadŵaladyr Uendigeit

Neither the correspondences with Geoffrey's Latin nor the correspondences with *Brut y Brenhinedd* can be satisfactorily explained by casual acquaintance with the Latin or the Welsh traditions of the text; it seems that the Jesus 20 list was compiled by comparing written copies of both traditions. The relative consistency of the name forms in the various versions of *Brut y Brenhinedd* makes it impossible to decide which version(s) of *Brut y Brenhinedd* was employed to compile the list. With regard to the Latin text(s), the particular combination of name forms indicates either that the text was composite, or that multiple texts were used. On the one hand, the form *Bledyn* implies that the exemplar might have read *Bleduno* rather than the more usual *Bledudo*; the former is a variant restricted to manuscripts related to Paris, Ste-Geneviève 2113 (Reeve's G) and the Second Variant version.⁸⁸ On the other hand, the omission of the name of Gorbodanus's son, Regin, which is found in G and

⁸⁷ The Red Book *Brut* is favoured in the following two tables for the reason stated on p. 103, n. 23.

⁸⁸ Reeve and Wright, *Geoffrey*, pp. xiv–xv. Cf. Leiden BPL 20, a relative of G, variants from which are given by Faral as 'R': Faral, *La légende* III, 124; Reeve, 'Transmission of the *Historia Regum Britanniae*', p. 109; Reeve and Wright, *Geoffrey*, p. xxxviii.

the Second Variant, is characteristic of the First Variant version and of certain manuscripts related to Cambridge Caius 406/627 (Reeve's Y).⁸⁹ A relative of Y is perhaps a more likely culprit than the First Variant, because relatives of Y also omit Penissel both as Samuil's epithet and as a name in its own right, just as in the Jesus 20 list.⁹⁰ Any of the versions mentioned above could have provided the form *Eligullus* for Beli's father, rather than the 'correct' reading Cligueillus, since *Eligullus* would appear to have been the reading of the archetype of the Φ group.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Wright, *Historia*, p. 44. Cf. Y's relative Brogyntyn I. 7 (Porkington 17), variants from which are given by Griscom as 'Harl.': Griscom, *Historia*, p. 299; Reeve and Wright, *Geoffrey*, p. xxxiii.

⁹⁰ Cf. Griscom, *Historia*, p. 301.

⁹¹ Reeve and Wright, *Geoffrey*, p. xiii; Wright, *Historia*, p. 45; Griscom, *Historia*, p. 301. I can confirm from personal inspection that *Eligullus* is the reading of Reeve's GKQM.

Appendix A.3.3: Pedigrees from the Pseudo-Rhodri Mawr Recension

Below is a comparison of JC 17, 6+22, 18, 19 and 21 with the equivalent pedigrees in the Harleian genealogies, the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies and, where applicable, the *Vita Griffini filii Conani* and *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*. Probable shared innovations are shown in bold.

Table A.3.3.1: The Rhodri Mawr patriline

JC 17	VGC §3	HGK 1–2	LIIG 11.1.4
			[...]
Rodri Maŵr	Rhodri	Rodri Maur	Rodri Mawr
Meruyŵ Vrych	Mervyn Vrych	Mervyn Vrych	Merfyn Vrych
Gŵrhyat	Gwriat	Guryat	Gwryat
Elidyr	Elideri	Elidir	Elidir
Sandef	Sandef	Sandef	Sandef
Alcun	Alkwm	Alcwn	Alkwn
Tegyth	Tagit	Tagit	Tagit
Ceit	Gwen	Gveir	Gwair
Douc	Dwc	Dwc	Dwg
Llewarch Hen	Llywarch senioris	Llewarch Hen	Llywarch Hen
Elidyr Lydanwyn	Elidir Llydanwyn	Elidir Lledanwyn	Elidir Llydanwyn
Meirchaŵn	Meirchiawn Gwl	Meirchyaun Gul	Meirchiawn Gul
Gŵrgust	Gorwst Lledlwm	Gorwst Ledlumm	Gwrwst Lledlwm
Keneu	Keneu	Keneu	Keneu
Coil Hen	Coeli Godebawc	Coel Godebauc	Koel Godebawg
	[...]	[...]	[...]

Table A.3.3.2: The Gwynedd pedigree

HG 1	JC 22	VGC §3	HGK 2	LIIG 11.1
[...]		[...]	[...]	[...]
Rotri	Rodri	Rhodri	Rodri	Rodri Mawr
Mermin	Meruyŵ			
Etthil	Ethellt	Esyllt	Etill	Essyllt
Cinnan	Cynan Tintaethŵy	Cynani de castro Dyndaythwy	Kenan o gastell Dindaethue	Kynan Dyndaethwy
Rotri	Rodri Molŵynaŵc			Rodri Malwynnawg
Iutguaul	Idwal Iŵrch	Idwali Dyre	Idwaldere	Idwal Ywrch
Catgualart	Kadwaladyr Vendigeit	Cadwalederi Benedicti	Catwalader Vendigeit	Katwaladyr Vendigait
Catgollaun	Katwallaŵn		Catwallaun	Katwallawn
Catman	Kadŵgaŵn		Catvan	Katfan
Iacob	Iago		Yago	Iago
Beli	Beli		Beli	Beli

Supporting Material

HG 1	JC 22	VGC §3	HGK 2	LIIG 11.1
Run	Run Hir		Run	Run
Mailcun	Maelgŷn Gŷyned		Maelgun	Maelgwn Gwyned
Catgolaun Iauhir	Kadwallaŷn Llaŷhir	Cadwallawn manus oblongae	Catwallavn Llauhir	Katwallawn Lawhir
Eniaun Girt	Einyaŷn Yrth	Einawn Yrth	Einnvayn Yrth	Eynion Yrth
Cunedā	Kunedā Wledic JC 6 Cunedā	Cunedae regis	Cunedā Vrenhin	Kunedā Wledig
Ætern	Edern	Ederni	Edern	Edern
Patern Presrut	Padarn Beisrud	Paterni vestis ceruleae	Padern Peisrud	Padarn Peisrud
Tacit	Tegyth Iago Genedaŷc	Tageti Jacobi Guidawc	Tagit Yago Guidauc	Tagit Iago Genedawg
Cein	Cein	Keni Caini	Kein	Kein
Guorcein	Gorein	Gorgaini	Gorgein	Gorgain
Doli	Doli	Doli	Doli	Doli
Guordoli	Gŷrdoli	Gurdoli	Gurdoli	Gwrddoli
Dumn	Dŷfyn	Dwvyn	Dwuyvyn	Dwdfyn
Gurdumn	Gordofyn	Gordwvyn	Gorduvyn	Gordwdfyn
Amguoloyt				
Anguerit	Anuueret	Anwerit	Anwerit	Amweryd
Oumun ⁹²	Eimet	Onnet	Onnet	Onwed
Dubun	Dibun	Diawng	Diuwng	Dywgng
Brithguein	Prydein	Brychweni	Brychwein	Brychwein
Eugein	Ewein	Yweni	Ewein	Ywein
Aballac	Auallach	Avallach	Auallach	Afallach
Amalech	Amalech	Avlech	Aflech	Aflech
Beli Magni & Anna	Beli Anna	Beli magni	Beli Maur	Beli Mawr [...]

Table A.3.3.3: The Powys pedigree

HG 27	JC 18	LIIG 19
	Rodri Maŷr	Merfyn Vrych
[C]incen	Nest	Nest
Catel	Cadell Pywys	Gadell
Brocmayl	Brochuael	Brochwal
Elitet	Elisse	Elisse
Guilauc	Coledaŷc	Kynllaw

⁹² Note that this form is probably an innovation within the Harleian genealogies and is unlikely to reflect the Gwynedd collection of genealogies. See Chapter 1, p. 37, n. 175.

Medieval Welsh Genealogy

Eli	Beli	Beli
Eliud		Eilud
Cincen	Seliph	Selyf Saryf Gadau
Brocmail	Kynan Garwin	Kynan Garwyn
Cinan	Brochuael Yscithraŵc	Brochwel Ysgithrawg
		Kyngen Klotryd
		Kadell Dehyrllug
Maucant	Manogan	
Pascent	Pascen	Pasgen
		Brydw
		Rudfedel
	Cadell Deyrllloch	
Cattegir[n]	Cadern	Kyndeyrn
	Gŵrtheyrn Gŵrth[en]eu	Gortheyrn Gortheneu
Catel		
Selemiaun		

Table A.3.3.4: The Manx pedigree

HG 4	JC 19	LHG 20
	Rodri Maŵr	
	Meruyn	
	Guriat	
	Elidyr	Elidir
[I]udgual	Celenion	Keleinion
Tutagual	Tutwal Tuclith	
Anarant	Anaraŵd Gŵalcherŵn	Anarawd Gallgrwm
Mermin	Meruyn Maŵr	Merfyn Mawr
	Ky[n]uyn	Kynfyn
Anthec	Anllech	Annech
Tutagual	Tutwaŵl	Tudwal
Run	Run	Rŵn
Neithon	Neidaon	Meythion
Senill	Senilth	Senillt
Dinacat	Dingat	Dingat
Tutagual	Tutwaŵl	Tŵtwal
Eidinet	Edneuet	Ednyfet
Anthun	Dunaŵt	
Maxim Guletic	Maxen Wledic	Maxen Wledic

Supporting Material

Table A.3.3.5: The Ceredigion pedigree

HG 26	JC 21	JC 42	LIIG 18
		Howel Da	
		Kadell	
		Rodri Maŵr	meibion Rodri Mawr
[G]uocaun	Angharat	Agharat	Angharat
Mouric	Veuric	Veuruc	Feurig
Dumnguallaun	Dyfaŵl	Dyfywal	Dyfywal
Arthgen	Arthen	Arden	Arthen
Seissil	Seissill	Seissyll	Seissill
Clitauc	Clydaŵc	Cletaŵc	Kledawg
Artgloys	Aruodeu	Aruodeu	Arthloes
Artbodgu	Argloes	Argloes	Aruotheu
Bodgu	Podeŵ	Podeŵ	Botheŵ
Serguil	Seruuel	Seruul	Serwyl
Iusay	Vsai	Vsai	Usa
Ceretic	Keredic	Karedic	Keredig
Cunedu	Kunedu Wledic	Kunedu Wledic	Kunedu Wledig

Appendix A.3.4: A Welsh Version of the Brychan Narrative:
Sarth Marthin gynt, ynewr Brycheiniawc

The following summary of the narrative of the Brychan Tract is found copied twice in Thomas Wiliems's hand in NLW 16962–3A (on ff. 276r and 397r), a manuscript written between 1578 and 1612. The texts of the two copies are almost identical. Wiliems claimed that the passage was taken from *lhiuer Hiraethoc*, probably meaning a book in the hand of Gruffudd Hiraethog. The narrative that it recounts is only otherwise found in the Latin texts known as *De situ Brecheniauc* and *Cognacio Brychan*. The Welsh text is a faithful, if abbreviated, rendition of the story. Other than the scribal error *Sarth Marthin* for *Garth Matrun* (DSB) or *Garthmathrim* (CB), there are no obvious confusions.

In two particular places, the text seems marginally closer to *Cognacio Brychan* than to *De situ Brecheniauc*, though perhaps only because *De situ Brecheniauc* has erred in these instances. The Welsh text closely parallels *Cognacio Brychan*'s statement that 'cum vero Brachan esset duorum annorum, adduxerunt eum parentes eius in Britanniam et morati sunt in Benny' ('when Brychan was two years old, his parents brought him to Britain and they dwelt in Benny'). *De situ Brecheniauc* does not mention Brychan's age at the time that he came to Britain, and it confusingly states that Brychan was born in *Benni* (i.e. Garth Benni, Welsh Bicknor), even though he had already been born in Ireland. Again, the Welsh text closely follows *Cognacio Brychan*'s account of Cynog's birth and baptism:

Postea, orta guerra inter reges, dedit eum pater suus obsidem regi de Powys, nomine Banadyl. Quo dum moram traheret, oppressit filiam dicti regis, vocatam Banadylued, que concepit et peperit filium. Quem fecit deportari ad sanctum Gastayn, cuius nunc ecclesia sita est iuxta maram. Qui baptizauit eum vocatus nomen eius Kynaucum.

After war had broken out between the kings, his [i.e. Brychan's] father gave him to the king of Powys, called Banadl, as a hostage. While he was residing in that place, he raped the said king's daughter, called Banadlwedd, who conceived and bore a son. He had him taken to St Castain, whose church is now sited next to a lake. He baptized him and called him Cynog.

The narrative in *De situ Brecheniauc* is more confused, and the name of St Castain has been corrupted into the common noun *castra*. These instances may suggest either that the Welsh text is textually closer to *Cognacio Brychan*, or that the Welsh text and *Cognacio Brychan* reproduce the archetype more faithfully in these respects than *De situ Brecheniauc*.

The same conclusion is prompted by the version of Marchell's pedigree preserved in this text, as shown in Table A.3.4.1. With regard to the names of Annun Ddu's son and grandson, the pedigree in the present text agrees more closely with the other three witnesses to the Brychan Tract than it does with *De situ Brecheniauc*. Again, it is impossible to know whether *De situ Brecheniauc* has preserved the names more correctly or more corruptly than the other witnesses.

Supporting Material

Table A.3.4.1: *Marchell ferch Tewdrig's pedigree*

<i>DSB 10</i>	<i>CB 10</i>	<i>JC 1</i>	<i>LIIG 1.1</i>	<i>Sarth Marthin gynt, ynawr Brycheiniawc</i>
Kynauc	Kynaucus	Kynauc		Cynawc
Brachan	Brichan	Brachan	Brychan Brycheinawg	Brychan
Marchel	Marchel	Marchell	Marchell	Marchelh
Teuderic	Teudric	Tevdric	Tewdrig	Tewdric
Teudfall	Teithphal	Teidfalt	Teithfalt	Teithfalt
Teuder	Teithrin	Teidtheryn	Teithrin	Teithin
Teudfal	Tathal	Thathal	Tathal	Teithal
Annhun rex Grecorum	Annun nigri regis Grecorum	Annvn Du vrenhin Groec	Annun Du vrenin Groeg	Anhun Dhu vrenin Groec

The text is edited from folio 397r and is followed by a translation.

Sarth Marthin gynt, ynawr Brycheiniawc.

Brycheiniawc a gafas ei henw o Vrychan, yr hwn a aned yn Iwerdhon, mab Aflach vrenhin vab Cormoc vrenhin Iwerdhon, i dad, medh lhiuer Hiraethoc, a Marchelh *verch* Tewdrig vrenhin Sarthmarthin y vam, map Teithfalt map Teithin map Teithal map Anhun Dhu vrenhin Groec. Ag ef a dhycpwyd o'r Iwerdhon pan oedh dhwy vlwydh oet y le a elwyt Benni yMhrydain, ag a vagwyd gyda gwr a elwyt Banadl, brenhin Powys. A thra vu yno, yr enolhodh, o verch Banadl a elwyt Banadlwedh, vab a elwyt Cynawc, ag a'i bedydhiodh Casten Sant o Lan Gasten, gerlhaw Lhynn Safadhan. Y wlad a elwyt wedy hynny Brycheiniawc oedh Sarthmarthin.

***Sarth Marthin* formerly, now Brycheiniog.**

Brycheiniog took its name from Brychan, who was born in Ireland, son of King Aflach son of Cormoc king of Ireland, his dad, says Hiraethog's book, and his mother was Marchell daughter of Tewdrig king of *Sarthmarthin*, son of *Teithfalt* son of *Teithin* son of *Teithal* son of Annun Ddu king of Greece. And he was brought from Ireland when he was two years old to a place called *Benni* in Britain, and he was raised with a man called Banadl, king of Powys. And while he was there, he begot, by a daughter of Banadl called Banadlwedd, a son called Cynog, and St Castain of Llangasty, near Llangorse Lake, baptised him. *Sarthmarthin* was the land that was called Brycheiniog after that.

Appendix A.3.5: Witnesses to the Ceredig Tract

The table below sets out in parallel four witnesses to the Ceredig Tract, ordered according to *Progenies Keredic*, the version found in Cotton Vespasian A. xiv, part i (*PK*).⁹³ The fifth column suggests the places with which the subjects of the pedigrees were intended to be associated.

Table A.3.5.1: Witnesses to the Ceredig Tract

<i>PK</i>	JC 43–50	<i>ByS</i> (A) (Pen. 16vi, < NLW 5266B)	<i>ByS</i> (D) (Cardiff 3.242ii, < Llst. 27)	Associated places
Hec est progenies Keredic regis de Keredigan				
[1] Dewi filius Sant (Sant) filii ⁹⁴	[43] Dewi m. Sant m.	[1] Dewi m. Sant m. Kedic m.	[1] Dewi mab Sant mab	Llanddewibrefi / Henfynyw, Ceredigion
Keredic filii Cunedā	Ceredic m. Cunada Wledic	Keredic m. Cunedā Wledic	Keredic mab Kunedā Wledic	
[2] Auan Buelh filius Kedic filii eiusdem Keredic	[44] Kynan Buellt m. Cedic Tra ^{vs} ⁹⁵ m. Ceredic m. Kunedā Wledic	[6] Auan Buellt m. Kedic m. Ke m. Kune Wledic	[8] Auan Buellt m. Kedic m. Keredic m. Kunedā Wledic	Llanafan, Ceredigion
[3] Pedyr Lanwaur filius Corin filii Keredic		[4] Pedyr m. Corun m. Ke m. Ku Wledic	[5] Pedyr mab Corun m. Keredic m. Kunedā Wledic	Lampeter, Ceredigion
[4] Kenider Gell filius Kynon filii Keredic	[45] Cenuur m. Einyon m. Keredic m. Kunedā Wledic			[?]Glasbury / Llangynidr, Brycheiniog
	[46] Amor m. Morith m. Aidan m. Mor m. Brochuael m. Kunedā Wledic			Rhufoniog ⁹⁶

⁹³ The A text of *Bonedd y Saint* has been taken from *LBS* IV, 369 and the D text from Wade-Evans, ‘*Bonedd y Saint, D*’, p. 24.

⁹⁴ Wade-Evans, followed by Bartrum, suggests reading this as ‘filius’ rather than ‘filii’, since the second occurrence of *Sant* (here bracketed) would presumably be in the nominative case (*VSBG* 319, esp. n. 3; *EWGT* 20, esp. n. 1). However, the two occurrences of *Sant* appear at the end of one line and the beginning of the next, indicating that the repetition of the name was caused by a common type of copying error whereby the last word of a line was inadvertently duplicated when the scribe started the next line. If that were the case, then the manuscript’s reading *filii* is correct, as it refers to the first occurrence of *Sant*.

⁹⁵ Bartrum translated *tra^{vs}* as ‘perverse’ (*EWGT* 227), but perhaps a meaning such as ‘wicked, oppressive’ would be better. Since Cedig is here functioning as the father of a saint, the epithet might refer to the hagiographical topos of the rape of the saint’s mother by the saint’s father. See Henken, *Welsh Saints*, pp. 23–5; Cartwright, *Feminine Sanctity*, pp. 91–2 and 95–7.

⁹⁶ See *LIIG* 45.

Supporting Material

<i>PK</i>	JC 43–50	<i>ByS (A)</i> (Pen. 16vi, < NLW 5266B)	<i>ByS (D)</i> (Cardiff 3.242ii, < Llst. 27)	Associated places
[5] Gunlyu filius Guaur filie Keredic	[47a] Gwynlliŵ m. Gŵaŵr merch Keredic m. [47b] Kynuelyn m. Meiryaŵn m. Ceredic m. Kuneda Wledic	[7] Gwinlleu m. Kyngar m. Garthaŵc m. Ke m. Ku Wledic [8] Kynuelyn m. Bleidud m. Meiryaŵn m. Tibyaŵn m. Ku Wledic	[7] Gwynlleu m. Kyngar m. Garhawc m. Keredic m. Kuneda Wledic [11] Kynuelyn m. Bleiddud m. Meiryawn m. Tybiawn m. Kuneda Wledic	Nantcwnlle, Ceredigion Llangynfelyn, Ceredigion Ceredigion ⁹⁷
[6] Gugaŵ Cledyburdh filius Lauch filii Lucho filii Kedich filii Keredic	[48] Gŵgaŵn m. Llaŵr m. Kedic m. Keredic m. Kuneda Wledic			
[7] Ina filia Keredic				Llanina, Ceredigion
[8] Karanouc filius Keredic			[4] Carannawc m. Corun m. Keredic m. Kuneda Wledic [9] Kyngar m. Garhawc m. Keredic m. Kuneda Wledic	Llangrannog, Ceredigion
[9] Dyuennen filius Anhun filii Keredic	[49b] Dunun m. Annŵn m. Ceredic m.			Anhuniog, Ceredigion ⁹⁸
[10] Keneu sanctus filii ⁹⁹ Corun filii Keredic	[49c] Ceneu m. Corun m. Cunada Wledic			Llangeneu, Dyfed
[11] Gugaŵ filius Samson filii Keredic				
[12] Dogmael sanctus filius Ithaeil filii ¹⁰⁰ Keredic		[2] Docuael m. Ithael m. Keredic m. Kuneda Wledic	[2] Docuael mab Ithael mab Keredic mab Kuneda Wledic	St Dogmael's, Dyfed
[13] Tydiuc sanctus filius Corun filii Keredic		[3] Tyssul m. Corun m. Ke m. Ku Wledic	[3] Tyssul mab Corun m. Keredic m. Kuneda Wledic	Llandysul, Ceredigion

⁹⁷ *TYP*⁴ 384; *WCD* 325. Note that a different ancestry is given to *Gwgon Glededyfr/dd* in the abridged group of the Gutun Owain recension of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, where he is made a son of Caradog Freichfras ap Llyr Merini and ancestor of the men of Arllechwedd Uchaf in Gwynedd: see above, p. 177 and 180. In Rylands Welsh 1, this genealogy is incomplete: LIIG (GO) G43.

⁹⁸ Presumably *Anhun* here is an eponym for the commote of Anhuniog in Ceredigion.

⁹⁹ Wade-Evans, followed by Bartrum, suggested reading 'filius': *VSBG* 320, n. 1; *EWGT* 20, n. 1.

¹⁰⁰ In his diplomatic edition, Wade-Evans incorrectly expands 'fil' to 'filius': Wade-Evans, 'Brychan Documents', p. 27; cf. *VSBG* 320; *EWGT* 20.

Medieval Welsh Genealogy

<i>PK</i>	JC 43–50	<i>ByS</i> (A) (Pen. 16vi, < NLW 5266B)	<i>ByS</i> (D) (Cardiff 3.242ii, < Llst. 27)	Associated places
	[50] [?]euruc m. Elaed m. Elud m. Glas m. Elno m. Docuael m. Cunedu Wledic			Dogfeiling

Appendix A.3.6: The Sons of Glywys

The table below compares the lists of the sons of Glywys Glywysing in the preface of the Life of St Cadog (*VSBG* 24–5) and JC 5. Both lists are given in the order of the texts. Where the ordering differs, the items of the Life of St Cadog are given first.

There are clearly many differences between the two lists, but also some similarities. Most of those names common to the two appear in the same order: *Etelic*, *Poul*, *Gurai*, *Mar* and *Cornouguill*. Gwynllw is absent from the list in JC 5, but he appears as a son of Glywys in the preceding JC 4. The three names that occur in a different order are *Cettill*/*Catwall* of Cydweli, St Petroc and *Seru*, if the latter is to be identified with the *Perun* of JC 5 (compare the *p/s* confusion in *Poul*/*Saul*, probably deriving from a text that used a long *s* with its stem below the base-line as a descender).¹⁰¹ Many of the names are eponyms of regions or places in Glamorgan; these are indicated in the third column of the table. Some of the extra names in JC 5 remain mysterious.

Table A.3.6.1: Lists of the sons of Glywys Glywysing

<i>VS Cadoci</i> , pref.	JC 5	Geographical association
Gundleius [...]	Gundliauc sortitur	Gwynllŵg
	Ewein vab Keredic	
	Pedroc sant	
	Kynvarch	St Kynemark's, Gwent ¹⁰²
Etelic autem obtinuit Etelicchion	Edelic	Edeligion ¹⁰³
	Luip	Llebenydd ¹⁰⁴
	Clesoeph	
	Sant	
	Perun	Serwynnydd ¹⁰⁵
Poul, Pennichen	Saul	Penychen
Seru, Seruguunid		Serwynnydd ¹⁰⁶
	Peder	
	Katwaladyr ¹⁰⁷	
	Meirchyaŋ ¹⁰⁸	
Gurai, Gurinid	Gŵrrai	Gwrinydd (later Gronydd, Gorfynydd) ¹⁰⁹

¹⁰¹ Bartrum made the same deduction: *EWGT* 138, n. 5.

¹⁰² My thanks to Barry Lewis for this suggestion.

¹⁰³ For Edeligion and Llebenydd, see Richards, *Welsh Administrative and Territorial Units*, pp. 63, 144 and 277; Richards, 'Early Welsh Territorial Suffixes', pp. 209–10; *AWR* 36.

¹⁰⁴ See previous note.

¹⁰⁵ See following note.

¹⁰⁶ Possibly to be equated with Senghenydd: Jenkins, 'Regions', p. 36; cf. Richards, 'Early Welsh Territorial Suffixes', p. 210.

¹⁰⁷ Compare Cadwaladr, disciple of Cadog, who is sent to be the prior of the Breton monastery on the Île de S. Cadou: *VS Cadoci*, §35. There is also a church in Gwent called Llangadwaladr: *WCD* 80.

¹⁰⁸ This *Meirchyaŋ* might have been intended to represent the king called *Merchguinus filius Gliuis* who appears in *LL* charter 76b: *EWGT* 138, n. 5; *WCD* 472; Sims-Williams, *Book of Llandaf*, p. 145. Compare too the *Meirchiaunus rex Glatmorcanensium* in the Life of St Illtud (ed. and transl. *VSBG* 194–233) and the *Merchiaun* who grants land to St Illtud in one of the charters appended to Lifris's Life of St Cadog (*VS Cadoci*, §57): *WCD* 465; Sims-Williams, *Book of Llandaf*, p. 145, n. 149.

¹⁰⁹ Richards suggested that Gwrai (*Gurai*/*Gŵrrai*) is a hypocoristic form of Gwrin, the eponym of Gwrinydd: 'Gwrinydd', p. 384.

Medieval Welsh Genealogy

<i>VS Cadoci, pref.</i>	JC 5	Geographical association
Mar, Margan	Mur, Margam Amroeth	Margam
Cettil, Chettgueli		Cydweli
	Gŵher	Gŵyr
Cornouguill, Cornoguatlaun	Cornuill	Carnwyllion
Metel, Crucmetil		
Petrocus		
	Catwall, Cetweli	Cydweli
(Dibunn, §25)	Douŵn	

Appendix A.4.1: Witnesses to Ieuan Brechfa's Lost Manuscript(s)

This table shows the relationships between the contents of four manuscripts which descend from one or more related manuscripts written by Ieuan Brechfa. The only witness to the full compilation is Llanstephan 12; unfortunately, this manuscript is now incomplete and some of its original folios are missing. Around 1700, when it was more complete, Llanstephan 12 was copied into Llanstephan 100, which consequently preserves some portions of text that are now lost from Llanstephan 12, though the table below shows that the scribe of Llanstephan 100 was, to a degree, selective about the material copied from his exemplar. Brogyntyn I. 15, transcript 7 is another witness to the same compilation. It preserves a fuller text than Llanstephan 12, but only covers the latter half of the common exemplar. A few sections of the common exemplar are also preserved in BL Add. 15031i.

Table A.4.1.1: Witnesses to Ieuan Brechfa's lost manuscript(s)

Llst. 100	Llst. 12		Brogyntyn I. 15, transc. 7	Add. 15031i	Contents
Mod. pag.	Mod. pag.	Old fol.	Mod. pag.	Mod. fol.	
1	[Incomp.]	[Incomp.]			<i>Arfau</i> of early figures
1–3	1–8	3r–6v			
3	[Incomp.]	[Incomp.]			
4	[Incomp.]	[Incomp.]		1r–2r	<i>Brut Ieuan Brechfa</i> , 720–[1079]
4–5	49–52	9r–10v		2r–3v	
5–6	[Incomp.]	[Incomp.]		3v–4r	
6–8	53–62	12r–16v		4r–8r	
8–9	33–37	17r–19r		8r–9v	
	37–42	19r–21v			<i>24 Marchog</i>
9–10	43–45	22r–23r			<i>Taleithau Cymru</i>
10	46–47	23v–24r			<i>Tri lle</i> (LIIG 27)
10–11	47–48	24r–24v			<i>Y Trioedd Arbennig</i>
11	89	25r			Rhodri Mawr poems
11					Genealogies, beginning with Sir Griffith Rice (d. 1584)
11–17					<i>24 Marchog</i>
17–18					Genealogies, beginning with Cynan Dindaethwy and Maredudd ap Thomas (Owain Glyndŵr's maternal uncle)
18–20	89–98	25r–29v			Myrddin quotation and Dafydd Nanmor
20–21					<i>Llyma enwau y nawnyn</i> and Ieuan Brechfa's colophon
21	99	30r		9v–10r	<i>Llyma ychwaneg o arwus yr brytaniaid</i>
	99–100	30r–30v			<i>Pymp kystoglwyth</i>
	100–106	30v–33v			<i>Tri ffeth a gaiff dyn</i>
22	107–111	34r–36r			<i>Y deg prif dri</i>
23	111–114	36r–37v			<i>Rodri Mawr tywsog y Brytaniaid</i>
23–5	114–122	37v–41v			<i>Plant yr arglwydd Rhys</i> , §§1a–3f

Medieval Welsh Genealogy

Llst. 100 Mod. pag.	Llst. 12		Brog. I. 15, transc. 7		Add. 15031i Mod. fol.	Contents
	Mod. pag.	Old fol.	Mod. pag.	Mod. fol.		
25–7	122–128	41v–44v				<i>Llywelyn ab Iorwerth</i> (LIIG 11)
27–8	128–132	44v–46v				<i>Plant/Mam Gruffudd ap Cynan</i> (LIIG 15–16)
28	132–133	46v–47r				<i>Mammau</i> (LIIG 17–19)
28–9	134–137	47v–49r				<i>Plant Owain Gwynedd</i> (LIIG 12)
29	138	49v				<i>Plant Cadwaladr/Cadwallon</i> (LIIG 13–14)
29–31	139–146	50r–53v				Genealogies, beginning with Madog Goch ap Meilyr
				10v–11r		<i>Oes yr Arwyr</i> (LIIG 6, 7.1–5, 10.1)
31–2	146–148	53v–54v		11r–12r		
32	149	56r		11r–12r		<i>Plant Brychan</i> (LIIG 1)
33	149–150	56r–56v		12r–12v		<i>Meibion Cunedda Wledig</i> (LIIG 47)
33–4	150–152	56v–58r		12v–13r		<i>Oes yr Arwyr</i> (LIIG 4, 6, 7.2–6)
				13v–14r		<i>Plant Owain Gwynedd</i> (LIIG 12)
34–5	155–158					<i>Llyma achoedd y brenin Edwart Chweched ar vrenhines Mari o rann y tad</i>
	159–62 [diff. hand]					Cywydd by Gruffudd Llwyd ap Llywelyn y caplan
	163 [diff. hand]					Englynion by Dingan ap Gwalchmai
	164–182					Genealogies, beginning with Gwehelyth Rhys Dafydd ab Einion of Pencarreg
35	183–186 [diff. hand]					<i>Llyma vonedd Hari Wythved</i>
36	186–187 [diff. hand]					<i>Rodri Mawr a rannodd y tair talaith</i>
	188–189 [diff. hand]					Pedigree of Coel Godebog
37	9					<i>Y Kwnkwerwyr a vyant ym Morganwg</i> [frag.]; <i>Arfay holl wyr Morgannwg</i> ; <i>Iestyn ap Gwrgan</i>
	10–11					Genealogies, beginning with Seisyll ap Cynfyn ap Rhys
	11–17		381–382			Owain Glyndŵr to King John
	18–19		382			Genealogies, beginning with Phylip ap Madog ab Ieuan
	19–22		382–383			Pedigree of Beli Mawr
			383			Genealogies, beginning with Dafydd ap Gruffudd ap Dafydd
	22–24		383–384			<i>Llyma henway beirdd y Kymry</i>
			384			<i>Llyma enwey merched Hopgyn ap Hwell Vychan</i>
	24–25		384–385			<i>Bonedd y Saint</i>
			385–386			<i>Plant Brychan</i> (LIIG 1.1–2)
	25		386			

Supporting Material

Llst. 100		Llst. 12		Brog. I. 15, transc. 7	Add. 15031i
Mod. pag.	Mod. pag.	Old fol.	Mod. pag.	Mod. fol.	Contents
			386–387		Owain Glyndŵr
			387		<i>Tri meib oedd y Gydifor ap Gwyn</i>
37	26		387		<i>Tayr bêr arch Ynys Brydain</i>
			387–388		Ieuan ab Einion ap Howel
			388		Cantrefs
	26–29		388–390		Genealogies, beginning with Owain ab Ieuan ap Madog
37–38	29–30		390		<i>Bonedd y Llwythau</i> (LIIG 48.1, 49.1, 49.1.1, 49.1.6, 50.1–2)
	31–32		390–391		<i>Plant Ricard</i> (cf. LIIG (GO) 41)
38	32 65		391		<i>Gwehelyth Bowys</i>
38	65–66		391		Owain Glyndŵr to King John
38–39	66–67		391–392		<i>Llwyth Marchudd</i> (LIIG A4)
39–40 40	67–70 [Incomp.]		392–393 393		<i>Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru</i> (with Owain Glyndŵr addition) (LIIG 30.1, 31, 33.1, 35.1, 40.1, 41, 42, 46.2, 44)
40 40 [Incomp.]	[Incomp.] 71 71–79		393 393–394 394–396		<i>Bonedd y Llwythau</i> (LIIG 52.1, 53, 55, 56.1–6, 48.2–6, 49.1.2–5, 49.2–6, 50.2.1–51)
	80–81		396		Genealogies, beginning with Mam Ithel Gam ap Maredudd
	81–85		396–397		<i>Gwehelyth Morgannwg</i>
	86–87				Genealogies, beginning with John ap Rhisiart ap Rhys
	63–64				Stray damaged leaf with genealogies

Appendix A.4.2: Witnesses to Henry Salesbury's Lost Manuscript

This table compares the contents of three manuscripts deriving from the lost manuscript of Henry Salesbury. The table is ordered according to the order of Llanstephan 138i, which seems to preserve the original order of Henry Salesbury's manuscript best. This is shown by the heading of the first pedigree, *Ach Harri Saithfed*, which claims to connect the genealogies of Henry VII and St David. This suggests that *Ach Harri Saithfed* and *Ach Dewi Sant* originally stood next to one another in Henry Salesbury's manuscript, and thus that, in this instance, Llanstephan 138i, rather than Llanstephan 187, preserves the order of the common exemplar (compare the first two rows of the table).

Table A.4.2.1: Witnesses to Henry Salesbury's lost manuscript

Llst. 138i (pp./cols)	Llst. 187 (ff.)	NLW 3052D (pp.)	Contents
1a	41r–41v		<i>Ach Harri Saithfed</i>
1a	78r		<i>Ach Dewi Sant</i>
1b			<i>Pan oedd saint Senedd Frefi</i>
1b			<i>Bonedd y Saint</i> (fragment)
1b	84r		<i>Rhag y crŷd</i>
1b–2a	84r		<i>Rhag y ddanoedd</i>
2a			<i>Gwasgaredd Taliesin</i>
2a			Measures
2b			<i>24 campau Brytaniaid</i>
2b	67r		<i>Enwau Brenhinoedd y Brytaniaid</i>
3a–3b	67v–69v		<i>Plant Brychan</i>
3b–4b	69v–72r		<i>Bonedd y Saint</i>
4b–5b	72r–74v		<i>Oes yr Arwyr</i> (LIIG 2–10)
5b–6b	74v–78r		<i>Bonedd y Saint</i>
7a			<i>Oedran March</i> (Henry Salesbury)
7a			<i>Ebol pedwar troedwyn</i> (Henry Salesbury)
7a–7b			<i>Ir crŷd</i> (Ifan ap Llywelyn Fychan)
7b			<i>Pa newydd o Lwdlo</i> (Ioan Tudyr)
7b			<i>Caru yr wyf pay ai cerydd</i> (Dafydd ab Edmwnd)
8a			<i>Dyn wyf yn cerdded y nos</i> (Dafydd ab Edmwnd)
8a–8b			<i>Ach y Salbriaid</i>
8b–9a	41v–42v		
9a–15b	43r–53v	3–24	<i>Dosbarth Arfau</i> ¹¹⁰
16a	46v		<i>Lliwiau</i>
16a–17b	55r–56v	25–28	<i>Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru</i> (LIIG 29–46)
17b	56v	28	<i>Lhwyt Hedd</i> (LIIG 60–61)
17b–18a	56v–57r	28–29	<i>Lhwyt Marchudd</i> (LIIG A4)
18a	57r	29	<i>Lhwyt Huw Conwy</i>
18a	57r	29–30	<i>Lhwyt Rhisiard Mostyn</i>
18b	57r–57v		Lists

¹¹⁰ See *DWHI*, 34.

Supporting Material

Llst. 138i (pp./cols)	Llst. 187 (ff.)	NLW 3052D (pp.)	Contents
18b–20a	57v–59r	30–34	<i>Llyma Dalm o Weheliaethau a Llwythau Cymru</i>
20a–21a	59r–60v		<i>Bonedd y Llwythau</i> (LIIG 49.1, 48, 49.2–6, 52–55, 50–51, 56.1–6)
21a–21b	60v–61r		Other genealogies, beginning with <i>Brenhinllwyth Morgannwg</i>
21b	61r–61v		<i>Mammau</i> (LIIG 21–6)
22a	62r		<i>Meibion Rhodri Mawr</i> (LIIG 28)
22a–22b	62v		Other genealogies, beginning with Thomas Dommog o Faelor

Appendix A.4.3: Bonedd y Llwythau

The table below provides a detailed survey of the subjects of the pedigrees in *Bonedd y Llwythau*, focussing especially on associated dates and places. The footnotes explain how most of the dating evidence was deduced. The only dates given without a footnote pertain to the floruits of better-known figures who are readily identifiable in mainstream chronicles like *Brut y Tywysogyon*. The ‘Extents’ column lists the known *gwelyau* and *gafaelion* whose names correspond with the subjects of the pedigrees or their immediate relatives. These have been taken from the following:¹¹¹

EA: The 1284 Extent of Anglesey.

SD: The 1334 Survey of the Honour of Denbigh.

RC 1–91: The 1352 Extent of Anglesey and Caernarfonshire.

RC 260–92: The early fifteenth-century Extent of Merionethshire.

The lists are intended to be exhaustive, insofar as the sources consulted are concerned. Some of the correspondences may be due to coincidence, but this is unlikely in the majority of cases. Following the names of the *gwelyau* and *gafaelion* found in each location are the names of the associated townships and (following a colon) commotes to which the *gwelyau* and *gafaelion* are attributed in the relevant texts. The identification of the townships has been facilitated primarily by A. D. Carr’s translation of the Anglesey part of the 1352 Extent and by the online Archif Melville Richards Place-Name Database.¹¹²

Table A.4.3.1: The chronology and geography of Bonedd y Llwythau

§§	Subject	Date	Extents
48.1	Hwfa ap Cynddelw ap Cwnws	Cynddelw fl. 1081 ¹¹³	<i>EA</i> 83: <i>progenies Hova</i> (Aberffraw) <i>EA</i> 85: <i>Hova filius Ken</i> ’ (Talybolion) <i>RC</i> 47: <i>W. Conus</i> (Tregornor: Malltraeth) <i>RC</i> 51: <i>Wele Metusalem ap Hona, Wele Keu’th’ ap Hona, Wele Ieuon ap Hona, Wele Ioz ap Hona, Wele Bletheris ap Hona</i> (Conysioi: Llifton) ¹¹⁴ <i>RC</i> 58: <i>Wele Hona Duy</i> (Carneddor: Talybolion) <i>RC</i> 59: <i>Wele Conus</i> (Dronwy: Talybolion)
48.1.1	Ceinfryd ferch Ednywain Bendew ap Neiniad	Ednywain Bendew fl. ?1079 ¹¹⁵	
48.2	Sanddef ap Caradog Hardd ¹¹⁶		

¹¹¹ Note that Bartrum had identified some, though not all, of the correspondences between the *gwelyau* of these surveys and the subjects of the pedigrees in the notes to his editions of ‘Hen Lwythau Gwynedd a’r Mars’: Bartrum, ‘Hen Lwythau’, pp. 222–9; *EWGT* 154–8.

¹¹² Carr, ‘Extent’; <<http://www.e-gymraeg.co.uk/enwaulleoedd/amr>> [accessed 15 August 2019].

¹¹³ *VGC* §18.

¹¹⁴ For these five sons of Hwfa, see *LIIG* (GO) G79.1.2; *WG* I III, s. ‘Hwfa 1’.

¹¹⁵ This date is given by Robert Vaughan in Peniarth 101, p. 13 and Peniarth 287, p. 271: *EWGT* 151, n. 2d; *WG* I II, s. ‘Ednywain Bendew 1’. The date is consistent with his daughter having been Hwfa ap Cynddelw’s mother.

¹¹⁶ Descendants of Sanddef ap Caradog Hardd were recorded in Burton (near Rosset) in the 1315 Extent

Supporting Material

§§	Subject	Date	Extents
48.2.1	Angharad ferch Brochfael ap Moelyn	Another daughter of Brochfael was contemporary with Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, fl. 1064 × 1075 ¹¹⁷	
48.2.2	Arthen, Iddon & Sanddef, meibion Caradog Hardd ap Gwrydr		RC 66: <i>Wele Werion Sandey, Wele Werion Ithon, Wele Werion Arthen</i> (Tre Bodafon: Twrcelyn)
48.3	Gronw ap Morgenau		RC 58: <i>Wele Grono ap Morgene</i> (Carneddor: Talybolion)
48.4	Meilyr ap Hwfa		
48.4.1	Celeinion ferch Hywel ap Carwed	Carwed pos. fl. 1157 ¹¹⁸	RC 65: <i>Wele Hoell ap Carwet</i> (Llysdulas: Twrcelyn)
48.5	Bleddyn ap Efreem ab Ithel ap Dinhaearn		RC 46: <i>Wele Ith' ap Tauharñ</i> (Eglwys Ail: Malltraeth)
48.5.1	Ceinfryd ferch Rhirid Mawr ab Amadanw	fl. 1039 × 1064 ¹¹⁹	
48.5.2	Eurddrych ferch Diwrig ab Einudd; Bleddyn Coeg ap Gwrydr		RC 45: <i>Wele Bleth Coyk</i> (Trefwastrodion [Trefdraeth Wastrodion]: Malltraeth)
48.6	Owain & Ednyfed, meibion Cadrod ab Ieuaf ¹²⁰		RC 52: <i>Wele Oweyn ap Caderat</i> (Trefowen: Llifton)

of Bromfield and Yale, but the text does not specifically mention a *gwely* named after him: Ellis, *First Extent*, pp. 12 and 141; cf. Bartrum, 'Hen Lwythau', p. 222, n. 1d. Gutun Owain calls Sanddef ap Caradog Hardd's family *Gwehelyth Bort(ŋn)* in Peniarth 131iii, p. 85; cf. LIIG (GO) G74. See too Palmer, *History*, p. 88, n. 1; Palmer and Owen, *History*, pp. 145–6. For the descendants of Sanddef in Iâl, see Stephenson, *Medieval Powys*, pp. 241–2.

¹¹⁷ LIIG A3.3; ASC (D) 1063; Hudson, 'Destruction', p. 336.

¹¹⁸ According to J. Y. W. Lloyd, Carwed and his son *Tegeryn* fought for Owain Gwynedd at the battle of 'Coed Eulo' in 1157. His source for the claim is not given, but since it is immediately followed by an account of the arms of the descendants of Carwed and his son, one can presume that it was a late (perhaps sixteenth- or seventeenth-century) genealogical manuscript: Lloyd, *History of the Princes* I, 114; *WG I* I, s. 'Carwed 1'. For the battle, see *HW* II, 497–8 (esp. n. 49).

¹¹⁹ Contemporary with Gruffudd ap Llywelyn; cf. Hudson, 'Destruction', pp. 331 and 336.

¹²⁰ Bartrum argued that Cadrod ab Ieuaf should be equated with Cadrod Hardd, the true father of Sanddef, Iddon and Arthen (§48.2.2): 'Hen Lwythau', pp. 222–3, n. 1e; see above, p. 215. This seems very unlikely. The basis of the identification is a statement by Lewys Dwnn (Meyrick, *Heraldic Visitations* II, 264) that Cadrod Hardd, who is given the Llwyth Cillin ancestry of Caradog Hardd (§48.2), was the father of two groups of children (Sanddef, Iddon, Arthen and Gwrydr, Ednyfed, Owain) by two different wives. This is Dwnn's attempt to reconcile conflicting information, some of which derives from the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. The first three children were really the sons of one Cadrod Hardd, progenitor of Twrcelyn kin-groups (RC 66), who in LIIG 48.2.2 is deliberately conflated with Caradog Hardd, the father of Sanddef of Burton (above, p. 215). To this inherited conflation, Dwnn added Cadrod ab Ieuaf, father of Owain and Ednyfed (as in LIIG 48.6), and Cadrod, father of Gwrydr, a progenitor of kin-groups in Talybolion (RC 57 and 61). Bartrum's equation between Cadrod Hardd and Cadrod ab Ieuaf propagates one of Dwnn's misidentifications.

Medieval Welsh Genealogy

§§	Subject	Date	Extents
49.1	Einion ap Gwalchmai	fl. 1217–23 ¹²¹	<i>RC</i> 31: <i>Wele Eigñ ap Walghmey</i> (Machroes: Cafflogion) <i>RC</i> 44: <i>Wele Eigñ ap Walghmey</i> (Lledwigan Llys: Malltraeth) <i>RC</i> 46: <i>Wele Werion Eigñ ap Walghmey</i> (Trefddisteiniaid [Trefdraeth Ddisteiniad]: Malltraeth) <i>RC</i> 76: <i>Wele Eigñ ap Walghmey</i> (Castellior: Dindaethwy)
49.1.1	Genilles ferch Gwrgenau ab Ednywain ¹²²		
49.1.2	Nest ferch Cynfyn ap Gwerystan	Nest's brothers fl. 1064 × 1075 ¹²³	
49.1.3	Generys ferch Rhys Sais	Generys's brothers fl. 1081 ¹²⁴	
49.1.4	Gwledyr ferch Seisyll ap Gwrgi		
49.1.5	Tangwre ferch Gwyn ap Gruffudd	Gwyn d. 1101 ¹²⁵	
49.1.6	Tandreg ferch Rhys ap Seisyll ap Selyf ap Mor		<i>RC</i> 32: <i>Wele Werion Mor, W. Werion Seisilth</i> (Tregarnedd: Cafflogion) <i>RC</i> 37: <i>Wele Res ap Seisilth</i> (Bodreeth: Cafflogion)
49.2	Goronwy ap Gwion		<i>RC</i> 61: <i>Wele Grono ap Gwyon</i> (Cemlyn: Talybolion) <i>RC</i> 75: <i>Wele Grono ap Wyon</i> (Mathafarn Wion: Dindaethwy)
49.2.1	Perweur ferch Rhobert ab Ednywain Bendew		
49.3	Gwion, Elidir, Gwilym & Gweirydd, meibion Rhys Goch		<i>RC</i> 81: <i>Wele Wyon ap Res</i> (Cerrigdewi: Menai) <i>RC</i> 60: <i>Wele Hoell ap Gilt', Wele Mad' ap Gweirið, Wele Cad' ap Gweirið</i> (Caerdegog: Talybolion) ¹²⁶ <i>RC</i> 75: <i>Wele Grono ap Wyon, Wele Eigñ ap Wyon, Wele Mad' ap Wyon</i> (Mathafarn Wion: Dindaethwy) ¹²⁷
49.4	Iarddur ap Mor; Iwerydd ferch Cynddelig Bennog		

¹²¹ Stephenson, *Political Power*, p. 210; CBT I, 429; *AWR* nos 239 (1217), 242 (1218) and 250 (1221).

¹²² Genilles is mentioned twice in Gwalchmai's poetry: CBT I, poems 9.29 and 12.21.

¹²³ See note to §48.2.1 above.

¹²⁴ *BT* (PS) 1079 [1081]; *BT* (R) [1081].

¹²⁵ See above, p. 208, n. 250.

¹²⁶ For Madog and Cadwgon, sons of Gweirydd ap Rhys Goch, see *WG* I IV, s. 'Rhys Goch of Talybolion I'.

¹²⁷ For Goronwy, Einion and Madog, sons of Gwion ap Rhys Goch, see *WG* I IV, s. 'Rhys Goch of Talybolion I'.

Supporting Material

§§	Subject	Date	Extents
49.4.1	Hiar ferch Iarddur ap Dyfnaint		<i>RC 75: Wele Yardur</i> (Llanddyfnan: Dindaethwy) ¹²⁸ <i>RC 77: Wele Werion Yardur</i> (Tre Fraint: Dindaethwy)
49.4.2	Mabon ab Iarddur, Meilyr Brydydd fl. 1137 ¹²⁹ tad Meilyr Brydydd		
49.4.3	Sanddef ab Iarddur, tad Rhys Goch		
49.4.4	Morudd ab Iarddur, tad Morwyddel		
49.4.5	Cadwal ab Iarddur, tad Idwyn Wyndod		
49.5	Bleddrus ap Griffri/Moelyn ab Aelan		<i>RC 65: Wele Bletherus ap Griffri</i> (Llysduelas: Twrcelyn)
49.5.1	Hunydd ferch Bran ap Dinawal		
49.5.2	Brawst ferch Cynddelw ap Gwgon		
49.5.3	Sanan ferch Cynfyn Hirdref		
49.5.4	Hiar ferch y Blaidd Rudd	fl. 1064 × 1075 ¹³⁰	
49.6.1	Sanan mam Cynddelw ap Gwgon		
49.6.2	Perweur mam Iarddur ap Diwrig		
49.6.3	Hiar mam Rhirid Flaidd ap Gwrgenau		
49.6.4	Rhirid Flaidd; Cynddelw ap Gwgon; Iarddur ap Diwrig	Rhirid Flaidd fl. 1161–2 ¹³¹	

¹²⁸ Jenkins, ‘Ynad Coch’, p. 346; Jenkins, ‘Family’, p. 129; *EWGT* 157, n. 10c; cf. §55 in the present table.

¹²⁹ CBT I, 52.

¹³⁰ Contemporary with Bleddyn ap Cynfyn: see note to §48.2.1 above.

¹³¹ Stephenson, *Medieval Powys*, pp. 53, 61 (n. 19), 183 (n. 13), 258 and 285–6; CBT III, 290–1; E. D. Jones *apud* Radford and Hemp, ‘Pennant Melangell’, p. 112. Rhirid Flaidd was associated with Pennant Melangell in Mochnant Uwch Rhaeadr and was granted land in the lordship of Oswestry.

§§	Subject	Date	Extents
50.1	Cadwgon & Iorwerth, meibion Llywarch ap Brân	Cadwgon pos. fl. before 1216; Iorwerth's son Maredudd fl. 1237–47 ¹³²	<i>RC 19: Gauell Cad' ap Lowar, Gauell Ioz ap Lowar</i> (Botandreg: Arllechwedd Uchaf) <i>RC 56: Wele Ioz ap Lowar', Wele Cad' ap Lowar</i> (Trelywarch: Talybolion) <i>RC 81–2: Wele Ioz ap Lowar, Wele Cad' ap Lowar</i> (Porthamel: Menai)
50.1.1	Rhael ferch Goronwy ab Owain	Rhael's sister fl. 1124 × 1170; ¹³³ Goronwy fl. 1114–d. 1125	
50.2	Gwenllian ferch Cynan ab Owain Gwynedd	Cynan fl. 1145–d. 1174	
50.2.1	Angharad ferch Genillin ap Meirion Goch	Meirion Goch fl. 1075–82 ¹³⁴	
50.3	Gwenllian ferch Hywel ab Ieuaf	Hywel fl. 1162–d. 1185	
51	Rhys, Arthen & Tegwared, meibion Cadwgon ap Bleddrus	?Their brother Meilyr pos. fl. 1194 × 1202 ¹³⁵	<i>RC 83: Wele Res ap Cad', Wele Tegwarret ap Cad', Wele Arthen ap Cad'</i> (Rhoscelyn: Menai)
52.1	Geraint ap Tegwared ap Cynfor ap Madog ap Nynio		<i>RC 68: Wele Mad' ap Nynnew</i> (Nantmawr: Twrcelyn) <i>RC 73: Wele Gerynt ap Teg'</i> (Pentraeth: Dindaethwy)
52.2	Rhobert ap Rhufon ap Meilyr		<i>RC 11: Gauell Ruwan ap Meiller</i> (Trefriw: Nantconwy)
53	Dafydd ap Tegwared		<i>RC 76: Wele de David ap Teg'</i> (Castellior: Dindaethwy) <i>RC 79: Wele David ap Teg'</i> (Gwydryn: Menai)

¹³² This Cadwgon may be the Cadwgon ap Llywarch named in Prydydd y Moch's poem for Gruffudd ap Cynan ab Owain Gwynedd (d. 1216), Cadwgon's brother-in-law: CBT V, poem 8.38–9. For Iorwerth's son Maredudd, see *AWR* nos 272 and 313; *WG I* III, s. 'Llywarch ap Bran 2'; Stephenson, *Political Power*, pp. 110–12 and 217. The fact that this grant and its subsequent confirmation were made to Ynys Lannog Priory in Menai, the centre of the interests of Llywarch ap Brân's descendants (cf. Carr, *Medieval Anglesey*, pp. 153 and 155), renders this identification very likely. The *Wele M'ed ap Ioz* in Ysgeifiog, Menai is probably named from this Maredudd ab Iorwerth, especially considering that the land is specifically said to have originated as a gift from Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, Maredudd ab Iorwerth ap Llywarch's contemporary (*RC 78*; Carr, 'Extent', p. 248). This possibility is strengthened by the appearance in 1352 of one Ieuan Wyddel as the co-heir of both gwely Maredudd ab Iorwerth in Ysgeifiog and of gwely Iorwerth ap Llywarch in Porthamel.

¹³³ Cristin ferch Goronwy was the second wife of Owain Gwynedd: LIIG 12.2; *Itinerarium*, II.8; J. C. Davies, *Episcopal Acts* II, 428–9.

¹³⁴ *VGC* §10 and §19.

¹³⁵ Meilyr is mentioned in LIIG (GO) G62. According to Peter Bartrum's estimates, Meilyr's generation would have been born around 1180, so it is possible that this Meilyr can be identified with the Meilyr ap Cadwgon who witnessed a grant by Llywelyn ab Iorwerth to Basingwerk Abbey between 1194 and 1202: Bartrum, 'Hen Lwythau', pp. 206 and 225, n. 5a; *AWR* no. 213.

Supporting Material

§§	Subject	Date	Extents
54.1	Ednyfed Fychan ap Cynwrig ab Iorwerth ap Gwgon ab Idnerth ab Edryd	Ednyfed Fychan fl. 1217–d. 1246 ¹³⁶	<i>SD 228: progenies David ap Eynon ap Ken' ap Ior' / Wyrion Edden' (Dinorben Fychan: Rhos Is Dulas)</i> <i>SD 248 and 250–1: Wele Edred ap Marghuyd, inc. Progenies Ken' ap Ior' ap Goug' ap Idenerth (Abergele: Rhos Is Dulas)</i> <i>SD 259: progenies Eden' Vaghan (Abergele: Rhos Is Dulas)</i> <i>SD 261: Progenies Ken' ap Ior' ap Goug' (Brynfani gl: Rhos Is Dulas)</i> <i>SD 264–5: progenies Lawargh' ap Goug', inc. progenies Ken' ap Ior' ap Goug' / Wyrion Eden' (Trofarth: Rhos Is Dulas)</i> <i>SD 295: Progenies Ken' ap Ior' (Cefnllaethfaen: Rhos Uwch Dulas)</i> <i>SD 297: Progenies Ken' ap Ior' ap Goug' / Wyrion Eden' (Twynan: Rhos Uwch Dulas)</i> <i>SD 301–3: Wele Edred ap Marghruyth, inc. progenies Ior' ap Gougon (Llwydgoed: Rhos Uwch Dulas)</i>
54.2	Gruffudd ap Rhiwallon ap Gwyn ap Bleddyn ab Edryd		<i>SD 248 and 250: Wele Edred ap Marghuyd, inc. Wele Bleth' ap Edred (Abergele: Rhos Is Dulas)</i> <i>SD 263: progenies Bleth' ap Edred ap Marghuyd, inc. Wele Guyn ap Bleth' (Cilcain: Rhos Is Dulas)</i> <i>SD 301: Wele Edred ap Marghruyth, inc. Wele Bleth' ap Edred (Llwydgoed: Rhos Uwch Dulas)</i>
54.3	Iorwerth ab Iddon ab Ithel ab Edryd		<i>RC 10: W. Ioz ap Ithon (Bettws: Nantconwy)</i> <i>SD 248 and 250: Wele Edred ap Marghuyd, inc. Wele Ithel ap Edred (Abergele: Rhos Is Dulas)</i> <i>SD 275: Wele Ithon ap Ithel (Mathebrwd: Rhos Uwch Dulas)</i> <i>SD 301: Wele Edred ap Marghruyth, inc. Wele Ithel ap Edred (Llwydgoed: Rhos Uwch Dulas)</i>
54.4	Bleddyn ap Meurig ap Rhahawd ap Dwywg ap Elidyr ap Elfyrw	fl. 1223–44 ¹³⁷	<i>SD 245–6: progenies Doyok ap Elyder ap Veuelenew, inc. gavelle Rand ap Doyok (Abergele: Rhos Is Dulas)</i> <i>SD 290: progenies Rand ap Doyok (Tallwyn: Rhos Uwch Dulas)</i> <i>SD 303: progenies Rand ap Doyok', inc. Wele Meuryk ap Rand (Llwydgoed: Rhos Uwch Dulas)</i>

¹³⁶ Stephenson, *Political Power*, pp. 207–9. The earliest reliable document attested by Ednyfed Fychan is *AWR* no. 239 (probably 1217).

¹³⁷ *AWR* no. 282; Stephenson, *Political Power*, p. 205; Thomas, *Charters*, pp. 46 and 59. The Bleddyn ap Meurig of these documents was a prominent Gwynedd nobleman of approximately the same date as the Bleddyn ap Meurig of the pedigree, so the identification is not unlikely. Cf. *WG I* IV, s. 'Marchudd I'.

Medieval Welsh Genealogy

§§	Subject	Date	Extents
55.1	Cyfnertth Fychan ap Cyfnertth ap Morgenau ap Gwrydr	Cyfnertth Fychan's nephews, sons of Heilin ap Cyfnertth, fl. 1261 ¹³⁸	<i>RC 22: Wele Mourgene</i> (Dinlle: Arfon Uwch Gwyrfaï) <i>RC 75: Werion Kefu'th' Vaghan, W. Coridyr</i> (Llanddyfnan: Dindaethwy)
55.2	Iorwerth, Trygyr & Tudwal, meibion Rhiwallon ap Gwrydr		<i>RC 22: W. Werion Ioz, W. Keu' ap Tregir,</i> <i>W. Pilth' ap Tregir, W. Edeneweïn ap</i> <i>Tregir, W. Kefu'th ap Tregir</i> (Dinlle: Arfon Uwch Gwyrfaï) ¹³⁹ <i>RC 75: Werion Ioz</i> (Llanddyfnan: Dindaethwy)
55.2.1	Lleucu ferch Gwrgenau ap Seisyll	Gwrgenau fl. 1075–d. 1081 ¹⁴⁰	
55.2.2	Merch Tudfwlch ap Tegwared		
55.3	Cadwgon, Madog Coch Ynad & Iorwerth Wisgi, meibion Rhiwallon ap Cynddelw	Madog Coch Ynad's son Gruffudd fl. 1277–83; ¹⁴¹ two of Iorwerth Wisgi's grandsons, Goronwy and Rhys, fl. 1352 ¹⁴²	<i>RC 22: W. Wyskyed</i> (Dinlle: Arfon Uwch Gwyrfaï) <i>RC 75: Werion Renað Gogh'</i> (Llanddyfnan: Dindaethwy) <i>RC 77: Wele Werion ap Kendal'</i> (Tre Fraint: Dindaethwy)
55.4	Madog ap Rhahawd	Madog's son Einion fl. 1234 × 1239 ¹⁴³	<i>RC 22: W. Werion Rand'</i> (Dinlle: Arfon Uwch Gwyrfaï)
55.5	Ystrwyth ab Ednywain	?fl. 1204–32 ¹⁴⁴	<i>RC 22: W. Werion Ostroth</i> (Dinlle: Arfon Uwch Gwyrfaï)
56.1	Merwydd, Eginyr & Ednyfed, meibion Collwyn ap Tangno	fl. c. 1094 ¹⁴⁵	
56.2	Cynon ap Collwyn; merch Ednyfed ab Engar		
56.3	Asser, Gwgon & Meirion, meibion Meurig [<i>recte</i> Merwydd] ap Tangno	fl. 1075 ¹⁴⁶	<i>RC 40: W. Gogan</i> (Trefan, Chwilog Glasbryn, Cadair Elwa rhwng Dwyfor, <i>Idencoyt: Eifionydd</i>) ¹⁴⁷

¹³⁸ *AWR* no. 346; *WG I I*, s. 'Cilmin 2'.

¹³⁹ For the sons of Trygyr ap Rhiwallon, see *WG I I*, s. 'Cilmin 1'.

¹⁴⁰ *VGC* §14 and §16; *BT* (PS) 1073 [1075] and 1079 [1081]; *BT* (R) [1075] and [1081].

¹⁴¹ It has been argued that Madog Coch Ynad was the father of the poet Gruffudd ab yr Ynad Coch: Jenkins, 'Ynad Coch'; Jenkins, 'Family', p. 128; CBT VII, 409–10.

¹⁴² *RC 23*; *WG I I*, s. 'Cilmin 7' (Bartrum misquotes the page reference to *RC* as p. 32).

¹⁴³ Jenkins, 'Iorwerth', pp. 164–5; Jenkins, 'Family', pp. 129–30; CBT VI, 347–8; *WG I I*, s. 'Cilmin 4'.

¹⁴⁴ Stephenson, *Political Power*, pp. 224–5; *AWR* 435; Bartrum, 'Hen Lwythau', p. 226, n. 8g. Stephenson cautions that more than one individual named Ystrwyth/Instructus may be referred to in the documents of this period, and Bartrum notes that the Ystrwyth of the genealogy, if identified with the Ystrwyth of the documents, must have been an old man by that time.

¹⁴⁵ *VGC* §22. For the date of Gruffudd ap Cynan's escape from prison in Chester, see Lewis, 'Gruffudd ap Cynan', p. 69.

¹⁴⁶ *VGC* §10.

¹⁴⁷ Note Cynddelw's reference to 'Haelon Eiuonynt hil Merwyt' ('the generous ones of Eifionydd, the lineage of Merwydd') in Owain Gwynedd's warband: CBT IV, poem 5.77.

Supporting Material

§§	Subject	Date	Extents
56.4	Tegwarded ap Rhobert	fl. 1194 × 1199 ¹⁴⁸	RC 41: <i>W. Teg' ap Ropp't</i> (Ystumllyn: Eifionydd)
56.5	Dafydd ap Cadwgon		RC 42: <i>W. Werion Daud</i> (Glasfryn: Eifionydd)
56.6	Iarddur ap Diwrig		RC 27: <i>W. Yarthor ap Dywrik</i> (Llangŷan, Bodfel, Ystrad Geirch: Cafflogion)
56.7	Gwyn [ab Ednywain] ab Eginyr	fl. c. 1200–c. 1209 ¹⁴⁹	RC 40: <i>W. Wyn ap Edenewein</i> (Abercain: Eifionydd) RC 40: <i>W. Edeneweyn</i> (Gest: Eifionydd) RC 280: <i>Well' Ednaywayn ap Egmyr</i> (Llanfair: Ardudwy Uwch Artro)
56.7.1	Merch Gwyn, gwraig Rhicerd ap Cadwaladr	Rhicerd fl. 1194 × 1202–1230 × 1240 ¹⁵⁰	
57	Rhys Sais ab Ednyfed	?fl. c. 1066 ¹⁵¹	
58.1	Rhirid Flaidd ap Gwrgenau	fl. 1161–2 ¹⁵²	
58.1.1	Merch Cynfyn Hirdref		

¹⁴⁸ A Tegwarded ap Rhobert witnessed a charter for Aberconwy Abbey issued by Gruffudd ap Cynan ab Owain Gwynedd: *AWR* no. 206; Bartrum, 'Hen Lwythau', p. 227, n. 9d. The identification is not unlikely, because the charter seems to have been issued while Gruffudd was the ruler of Gwynedd Uwch Conwy, and Tegwarded ap Rhobert's family were especially prominent in Llŷn; his grandfather was Asser ap Merwydd, for whom see the note to §56.3.

¹⁴⁹ Stephenson, *Political Power*, p. 215. The earliest reliable document attested by Gwyn ab Ednywain is *AWR* no. 216 (c. 1196 × c. 1202), and the latest are *AWR* nos 226 (1205 × 1211), 229 (1209) and 231 (1209).

¹⁵⁰ Stephenson, *Political Power*, p. 218; *AWR* no. 213.

¹⁵¹ Rhys Sais is probably to be identified with the Rhys who, according to Domesday Book, held Erbistock in Exestan hundred (now in Wrexham County borough) during Edward the Confessor's reign: DB (Cheshire), f. 267v; Suppe, 'Who was Rhys Sais?', p. 69; Suppe, 'Interpreter Families', pp. 196–7; Bartrum, 'Hen Lwythau', p. 228, n. 12a; Ellis, *First Extent*, p. 14. Later, local Welsh families in the area claimed descent from Rhys Sais: Palmer, *History*, pp. 89 and 92; Palmer and Owen, *History*, pp. 145–7. His sons were active in 1081: see note to §49.1.3 above. Tudur ap Rhys Sais is probably the Tudur who held *finis terrae Wallensis* from Roger de Montgomery in 1086: DB (Shropshire), f. 253v; Suppe, 'Who was Rhys Sais?', p. 71; Suppe, 'Interpreter Families', p. 197; *HW* II, 389; Palmer, 'Welsh Settlements', p. 44.

¹⁵² See note to §49.6.4 above.

§§	Subject	Date	Extents
58.2	Madog ap Rhirid Flaidd; Gwennllian ferch Ednyfed ap Cynwrig	?fl. 1217; ¹⁵³ Madog's grandsons, Gwrgenau Fychan and Madog ab Iorwerth, fl. 1292/3–1318 and 1287–1305 respectively ¹⁵⁴	RC 261: <i>Gauell Mad' ap Rerit</i> (Penaran: Meirionydd) RC 265: <i>Gauell Mad' ap Rerit</i> (Rhywedog Is Llafar: Penllyn Is Treweryn)
58.2.1	Gwladus ferch Aldudd ab Owain ¹⁵⁵		
59	Rhys ab Edryd		SD 249: <i>Wele Edred ap Marghhuyd</i> , inc. <i>Wele Rees ap Edred</i> (Abergele: Rhos Is Dulas) SD 301: <i>Wele Edred ap Marghruyth</i> , inc. <i>Wele Rees ap Edred</i> (Llwydgoed: Rhos Uwch Dulas)
60.1	Meudyr, Gwillofon & Gwrgi, meibion Hedd ab Alunog		
60.2	Idnerth ap Rhahawd ab Asser	Asser pos. fl. before 1170; Idnerth's great-grandsons fl. 1334 ¹⁵⁶	SD 156–7: <i>progenies Rand Vagh' ap Asser</i> , inc. <i>Wele Idenerth ap Rand</i> (throughout Rhufoniog Uwch Aled before 1282) ¹⁵⁷
61	Rhisiart ap Llywarch ap Cynddilig	Rhisiart's great-grandsons fl. 1334 ¹⁵⁸	SD 211: <i>Wele Lauwargh' ap Kendelyk</i> , inc. <i>Wele Risshard ap Lauwargh'</i> (Wigfair with Bodrychwyn ¹⁵⁹ and Cilmael: Rhos Is Dulas, before 1282)

¹⁵³ He may be the Madog ap Rhirid who accompanied Llywelyn ab Iorwerth to South Wales in 1217: *AWR* no. 239. His brother Einion ap Rhirid is probably the man of that name who is mentioned as one of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth's noblemen in a letter of 1218 and who witnessed Llywelyn's agreement with Ranulf, earl of Chester, in 1222: *AWR* nos 242 and 252; *WG I* IV, s. 'Rhirid Flaidd 1'. Gruffudd Hiraethog copied an inscription on a cross that once stood at Bryn Einion, the site of the siege of Diserth castle in 1263, which recorded that Einion ap Rhirid was killed at the siege (Peniarth 176, p. 99; Peniarth 134, p. 207): Lloyd, *History of the Princes* IV, 46; VI, 66; *WG I* IV, s. 'Rhirid Flaidd 9'; cf. E. D. Jones *apud* Radford and Hemp, 'Pennant Melangell', p. 109. For the siege, see Smith, *Llywelyn*, p. 154; *HW* II, 732.

¹⁵⁴ Williams-Jones, *Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll*, pp. 3, n. 2 and 7–8, n. 6; Owen and Smith, 'Government', p. 72; *WG I* IV, s. 'Rhirid Flaidd 1' and 'Rhirid Flaidd 3'.

¹⁵⁵ On page 88 of Peniarth 175, a legal manuscript ('A') of the second half of the fifteenth century (*MWM* 62), a contemporary hand has added the pedigree of this same *Aldud*, here called *Aldudd verch Ywain*: 'Aldvdd verch ywain ap edwyn ap Gronw ap eingion ap ywain ap hywel[?] ap kadell ap Rodri Mawr ap Rodri molwynoc o essyllld verch kyanan dindaethwy ap Rodri mal[.]ynoc ap idwal iwrcw ap kydvaladyr vendi' (cf. *RMWL* I, 970). Bartrum notes that many genealogies make Aldudd a daughter rather than son of Owain: *WG I* II, s. 'Edwin 1'.

¹⁵⁶ Asser may be the person of that name who was killed while fighting in the warband of Owain Gwynedd (d. 1170): *CBT* IV, poem 5.85. For Idnerth's great-grandsons, see *SD* 157–9: e.g. Bleddyn ap Cynwrig ap Madog, Einion ab Ieuan ab Iorwerth, and David ap Heilin ab Iorwerth, whose grandfathers were probably Madog and Iorwerth ab Idnerth. Cf. *WG I* III, s. 'Hedd 1'; *EIWK* 239–40.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Owen, 'Tenurial and Economic Developments', p. 120.

¹⁵⁸ *SD* 211: e.g. Ithel, Gruffudd and Tudur, sons of Iorwerth ap Cynddelw, whose grandfather was probably Cynddelw ap Rhisiart: cf. *WG I* I, s. 'Braint Hir 1'.

¹⁵⁹ I have specified the hamlets associated with Wigfair because, in *LIIG* 61, Rhisiart ap Llywarch's ancestor is said to have been 'Rychwyn Varfawg o Votrychwyn yn Ros' ('Rhychwyn Farfog of Bodrychwyn in Rhos').

*Appendix A.4.4: Additional Material in
Llyma Dalm o Weheliaethau a Llwythau Cymru*

The table below lists every section of *Llyma Dalm o Weheliaethau a Llwythau Cymru* that is not known to have been taken either from *Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru* or from the *Gweheliaethau y Mars* section of the Gutun Owain recension. The footnotes provide detailed evidence for all the dates apart from those that are easily discoverable from a range of sources. The *Gwehelyth/Llwyth* column lists only the named *gweheliaethau* and *llwythau* that are explicitly associated with the pedigrees in the text.

*Table A.4.4.1: The chronology and geography of the additional material in
Llyma Dalm o Weheliaethau a Llwythau Cymru*

§§	Subject	Date	Gwehelyth/Llwyth
T2	Dafydd Fongam ap Dafydd ¹⁶⁰	fl. 1301–9	Caeo
T4	Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn	d. 1286	Powys Wenwynwyn
T5.2	Maredudd ab Einion ¹⁶¹	fl. s. xiii	Arwystli
T5.3	Owain ap Dafydd ¹⁶²	fl. s. xiii	Arwystli
T5.4	Owain Moel ab Iorwerth ¹⁶³	fl. s. xii/xiii	Arwystli
T6	Goronwy ab Ednyfed [<i>recte</i> Einion] ¹⁶⁴	fl. c. 1187–c. 1202	Cyfeiliog
T7	Iorwerth Foel ab Ieuf Sais ¹⁶⁵	fl. s. xiii ¹	Mechain Is Coed
T8	Sir Roger (Kynaston) ap Gruffudd ¹⁶⁶	d. 1495	Generdinlle (Kinnerley) and the eleven townships and Cresfain

¹⁶⁰ Constable of Caeo in 1301–2 and steward of Cantref Mawr from 1303 to 1309: Griffiths, *Principality*, pp. 279 and 388.

¹⁶¹ Married Jonet ferch Goronwy of Cyfeiliog. Jonet's brothers include Gwên ap Goronwy (fl. 1234–1240s), *distain* of Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn, and Tudur ap Goronwy (fl. 1271–8), episcopal official of Cyfeiliog: *WG I II*, s. 'Cynfelyn ap Dolfryn 3' and IV, 'Seisyll 1'; *AWR* nos 593, 602–4, 607 and 612; Thomas, *Charters*, pp. 222–4, no. 82; Stephenson, *Medieval Powys*, pp. 17, 138, n. 35, 195, 244 and 260; Stephenson, review of *AWR*, p. 151; CBT VII, poem 18 (*Marwnad Gwên ap Goronwy*). Jonet, Gwên and Tudur were all children of Goronwy ab Einion, the subject of §T6. Maredudd's father Einion ap Cynfelyn was probably the man of that name who was among the arbitrators representing Arwystli, probably as a portioner of the *clas* church of Llandinam, in c. 1216, and who witnessed a grant to Strata Marcella in 1200 (no. 555, though this may be spurious): *AWR* nos 16 and 555; Thomas, *Charters*, pp. 43 and 64. For earlier members of the same family, see Stephenson, *Medieval Powys*, pp. 97–8, n. 3, and 259; Pryce, 'Church', pp. 24–5; Bartrum, 'Pedigrees', pt 1, 138, n. 56.

¹⁶² Owain's grandfather Einion Ddistain witnessed four documents between 1197 and c. 1226, two of which were charters of Strata Marcella: *AWR* nos 10, 16, 17 and 548; Thomas, *Charters*, pp. 45 and 64; Stephenson, 'Politics', p. 46. Owain's great-grandfather Iorwerth ap Gwrgenau witnessed a grant by Madog ap Maredudd to Trefeglwys church between 1132 and 1151, along with Dolfryn ap Rhiwallon, great-grandfather of Maredudd ab Einion (§T5.2): *AWR* no. 480; Pryce, 'Church', pp. 24–5.

¹⁶³ Brother of Einion Ddistain (see previous note).

¹⁶⁴ Witnessed ten Strata Marcella charters, probably as Gwenwynwyn's *distain*: *AWR* nos 541–2, 544–5, 551–5 and 563 (541 and 555 may be spurious); Thomas, *Charters*, pp. 44 and 66. See Stephenson, *Medieval Powys*, pp. 70, 195 and 244; Morgan, 'Territorial Divisions', pt 2, 26–7.

¹⁶⁵ Married Angharad daughter of Owain Fychan ab Owain Fychan, who fl. 1187–c. 1241: *WG I III*, s. 'Mael Maelienydd 3'; Stephenson, *Medieval Powys*, pp. 98 and 111–12; *AWR* 809. Two of the *gwelyau* in the manor of Llwyntidmon in the lordship of Oswestry in 1393 were *gwely Ithel ap Ithon Galed* and *gwely Kyvenerth*, probably named from Iorwerth Foel's great-grandfather and grandfather respectively: Slack, *Lordship*, pp. 160–1.

¹⁶⁶ Roger Kynaston was bound in a bond along with David, abbot of Strata Marcella, and others in 1485: Thomas, *Charters*, no. 90.

§§	Subject	Date	Gwehelyth/Llwyth
T9	Celynin ap Rhirid ¹⁶⁷	fl. 1292	Llwydiarth
T10	Maredudd Fychan ab yr hen Maredudd ¹⁶⁸	fl. s. xii ²	Aber Tanad
T11.2	Ithel Goch ap Dafydd ¹⁶⁹	fl. s. xii ²	Burgeding in the parish of Cegidfa (Guilsfield)
T12	Iorwerth Fychan ab Iorwerth Goch ¹⁷⁰	fl. s. xii/xiii	Y Maen
T13	Gruffudd & Owain ap Maredudd ¹⁷¹	fl. s. xv ¹	Caereinion
T14	Dafydd Llwyd ap Maredudd ¹⁷²	fl. s. xv	
T15	Dafydd Gethin ab Einion ¹⁷³		
T16	Gruffudd Deg ap Gruffudd		Cadwnfa in Mechain Uwch Coed
T17	Llywelyn ap Cynwrig Efell ¹⁷⁴	fl. s. xiii ¹	Ystrad Alun
T18	Einion Greulon ab Einion ¹⁷⁵	fl. s. xiii	Crickheath, lordship of Oswestry ¹⁷⁶

¹⁶⁷ Probably the Celynin ap Rhirid who was apparently a juror in Mechain Uwch Coed in 1292: E. D. Jones, 'Lloyd Family'. He does not appear in the tax assessment of Llwydiarth in 1293: Morgan, 'Powys Lay Subsidy Roll', p. 108. His great-grandfather was Iorwerth ap Gwrgenau, who was also the great-grandfather of the Owain ap Dafydd of §T5.3 (cf. *WG I I*, s. 'Aleth 1'). His wife Gwenllian was the daughter of Adda ap Meurig (§T9.1.1), a descendant of Gwyn ap Gruffudd of Cegidfa (cf. *EIWK* 205–6). Adda ap Meurig (fl. 1263–88) was rector of Meifod and diocesan official of Powys: see *AWR* nos 358, 601–3 and 606; Stephenson, *Medieval Powys*, pp. 250, 254 and 260; Morgan, 'Territorial Divisions', pt 2, 16 and 20–1. In one document, Adda is specifically called a man of Swydd Ystrad Marchell (i.e. the commote of Strata Marcella) (*AWR* no. 606).

¹⁶⁸ His father, Maredudd ap Hywel (fl. 1142–76), lord of Edeirnion, made a grant to Strata Marcella in 1176: *AWR* no. 482; Thomas, *Charters*, pp. 42 and 78. Could this Maredudd Fychan be the otherwise unknown Maredudd Fychan who is listed in the Pipe Roll for 6 Henry II (30 Sept 1159–29 Sept 1160)? See Stephenson, *Medieval Powys*, p. 61, n. 19.

¹⁶⁹ His grandfather, Maredudd ap Bleddyn, died in 1132.

¹⁷⁰ His father, Iorwerth Goch, died in 1171 (Andrews and Stephenson, 'Draig Argoed', p. 75). Iorwerth Fychan is probably the *Ioruer[th] Bochan filio I. Chorh* who witnessed a charter of Strata Marcella in either 1197 × 1208 or 1210 × 1216: *AWR* no. 549; Thomas, *Charters*, p. 74.

¹⁷¹ Owain is said to have been a burgess of Welshpool in 1406 (Meyrick, *Heraldic Visitations I*, 312) and was still living in 1446: *WG I III*, s. 'Lawr Grach 4'. Gruffudd and Owain were descended from Sulien ap Caradog (fl. 1170–1216), archdeacon of Powys: see Stephenson, *Medieval Powys*, pp. 55–6, 243, 254 and 256–7. Sulien witnessed Owain Cyfeiliog's foundation grant for Strata Marcella in c. 1170 and nine charters of Gwenwynwyn between 1180 and 1215, most of which were in favour of Strata Marcella: *AWR* nos 539, 544, 546, 548, 555, 563–5, 575 and 578 (555 may be spurious); Thomas, *Charters*, pp. 39 and 50. In 1274, Sulien's grandson Einion ab Ednyfed ap Sulien, another ancestor of Gruffudd and Owain, headed a list of the chief men of Caereinion whose homage was offered to Llywelyn ap Gruffudd by Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn (*AWR* no. 603).

¹⁷² His brother Madog married Alice daughter of Sir Gruffudd Vaughan of Broniarth, who is said to have been a burgess of Welshpool in 1406 (Meyrick, *Heraldic Visitations I*, 312) and who died in 1447: *WG I III*, s. 'Gwenwys 3' and 'Mael Maelienydd 5'; E. D. Jones, 'Vaughan'. Dafydd Llwyd's descendants lived in Haughton, Llandysilio, and Trewylan, Llansanffraid, both in Deuddwr: *WG 2 VIII*, s. 'Mael Maelienydd 5(B)'. In 1274, the first of the chief men of Deuddwr whose homage was offered to Llywelyn ap Gruffudd was a certain Rhirid ap Cadwgon, who may have been Dafydd Llwyd's ancestor: *AWR* no. 603.

¹⁷³ According to Bartrum, his father's name was Ieuan: *WG I III*, s. 'Mael Maelienydd 2'. His descendants lived in Maesbrook, Kinnerley: *WG 2 VIII*, s. 'Mael Maelienydd 2 (A, B)'.

¹⁷⁴ His grandfather, Madog ap Maredudd, d. 1160. His father, Cynwrig Efell, may be the Cynwrig ap Madog named in the Pipe Roll for 6 Henry II (30 Sept 1159–29 Sept 1160): Stephenson, *Medieval Powys*, pp. 61, n. 19, and 64, n. 34.

¹⁷⁵ His father, Einion ap Rhirid Flaidd, is said to have been killed at the siege of Diserth castle in 1263: see above, note to §58.2 in Table A.4.3.1.

¹⁷⁶ Two of the *gwelyau* in the manor of Bryn in the lordship of Oswestry in 1393 were *gwely Egnon Grewlon*

Supporting Material

§§	Subject	Date	Gwehelyth/Llwyth
T19.1	Maredudd ap Maelgwn ¹⁷⁷	fl. 1197–c. 1249	Ceri
T19.2	Randwl ab Iorwerth ¹⁷⁸		Ceri
T19.3	Einion ap Hywel ¹⁷⁹	?fl. xiv/xv	Ceri
T21.1	Ifor Hen ab Iorwerth ¹⁸⁰	fl. s. xii/xiii	Elfael Is Mynydd and Glyn Bwch
T21.2	Owain ap Maredudd ¹⁸¹	fl. 1248–67	Aberedw in Elfael Uwch Mynydd
T21.3	Cadwgon ap Gruffudd		Elfael Uwch Mynydd
T22.1	Ricard ab Einion ¹⁸²	fl. s. xv ¹	Buellt
T22.2	Llywelyn y Moelyn ap Maredudd Hen ¹⁸³	fl. s. xii/xiii	Buellt
T22.3	Einion y Brych Cadarn ap Maredudd Hen ¹⁸⁴	fl. s. xii/xiii	Buellt
T23.1	Trahaearn ap Trahaearn Fychan ¹⁸⁵	fl. s. xii/xiii	Brycheiniog
T23.2	Bleddyn ap Maenyrch ¹⁸⁶	d. 1093	Brycheiniog
T28.1	Ynyr Fychan ab Ynyr ¹⁸⁷	fl. 1292/3–d. c. 1330	Meirionydd
T28.3	Hywel Coetmor ap Gruffudd Fychan ¹⁸⁸	fl. 1356–c. 1400	Nanconwy
T28.4	Einion ap Gollwyn Goeg ¹⁸⁹	fl. s. xi ²	Gwynedd

and *gwely Ririd Vlaieth*: Slack, *Lordship*, p. 157; E. D. Jones *apud* Radford and Hemp, ‘Pennant Melangell’, p. 112. These *gwelyau* do not appear in the 1393 survey’s account of Crickheath: Slack, *Lordship*, pp. 159–60.

¹⁷⁷ *AWR* 253; Morgan, ‘Territorial Divisions’, pt 1, 27.

¹⁷⁸ Bartrum estimated that Randwl ab Iorwerth was born c. 1160: ‘Pedigrees’, pt 1, 139, n. 69.

¹⁷⁹ His great-great-grandfather, Einion ab Ieuaf, may have been the man of that name among the leading men of Ceri who petitioned Henry III in 1249: Morgan, ‘Territorial Divisions’, pt 1, 32, n. 83.

¹⁸⁰ His mother was Gwenllian daughter of Hywel ab Ieuaf (d. 1185): *WG I* III, s. ‘Llywarch ap Bran 2’.

¹⁸¹ *AWR* 16.

¹⁸² Ricard’s great-grandfather Ricard ap Gruffudd is said to have died in 1333: Th. Jones and Bailey, *History* II, 231.

¹⁸³ His uncle, Maredudd Bengoch ap Llywelyn, fl. 1170: *BT* (PS) 1169 [1170]; *BT* (R) 1168 [1170]; *WG I* II, s. ‘Elystan Glodrudd 2’.

¹⁸⁴ See previous note.

¹⁸⁵ His father, Trahaearn Fychan, died in 1197: *BT* (PS) 1197; (R) 1196 [1197].

¹⁸⁶ He is said to have died in battle in 1093 fighting alongside Rhys ap Tewdwr: NLW 3067Bi (?1574), p. 129; John Williams, *Llyfr Baglan* (ed. Bradney, pp. 120–1, 237 and 268). See Bartrum, ‘Pedigrees’, pt 1, 130, n. 15.

¹⁸⁷ Parry, ‘Hugh Nanney Hên’, p. 188; Williams-Jones, *Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll*, p. 45, n. 1; Owen and Smith, ‘Government’, pp. 72 and 112–14; Carr, *Gentry*, pp. 52, 113, 117 and 257.

¹⁸⁸ J. G. Jones, *History*, pp. 63–4 and 188; R. R. Davies, *Revolt*, pp. 58 and 205–6, Carr, *Gentry*, p. 137. See the family tree in E. D. Jones, ‘Howel Coytmor’, p. 352.

¹⁸⁹ The pedigrees of Einion ap Gollwyn Goeg are confused: see Bartrum, ‘Pedigrees’, pt 1, 140–1, n. 65.

Appendix A.4.5: The Use of *De gestis Britonum*
in the Pedigree of Beli Mawr

As is explained in Chapter 5 (pp. 235–43), during the formation of the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension in the twelfth century the pedigree of Beli Mawr was traced back in time to Adam using multiple different sources. One of these sources was Geoffrey of Monmouth's *De gestis Britonum*. The original compiler of the pedigree drew upon the portion of Geoffrey's work that concerns the immediate successors of Brutus, because only in this section of *De gestis Britonum* are the relationships between successive kings consistently explained. The pedigree incorporated the descendants of Brutus down to the time of Gurgustius and his successor Sisillius, the relationship between whom Geoffrey did not specify.¹⁹⁰

A significant degree of variation may be seen in the many copies of this pedigree in Welsh manuscripts from the thirteenth century onwards. This is largely due to the names of the relevant Galfridian figures having entered Welsh vernacular tradition in two distinct phases. The first phase came with the creation of the original pedigree of Beli Mawr as part of the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension in the twelfth century. The earliest witnesses to this pedigree are the *Vita Griffini filii Conani* (1137 × 1170) and its early thirteenth-century vernacular translation *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*. These texts are important because of their influence upon the later Welsh genealogical tradition. The second phase came with the translation of *De gestis Britonum* into a number of Welsh versions (known collectively as *Brut y Brenhinedd*) in the late twelfth and/or early thirteenth centuries.¹⁹¹ It would appear that the process of name substitution that accompanied the vernacularization of Geoffrey's Latin text was undertaken with minimal, if any, reference to the pre-existing pedigree, resulting in a degree of difference between the name forms appearing in the two texts.

These two, distinct phases of vernacular onomastic selection were responsible for inputting a significant degree of variation into the Welsh genealogical tradition for this portion of Beli Mawr's pedigree. This is illustrated in the two tables below. Table A.4.5.1 lists the names of the relevant figures as they are found in *De gestis Britonum*, *Brut Dingestow*, *Vita Griffini filii Conani* and *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*, in addition to two pedigrees in fifteenth-century manuscripts that do not derive directly from the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. Table A.4.5.2 then lists the relevant names from eight copies of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, demonstrating the variation between them.

It may be seen that there are several key differences between the rendering of Geoffrey's names in *Brut Dingestow* (which is largely in agreement with the other *Brutiau*; compare Table A.3.2.1) and the version of the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension pedigree in the Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan, allowing for the lacunose state of this part of the pedigree in the extant Latin text. The four key differences are as follows:

The epithet *Viride Scutum* is translated variously as *Taryan Las* (BD), *Ysgwydwyn* (VGC) and *Ysgwyd I'r* (HGK).

Leil, Geoffrey's eponym for *Kaerleil* (Carlisle), is rendered correctly into Welsh as *Lliwelyt* (< Welsh *Caer Lliwelydd*, 'Carlisle') in HGK, but incorrectly as *Lleon* in BD, on account of the erroneous equation between Geoffrey's *Kaerleil* and *Caer Lleon* ('Chester') in the *Brutiau*.

In BD, *Rud Hudibras* has become *Run Paladyr Bras*. In HGK, the name *Rud* is retained but the epithet is omitted. More importantly, HGK makes *Rud* the son, rather than father, of Bleiddudd.

¹⁹⁰ DGB II.33.289–90.

¹⁹¹ See above, p. 225, n. 342.

Supporting Material

BD correctly renders Geoffrey's *Sisillius* into Welsh as *Seissill*, whereas *VGC* and *HGK* replace *Sisillius* with *Seirioel*.

It may be seen that in each of these four respects, the independent pedigrees in Harley 673 and Gutun Owain's BL Add. 14919iii, fragment 2 essentially follow the version represented by the Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan rather than the version of the *Brutiau*. In the case of Harley 673, this may be because the pedigree derives directly from the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension, as does the pedigree in *VGC/HGK*.¹⁹² Gutun Owain, however, might have been drawing on *HGK*, as is suggested by Table A.4.5.2.

Table A.4.5.1: The names in the pedigree of Beli Mawr taken from De gestis Britonum

<i>DGB</i> II.23–33	<i>BD</i> II.1–16	<i>VGC</i> §3	<i>HGK</i> 2	Harley 673, f. 116r	BL Add. 14919, frag. 2, f. 136v
Brutus	Brutus	Bruti ducis Romani	Brut tywyssauc o Ruvein	Brute	Prvt/vs
Locrinus	Locrinus	Locrini	Llocrinus	Locryn	Lokrein/vs
Maddan	Madavc	Madauci	Madauc	Madan	Madoc
Mempricius	Membyr	Membricii	Membyr	Membur	Mymbr[?]
Ebraucus	Euravc	Eboraci		Ebrauc	E/vralit
Brutus Viride Scutum	Brutus Taryan Las	Bruti Ysgwydwyn	Brutus Ysgwyt Ir	Brute Glas Sceut	Prvt/vs Yssgwydd Hir
Leil	Lleon		Lliwelyt	Llewelid	Llywelit
Rud Hudibras	Run Paladyr Bras				
Bladud	Bleidud		Bleidud Rud	Beidud	Pleidd/vd Rud
Leir	Llyr		Lyr	Lleir	Lyr
Regau	Ragav		Regat	Regaun	Regav
Cunedagius	Cuneda			Guneda	K/vnedda
Riuallo	Riwallavn		Riwallaun	Rywallaun	Riwallon
Gurgustius	Gorvsst	Gurwsti	Gurust	Guruust	G/vrg/vsti
Sisillius	Seissill	Seirioel	Seiryoel	Lerioil	Seirioel

¹⁹² Compare the correspondences noted on pp. 227–8.

Table 4.4.5.2: The names in the pedigree of Beli Mawr
taken from De gestis Britonum, as found in eight copies of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies

Y		A		Hengwrt 33		Llanstephan 28		Gutun Owain recension	
Cardiff 3.77 (E), p. 54	NLW 732B (L), p. 30	Peniarth 131ii (C), pp. 41–2	Cardiff 3.77 (B), pp. 2–3	Peniarth 182 (A), pp. 13–14	(D), pp. 80–1	Peniarth 131iii, p. 79	Peniarth 129 (F), p. 5		
Brutus	Prydus	Brŷtŷs	Brutus	Brutus	Brutus	Brutus	Brutus	Brutus	Brutus
Loegyr	Loetrinus	Lokrinŷs	Lokrinus	Lokrinus	Loetrinŷs	Lokrinŷs	Loetrinŷs	Loetrinŷs	Loetrinŷs
Madawg	Madawc	Madoc	Madawg	Madawg	Madoc	Madoc	Madoc	Madoc	Madoc
Mymbyr	Membyr	Mymbyr	Mymbyr	Mymbyr	Membyr	Membyr	Membyr	Membyr	Membyr
Efrawg	Efrawc	Effroc Kadam	Efrawg	Efrawg	Efrawg	Efrawc Kadam	Effroc Kadam	Effroc Kadam	Effroc Kadam
Brutus Ysguyt Hir	Prydus Ysowydur	Brŷtŷs Darianlas	Brutus Darian Las	Brutis Darian Las	Brut[.] Ysgwyddir	Brutus Darian Las	Brutus Darian Las	Brutus Darian Las	Brutus Darian Las
Leon	Llewelyd	Leon	Leon	Leon	Llywelydd	Leon	Leon	Leon	Leon
Run Baladyr Bras		Rŷn Rŷddbaladyr ¹⁹³	Run Baladr Bras	Run		Rŷn Baladr Bras	Rŷn Paladyr Bras		Rŷn Paladyr Bras
Bliðud	Bleyddud	Bleiddidd	Bleidyð	Bleiddud	Bleiddud	Bleiddud	Bleiddud	Bleiddud	Bleiddud
	Rud				Rŷdd				
Lŷr	Lŷr	Leyr	Lŷr	Lŷr	Lŷr	Lŷr Rrudd	Lŷr Rrudd	Lŷr Rrudd	Lŷr Rrudd
Regau	Regev	Regeŷ	Regau	Ragaw	Rregaw	Rregaw	Rregaw	Rregaw	Rregaw
Kunedda		Kŷnmedda	Kunedda	Kunedda	K[ŷ.]jedda Wledic	Kunedda	Kunedda	Kunedda	Kunedda
Riualaun	Riwallon	Riwallon	Riualaun	Riwallawn	Rriwallon	Rriwallon y glaw gwr ¹⁹⁴	Rriwallon y glaw bv y glaw gwaed yn i amser	Rriwallon y glaw bv y glaw gwaed yn i amser	Rriwallon y glaw bv y glaw gwaed yn i amser
Gurust	Grwst	Grwst	Gurust	Gorwst	Grwst	Grwst	Grwst	Grwst	Grwst
Seirioel	Seirioel	Seissillt	Seirioel	Seirioel	Seirioel	Seirŷel	Seirŷel	Seirŷel	Seissill

¹⁹³ The change in epithet in C has been influenced by the *Run Rud Baladyr* of the Powys pedigree of Tegonwy ap Teonr: cf. MG 3 and LIIG 1.1.1, 31–33 and A3.6.
¹⁹⁴ *y glaw gwr* is written in the left-hand margin, adjacent to the name *rriwallon*.

Table A.4.5.2 presents eight versions of the section of Beli Mawr's pedigree with names drawn from *De gestis Britonum*, taken from eight witnesses to the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. The witnesses selected are broadly representative of the tradition. It may be seen that there is considerable variation between them with regard to the four key differences, outlined above, between the names in the *Brutiau* and in the twelfth-century pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension pedigree represented by the Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan. It is argued in Chapter 4 (pp. 225 and 227) that the compiler of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies added elements from both *Brut y Brenhinedd* and *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* to the version of the pedigree incorporated into the collection. However, the state of the original Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies is somewhat obscured by the variation between the chief witnesses. This variation was caused by the continued availability of both *Brut y Brenhinedd* and *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* to successive copyists of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. For example, it would appear that both Richard Longford (the scribe of NLW 732B) and Gutun Owain (the scribe of Llanstephan 28, Peniarth 131iii and the exemplar [i.e. Rylands Welsh 1] of Peniarth 129) were influenced by the *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*. Evidence is cited in Chapter 4 for Richard Longford's use of the *Historia* elsewhere in NLW 732B.¹⁹⁵ Gutun Owain's dependence on the *Historia* is suggested especially by the differences between his copy of Hengwrt 33 (Llanstephan 28) and the other two copies of Hengwrt 33 (Cardiff 3.77 and Peniarth 182). As in the *Historia*, both NLW 732B and Llanstephan 28 have *Ysgwyddir* instead of *Darian Las*, *Lliwelydd* instead of *Lleon*, and *Rud* instead of *Run Baladyr Bras*. Peniarth 131iii and Peniarth 129, however, appear to have been influenced by *Brut y Brenhinedd*. This may be seen in the description of *Efracw* as *Kadarn* and *Rriwallon* as *y gwr y bv y glaw gwaed yn i amser* ('the man in whose time there was the blood rain'). Another aspect of the pedigrees in Peniarth 131iii and Peniarth 129 may, however, have been influenced by a pedigree similar to that in Gutun Owain's earlier manuscript, Llanstephan 28; although *Run Paladyr Bras* now appears in both Peniarth 131iii and Peniarth 129, as in *Brut y Brenhinedd*, the form *Rud* from *Historia Gruffud van Kenan* has been retained as an epithet for *Llyr*. Peniarth 131ii, by Ieuan ap Madog ap Rhys, has also been influenced by *Brut y Brenhinedd*, since it preserves a version of the 'extended Galfridian pedigree' discussed in Chapter 5, pages 258–63 and Appendix A.5.2. The extended Galfridian pedigree itself was incorporated, in a modified form, into the Gutun Owain recension of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, and thus affected the pedigree in Peniarth 129 reproduced in the right-hand column of the table.¹⁹⁶ Since separate external sources have influenced both NLW 732B (*Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*) and Peniarth 131ii (*Brut y Brenhinedd* via the extended Galfridian pedigree), it is unlikely that either of these witnesses faithfully reproduces the readings of Δ.

With these factors in mind, one may venture to say something about the archetype of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. The archetype arguably included *Lleon* and *Run Baladyr Bras* from *Brut y Brenhinedd* and *Seirioel* from the Rhodri Mawr recension pedigree. These readings are supported particularly by the copy of Y in Cardiff 3.77 and the copies of Hengwrt 33 in Cardiff 3.77 and Peniarth 182. However, it seems impossible to decide whether the archetype originally used *Brut y Brenhinedd*'s *Darian Las* or *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*'s *Ysgwyddir* as the epithet of Brutus son of Ebraucus. *Darian Las* predominates in the manuscript tradition (appearing consistently, for example, in the southern tradition), but the use of *Ysguyt Hir* in the Cardiff 3.77 copy of Y adds an additional element of doubt.

¹⁹⁵ See above, p. 168, n. 51.

¹⁹⁶ It was also copied into Peniarth 131iii two pages before the pedigree in the table above: see Appendix A.5.2.

Appendix A.4.6: The Use of *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* in the *Llywelyn ab Iorwerth Genealogies*

In the table below, equivalent passages concerning Gruffudd ap Cynan's mother, as found in the *Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies*, *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* and *Vita Griffini filii Conani*, are set out in parallel. The text begins on a new row each time that LIIG 16 begins a new sentence. The underlined text indicates verbal passages that the two Lives share with LIIG 16, including parallels between Latin and Welsh, so far as has seemed sensible. The passages in bold in *Vita Griffini filii Conani* indicate text that is absent from both *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* and LIIG 16, suggesting that the latter drew on the Welsh *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* rather than the Latin *Vita Griffini filii Conani*.

Table A.4.6.1: Textual correspondences between the *Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies*, *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* and *Vita Griffini filii Conani*

LIIG 16	HGK 4–5	VGC §6
[§16.1.1] Mam Ranillt, nain Gruffud ap Kynan: <u>Maelgreg ferch Dwling m. Dwthil vrenin Lani, y bymet ran o Iwerdon.</u>	Eilweith o barthret y henvam, nyt amgen mam y vam, Gruffud vrenhin oed vab y Ragnell, merch Vaylcorcre, verch Dunlug, m. <u>Tethel, vrenhin Laine, pymhet ran Ywerdon.</u>	Atque ut paulo longius progrediamur, aviae genus non ignobile fuerat: siquidem Ragnel, mater Gruffini, filia erat praenobilis faeminae, <u>Vaelcorcre, filiae Dunlugi</u> , qui natus etiam erat <u>Tethel regis Laginiae, quintae</u> scilicet partis Hyberniae.
[§16.1.2] <u>Slani oed fam Afloyd vrenin, merch brenin Muen, dwy rann o Iwerdon.</u>	<u>Slani, hagen, mam Avloed vrenin, oed verch y Vrien, brenhin Muen, dwy rann o Ywerdon.</u>	Praeterea <u>Slani mater Auloed regis filia</u> erat Riyeni <u>regis Innen</u> , quae Hyberniae duas partes continebat.
[§16.1.3] <u>A Gwrymlaith oed fam Sutrig, merch y Vwrchoth vrenin Llaini.</u> Tri maib a vu y Wrchath vrenin, <u>k/otforaf</u> tri o wiring oedunt yn Iwerdon yn eu hoef, a buanaf tri dyn: <u>Dwnchath vrenin Muen; Sutric vrenhin Dinas Dulyr; Moelkolwm vrenin Midi.</u>	<u>Ac odena Gurlach oed vam Sutric vrenhin; merch oed honno y Vwrchath, vrenhin Laine.</u> Ac y hvnnw y bu <u>tri meib clotvaur</u> , nyt amgen, <u>Dunchath, vrenhin Muen, a Sutric vrenhin dinas Dulyr, a Moelchelen, vrenhin Midif.</u>	<u>Gurlach etiam mater Sutritii regis erat. Haec Murchathum regem Laginiae patrem habuit:</u> cui ferunt tres filios nobilitate insignes fuisse, scilicet <u>Duncathum regem Innen, Sutricum regem Dublinensem, atque Moelchelen regem Midif:</u>
[§16.2] <u>Deu vroder oed un fam a Gruffud ap Kynan:</u>	<u>Y Gruffud vrenhin yd oed deu vroder vnvam, brenhined Wltw;</u>	suscepisse necnon tradunt Murchathum regem Laginiae ex hac regina Maelmordan filium.
[§16.2.1] <u>Ranalld mab Mathawn a oresgynnws dwy rann o Iwerdon yn oet pythefnos a mis; dewraf gwr ieuang oed ym pum rann Iwerdon.</u>	nyt amgen <u>Ranalld m. Mathgauyn</u> , yr hvnn a enillws <u>dwy rann o Ywerdon ym pytheunos a mis o'e dewred.</u>	Erant Griffino <u>fratres duo uterini</u> Ultoniae reges ambo, scilicet <u>Ranald filii Mathgauyn, qui tanta fortitudinis gloria precelluerit</u> , ut intra dies quatuordecim <u>Hyberniae binas partes</u> sibi subiugarit.
		Admirandum quoddam quasi monstrum marinum erat, cui similem vel pedum potestate vel saltandi peritia Hybernia non habuit.

Supporting Material

LIIG 16	HGK 4-5	VGC §6
Buanaf march oed yr eidaw; mae y lam etto yn ddihareb yn Iwerdon, a nodeu ymhob tal idaw; sef y kynebygit y <u>Bucefal</u> , <u>march Alexander</u> Mawr.	Llemhidydd anryved oed; nyt oed o'r holl Wydyl a llei na gurthuynebu na chefflybu idav en y neit. Y varch enteu oed odidauc yn amravaellyon gampeu o vuander; Islimach oed y enw: kemeint oed eu neit, ef a'e varch. Tebycaf oed y Cinnar, march Achelarw, ac y <u>Bucefal</u> , <u>march</u> <u>Alexander</u> amperauder.	Equum aluit multis naturae dotibus ornatum cui ob egregias facultates <> Isliniach nomen indiderat; eiusdem dimensi utriusque saltus aestimabatur. Comparandus hic quidem erat vel Cinnari Achillis vel <u>Bucephalo</u> <u>Alexandri</u> imperatoris.
[§16.2.2] Y brawt arall un fam a <u>Gruffud</u> fab Kynan: <u>Etwathawn</u> <u>brenin Wltw</u> .	Y braut arall y <u>Gruffud</u> oed <u>Ethumachgavyn</u> , <u>brenhin Ultw</u> .	<u>Alter Griffini frater</u> , <u>Ethminach</u> <u>Gawyn rex</u> etiam <u>Ultoniae</u> fuerat.

Appendix A.4.7: Pedigrees from the St Davids Recension

Below are set out in parallel the pedigrees of Meirionydd, Dunoding/Ardudwy, Rhos and Rhufoniog from the Harleian genealogies, the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies and the Jesus 20 genealogies. Highlighted in bold are some features of the pedigrees in the Harleian genealogies and Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies that might derive from the archetype of the St Davids recension. For further discussion, see Guy, ‘Second Witness’, pp. 81–90.

Table A.4.7.1: The Meirionydd pedigree

HG 18	LIIG 42	JC 41
[C]inan	Kynan	Kynan
Brochmail	Brochvaelan	Brochuael
Iutnimet	Edynefet Meirionydd	
Egeniud	Einud Bach	Einud
Brocmail	Brochfael	Brochuael
Sualda	Sualdei	Sualda
Iudris	Idris Garw	Ydris
Gweinoth	Gwethyno	Gweidno
Glitnoth	Clytno	
Guurgint Barmbruch	Gwynyr Varyf Drwch	Gvrent Vra\druth
Gatgulart	Kydwaladr	Katwaladyr
Meriaun	Meiriawn Meirionnyd	Eueirya\vn
	Tibiawn	Tebia\vn
Cunedu	Kunedu Wledig	Kunedu Wledic

Table A.4.7.2: The Dunoding/Ardudwy pedigree

HG 17	LIIG 43	JC 40
[C]uhelm		
Bleydiud	Bledud	Bleidut
Caratauc	Karadawg	Crada\vc
Iouanawl	Ieuanawl	Iewana\vl
Eiciaun	Eigiaun	Eiga\vn
Brochmail		Brorchuael
Ebiau	Peibion	Eidan
Popdelgu	Pobdelw	Hoedle\vc
Popgen	Pobien Hen	Podgen Hen
Isaac	Issac	Isaac
Ebiau	Peibiaw	Einya\vn
Mouric	Me\vruc	Meuruc
Dinacat	Dyngat	Dingat
Ebiau	Peybyau	Eina\vn
Dunaut	Dunawt	Duna\vt
Cunedu	Kunedu Wledig	Cunadu Wledic

Supporting Material

Table A.4.7.3: The Rhos pedigree

HG 3	LIIG 44	JC 39
[H]iguel	Howel Varyf Fehinawg	Howel
Caratauc	Karadawg	Cradaŵc
Meriaun	Meiriawn	Meirchaŵn
	Howel	Howel
Rumaun	Rufawn	Runyaŵn
Enniaun	Eignion	Einyaŵn
Ytigoy[n]	Idgwin	Idwin
Catgual Crisban	Katwal Krys Halawc	Cadwall
Cangan	Aedan	
Meic	Maig	Meic
		Ewein
Cinglas	Kynglas Koch	Cenlas
Eugein Dantguin	Ewein Danwyn	Ewein Danwyn
Enniaun Girt	Einyon Yrth	Einyaŵn Yrth
Cunedā	Kunedā Wledig	Cunedā Wledic

Table A.4.7.4: The Rhufoniog pedigree

HG 20	LIIG 45	JC 46
[?]mor	Mor	Amor
Moriud	Morud	Morith
Ædan	Aedan	Aidan
Mor	Mor	Mor
Brechiall	Breichiawl	Brochuael
		Kunedā Wledic

Appendix A.5.1: *Cyprius quidam filius Ieuan and its Relatives*

The table below shows that the text beginning *Cyprius quidam filius Ieuan*, as found in Exeter 3514 and related manuscripts, was reproduced in English royal genealogies in the fifteenth century and was translated into Welsh for the second part of the final section of *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec*. The material common to all these texts appears in the same order, with the exception that in *Cyprius quidam filius Ieuan* the descendants of Ylus are described before the descendants of Assaracus, whereas in the other two texts the order has been reversed.

The Latin text of *Cyprius quidam filius Ieuan* has been taken from Exeter 3514, and is printed in the first column. Variants from the other three witnesses have been noted only when they may have a bearing upon the relationships between *Cyprius quidam filius Ieuan* and the other texts in the table. I owe much of my knowledge of these other witnesses to Georgia Henley, who is conducting research on these manuscripts. The following sigla have been used for the witnesses to *Cyprius quidam filius Ieuan*:

- E: Exeter 3514, pp. 56b–57a.
- T: TCD 515, ff. 10vb–11ra.
- C: Cardiff 2.611, ff. 9r–9v.
- D: Notre Dame cod. Lat. d. 3, ff. 13r–13v.

The central column gives some of the text that appears near the beginning of many fifteenth-century English royal genealogies. The base text has been taken from Bodley Rolls 10 (N), which is representative of the Noah genealogies. Variants have been added from Bodley Rolls 7 (R), which is representative of the Roger of St Albans genealogies. Note 200 shows that the English royal genealogies share a significant variant reading with manuscripts TCD of *Cyprius quidam filius Ieuan* against E and *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec*. Note 217 similarly shows closer agreement between the English royal genealogies and TC, this time against ED. Since C is otherwise frequently idiosyncratic, this suggests that the archetype of the English royal genealogies drew on a version of *Cyprius quidam filius Ieuan* most similar to that in T.

The Peniarth 20 text of *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* has been taken from Thomas Jones's *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec*, pp. 62–3. The variants show that *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* was not translated directly from any of the extant witnesses to *Cyprius quidam filius Ieuan*. *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* does not reproduce the omission in E noticed in note 214. On the other hand, at note 207 only E preserves the Latin text that seems to underlie *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec*. Similarly, note 200, as already mentioned, shows a variant present in TCD that seems to be absent from both E and *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec*. On balance, it seems probable that this section of *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* was translated from a text similar to, but not identical with, that preserved in E. The variant noticed at note 197, where *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* seems to share the correct reading *Cetim* with D against the incorrect reading *Ieuan* in ETC, should probably be ignored; this genealogical error could have been twice rectified independently using the correct genealogy that appears at the end of *Cyprius quidam filius Ieuan* in three of the four witnesses (ETD).

Supporting Material

Table A.5.1.1: Texts corresponding to Cyprius quidam filius Ieuan

<i>Cyprius quidam filius Ieuan</i>	English royal genealogy	<i>Y Bibyl Ynghymraec</i>
		Y Japhet vab Noe y bu vab a elwit Javan vab Japhet. Ac y hwnnw y bu vab, Cetim vab Jauan.
[C]yprius quidam filius Ieuan ¹⁹⁷	Iste Ciprius	Ac y hwnnw y bu vab, Ciprius vab Cetim.
in Cipro insula primus regnauit.	in insula Cipro primus regnauit.	A hwnnw gyntaf a wledychawd yn Ciprys ynys, ac a henwis yr ynys y wrth y henw ehun. A mab y hwnnw vv Selus ap Ciprius.
A quo Cipro Cretus genitus est,	A quo Cipro ¹⁹⁸ Cretus genitus est,	A mab y hwnnw vv Cretus vab Selus.
de cuius nomine Creta insula uocata est ¹⁹⁹ , quia ibidem ²⁰⁰ monarchiam tenuit.	de cuius nomine Creta insula nominata est, qui ibi primus monarchiam tenuit.	A hwnnw a orysgynnawd Creta, ynys a chann dinas yndi, ac a henwis yr ynys heuyt o'y henw ehun.
Cretus Celium genuit.		
Celius Saturnum.		A mab y hwnnw vv Saturnus vab Cretus.
Saturnus Iouem.		A mab y hwnnw vv Jupiter vab Saturnus.
Iupiter duas ²⁰¹ accepit uxores, scilicet Maïam ²⁰² et Electram, Athalantis regis filias,		Ac y hwnnw y bu dwy wraged, nyt amgen, Maia, merch vrenhin Groec, ac Electra, merch vrenhin yr Affric.
a quo Mons Athlas nominatur, qui eciam celum propter altitudinem dicitur sustentare.		
Genuit Iupiter Mercurium ex Maïa,	Iypiter ²⁰³ ex Maïa ²⁰⁴ regis Athlantis filia genuit Mercurium,	O'r Maïa y bu vab ydaw, Mercurius vab Jupiter.
		Ac o hwnnw y disgynnawd etiuedyaeth Groec.
et Dardanum ex Electra.	et ex Electra eiusdem regis Athlantis ²⁰⁵ filia genuit Dardanum.	Ac o'r Electra y bu vab ydaw Dardan vab Jupiter.
Fuit autem apud Maïam maior amor ²⁰⁶ , et filium eius magis amauit ²⁰⁷ .		Ac o achaws bot yn vwy y karei Iupiter Maïa a'y mab noc Electra a'y mab

¹⁹⁷ ETC; Cetim D.

¹⁹⁸ N; Ciprio R.

¹⁹⁹ uocata est E; est vocata TCD.

²⁰⁰ TCD add primus.

²⁰¹ ETD; – C.

²⁰² scilicet Maïam E; Maïam scilicet TD; Mayam C.

²⁰³ N; Iste Iupiter R.

²⁰⁴ N; Maïga R.

²⁰⁵ N; – R.

²⁰⁶ Fuit autem apud Maïam maior amor E; Fuit autem apud Maïam amor maior TD; – C.

²⁰⁷ et filium eius magis amauit E; quam apud filium T; – C; et filius D.

<i>Cyprius quidam filius Ieuan</i>	English royal genealogy	<i>Y Bibyl Ynghymraec</i>
<Dardanus> ²⁰⁸ uero, ex responso deorum ²⁰⁹ locum mutans ab Ytalia per Traciam, Samo delatus est, quam Samotraciam nominauit.	Dardanus ²¹⁰ ex responso deorum ²¹¹ locum mutans	y sores Dardan, ac yr edewis y wlat honno,
<i>Et inde ad Frigiam deuenit, quam Dardaniam nuncupauit</i> ²¹² .	venit ad Ffrigiam quam Dardanam ²¹³ nuncupauit.	ac y gorysgynnawd y wlat a henwis o'y henw ehun Dardania.
Ex quo Dardano <natus est Erictonius,		A mab y hwnnw vv Ericonius vab Dardan.
<i>qui in eisdem locis regnauit.</i>		
Ex Erictonio> ²¹⁴ Trus ²¹⁵ ,	In qua Troius uel Tros ²¹⁶ filius Erictonii	A mab y hwnnw vv Tros ap Ericonius.
<i>qui in iusticia et pietate laudabilis fuit.</i>	iusticia et pietate laudibilis.	
Isque, ut sui ²¹⁷ memoriam faceret ²¹⁸ ,	Vt ibi nominis sui memoriam faceret,	
eternam ²¹⁹ Troiam condidit, et eam a suo nomine nominari fecit.	eternam Troiam condidit.	A hwnnw a edeilawd Troya, ac a'y henwis o'y henw ehun.
Iipse ²²⁰ duos filios genuit, Ylum scilicet ²²¹ et Assaracum ²²² .	Iste Tros uel ²²³ Troius genuit duos filios: habuit ²²⁴ scilicet Ilium et Assaracum.	Ac y hwnnw y bu deu vab, nyt amgen, Ylus vab Tros ac Assaracus vab Tros.
[see below]	De Assaraco venerunt imperatores romanorum et reges britonum,	Mab y Assaracus vv Capis. A mab y hwnnw vv Eneas Ysgwydwyyn. Ac am hwnnw a'y etiued y traethir yn <i>Ystorya [y] Brut</i> .
Ylus uero post patrem regnauit atque municipium ciuitatis ²²⁵ condidit, et a suo nomine Ylium ²²⁶ uocauit.	de Ilio reges Troie.	Ylus vab Trios a vv vrenhin Troya, ac a edeilawd Ylium dinas, ac a'y henwis o'y henw ehun.
A quo Ylo Laomedon natus est,		Ac y hwnnw y bu vab Laomedon vab Ylus.

²⁰⁸ TCD; Dardarius E.

²⁰⁹ ETD; – C.

²¹⁰ N; Iste Dardanus R.

²¹¹ R adds *suorum*.

²¹² *quam dardaniam nuncupauit* ETD; – C.

²¹³ N; Dardaniam R.

²¹⁴ TCD; – E.

²¹⁵ E; Troius T; Trouis C; Tros D.

²¹⁶ *uel Tros* N; – R.

²¹⁷ TC add *nominis*.

²¹⁸ ETD; – C.

²¹⁹ C adds *daret*.

²²⁰ C adds *Troius*.

²²¹ ETD; – C.

²²² ETD; Assarcum C.

²²³ Tros *uel* N; – R.

²²⁴ N; – R.

²²⁵ *municipium ciuitatis* ETD; in *municipium ciuitatem* C.

²²⁶ ETC; Ylum D.

Supporting Material

<i>Cyprius quidam filius Ieuan</i>	English royal genealogy	<i>Y Bibyl Ynghymraec</i>
<p><i>qui in Troia ab Hercule expugnatur.</i></p> <p>Laomedon Priamum,</p> <p>Ysiphilum, Troilum, Uoscontem, <i>et filiam</i> Esionem genuit.</p> <p>Priamus Hectorem, Alexandrum Paudem, Deiphevum, Helenum, Troilum, Politem, Amphunacum, <i>et filias</i> Cassandram <i>et</i> Polixenam <i>procreauit.</i></p> <p>Assaracus filius Troi, frater Iuli, genuit Capim. Capis Anchisem. Anchises Eneam [...]</p>	<p>English royal genealogy</p> <p>Iste Anchises genuit Eneam ex Venere.</p>	<p><i>Y Bibyl Ynghymraec</i></p> <p>Ac y hwnnw y bu vab Priaf, vrenhin Troya.</p> <p>Ac am hwnnw a'y etiued y traethir yn <i>Ystorya Daret.</i> Ac velly y teruyna y Bibyl.</p> <p>[see above]</p>

Appendix A.5.2: The Fifteenth-Century Extended Galfridian Pedigree

The table below compares five versions of the descent from Brutus to Beli Mawr, going forwards in time. Since the twelfth century, Welsh genealogists had been content to follow Geoffrey of Monmouth's version of the descent from Brutus only to Gurgustius (Grwst) and Sisyllus (Seisyll/Seirioel), the latter being the first king whose relationship to the preceding dynasty Geoffrey had failed to specify. In the second half of the fifteenth century, an attempt was made, possibly by Gutun Owain, to incorporate into the pedigree many more of Geoffrey's kings between Brutus and Beli Mawr. *Brut y Brenhinedd* was the primary source for this endeavour, though the original Latin version of Geoffrey's text seems also to have been consulted at one stage.

The first and second columns in the table list the relationships that are specified in two versions of *Brut y Brenhinedd*: the thirteenth-century *Brut Dingestow* (from the edition by Henry Lewis) and the fifteenth-century Black Book of Basingwerk, written by Gutun Owain and an older contemporary.²²⁷ Where the texts do not explain the relationships in a succinct way, the implied patronymic is provided in circular brackets.

The fourth and fifth columns present the version of the descent found in Hawarden D/LE 1389, a pedigree roll in the hand of Gutun Owain. The fourth column gives the agnatic descent from Locrinus, and the fifth column gives the agnatic descent from Kamber. Further down, the fourth column is also used to show the brief line descending from Seisyll to Porex/Fferex. Because the pedigree roll distinguishes carefully between succession and filiation, it may be assumed, unless otherwise noted, that each person listed in these two columns of the table is specified by the roll to be the offspring of the person in the row above. An almost identical genealogy, albeit one that is less careful to distinguish between succession and filiation in its roundels, is found in a codex in Gutun Owain's hand (NLW 3026C, pp. 63–85); the names in the codex have been collated with those in the roll that are listed in the table, but no significant variants were identified.²²⁸

The third and sixth columns list the names from the two earliest extant versions of this pedigree in prose format, both of which are found in manuscripts of the second half of the fifteenth century, Peniarth 27ii and Peniarth 131iii (in Gutun Owain's hand). Peniarth 27ii (third column) is likely to represent an early version of the extended Galfridian pedigree, whereas Peniarth 131iii (sixth column) seems to have been influenced by a genealogical roll similar to Hawarden D/LE 1389. In the third column, one variant reading has been added from Ieuan ap Madog ap Rhys's Peniarth 131ii, page 41; otherwise, this section of the pedigree in Peniarth 131ii is almost identical to the version in Peniarth 27ii. In the sixth column, variants have been added from a version of the same pedigree found in Gutun Owain's redaction of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies (LIIG (GO) G1.2). Although this section of Gutun Owain's Rylands Welsh 1 is not extant, it is preserved in two derivative manuscripts, Peniarth 129 and Peniarth 75. Some readings from LIIG (GO) G1.2 have been added directly to the sixth column in angular brackets, where it seems that Peniarth 131iii has omitted names accidentally.

²²⁷ I have consulted the digitized version of the manuscript available at <<https://www.library.wales/discover/digital-gallery/manuscripts/the-middle-ages/black-book-of-basingwerk>> [accessed 15 August 2019].

²²⁸ For NLW 3026C, see Chapter 5 above, p. 260 and n. 146.

Supporting Material

Table A.5.2.1: The fifteenth-century extended Galfridian pedigree, Brutus to Beli Mawr

<i>Brut Dingestow</i>	Black Book of Basingwerk	Peniarth 27ii, pp. 88–9	Hawarden D/ LE 1389	Hawarden D/ LE 1389 (Cernyw)	Peniarth 131iii, p. 77
Brutus	Brutus	Brvtvs	Brutus Tywysoc Rufain		Brvtvs dywysoc Rruvain
Locrinus (v. Brutus)	Locrinus (v. Brutus)	Lokrinvs	Locrinus	Kamber	Lokrinvs
Madavc (v. Locrinus)	Madawc vab Locrinus	Madoc	Madoc	Gorbwyniawn	Madoc
Membyr (v. Madavc)	Mymbyr (v. Madawc)	Mymbyr	Membyr	Dyfnwal Hen	Membyr
Euravc y uab	Efracw y vab	Evrawc Kadarn	Efroc Kadarn	Bleiddid	Efroc Kadarn
Brutus Taryan Las y mab hynaf ydav	Brutus Darian Las i vab ynteu	Brvtvs Darian Las	Brutus Darian Las	Asser	Brudtus Darian Las
Lleon y uab	Lleon i vab	Lleon	Lleon	Kyngen	Lleon
Run Paladyr Bras (m. Lleon)	Run Baladyr Bras y uab ynteu	Rvn Rvd Baladr	Rvn Baladr Bras		Rrvn ²²⁹
Bleidud y uab	Bleidut i vab	Bleiddvd	Bleiddudd		Bleiddud
Llyr y uab	Llyr i uab ynteu	Lyr	Llyr		Lyr ²³⁰
Ragav (v. Lyr) = Henwyn yarll Kernyv	Regeu y verch = Henwin tywyssawc Keirnyw	Rrogav	Regev =	Henwyn tywysoc Kerniw	Rregaŵ
Kuneda vab Henwyn	Cuneda uab Henwyn	Kvnedda		Kvnedda	Kvnedda
Riwallavn y vab	Riwallawn i uab	Rriwallawn		Riwallonn	Rriwallon
Gorvsst	Gorwst y vab ynteu	Grwst		Gorwst	Grwst
Seisill	Seisill uab Gorwst	Seisyllt		Seisillt	Seisill
Yago uab Gorust y nei ynteu	Iago nei Gorwst	Antikonvs	Iago (ap Seisillt)	Antonius twysoc Kerniw	Antoniŵs
Kynuarch uab Seissill	Kynvarch uab Seisill	Aydd Mawr	Kynvarch (ap Seisillt)	Aedd Mawr twysoc Kerniw	Aedd Mawr
Goronvy Dygu	Gwruiw Dygu y uab ynteu	Prydain	Gwruiw Dygŵ	Prydain twysoc Kerniw	Prydain
Porrex/Feruex (v. Goronvy Dygu)	Fferuex/Porrex (v. Gwruiw)	Dyfnarth	Porex/Fferex	Diofnvarch twysoc Kerniw	Dyfnvarch
		Kyrdon Kerwyd Kuyd			Kyrdon Kerwyd Enid

²²⁹ Rvn Baladr Bras LIIG (GO) G1.2.

²³⁰ Lyr Rudd LIIG (GO) G1.2.

Medieval Welsh Genealogy

<i>Brut Dingestow</i>	Black Book of Basingwerk	Peniarth 27ii, pp. 88–9	Hawarden D/ LE 1389	Hawarden D/ LE 1389 (Cernyw)	Peniarth 131iii, p. 77
Clydno tywysawc Kernyw	Dodiein tywysawc Keirnyw	Dodyon ²³¹		Klydno brenin Kernyw	Klydno
Dyuyunwal Moel Mut mab Clydno	Dyfynwal Moyl Mud uab Dodieni tywysawc Keirnyw	Dyfnwal Moyl Mvd		Dyfnwal Moel Mvd brenin yr ynys oll	Dyfnwal Moel Mvd
Beli (m. Dyuyunwal)	Beli (v. Dyfynwal)	Beli		Beli	Beli
Gvrgant Varyftvrch y uab	Gwrgant Varyf Drwch i uab ynteu	Gwrgant Varfdwrch		Gwrgan Varyfdwrch	Gwrgan Varyfdwrch
Kuhelyn y uab Seisill (m. Kuhelyn)	Kuhelyn i uab Seisill (v. Kuhelyn)	Kyhelyn Seisyllt		Kvhelyn Seisillt	Kvhelyn Seisill
Dan (m. Seissill)	Dan (v. Seisill)	Dan		Dan	Dan
Morud y uab	Morud i uab ynteu	Morvd		Morudd ap Dan	Morudd
Elidir War (m. Morud)	Elidir War (v. Morud)	Elidir		Elidir y trydydd mab	Elidir War
Gereint uab Elidir	Gereint uab Elidir War	Geraint		Geraint ap Elidir	Geraint
Kadell y uab ynteu	Cadell uab Gereint	Kadell		Kadell i vab ynte	Kadell
Coel Porrex	Coel uab Cadell Porrex uab Coel Cheryn uab Porrex	Koyl Porx Keryn		Koel i vab ynte Porex vab Koel Cheryn	Koel Porex Kerryon
Andryv (v. Porrex)	Andreu uab Cherin	Andro		Andro a hiliodd	Andryw
Vryen uab Andryv	Vrien uab Andrew	Vrien		Vrien ap Andro	Vrien
Elvyt	Ithel uab Vrien	Ithel		Ithel ap Vrien	Ithel
Clydave	Kylydauc i uab ynte	Klydawc		Clydawc ap Ithel	Klydawc
Clydno	Klytno y vab ynteu	Klydno		Clydno i vab	<Klydno> ²³²
Gorvst	Gorwst i uab ynteu	Gwrwst		Grwst i vab ynte	Grwst
Meiryavn	Meiryawn y uab ynteu	Meiriawn		Meirion ap Grwst	Meirion
Bleidud	Bleidut y uab ynteu	Bleiddvd		Bleiddvdd i vab	Bleiddudd

²³¹ Dodiaw Peniarth 131ii.

²³² LIIG (GO) G1.2; – Peniarth 131iii.

Supporting Material

<i>Brut Dingestow</i>	Black Book of Basingwerk	Peniarth 27ii, pp. 88–9	Hawarden D/ LE 1389	Hawarden D/ LE 1389 (Cernyw)	Peniarth 131iii, p. 77
Caph	Caph i uab ynteu	Kaph ²³³		Kaff i vab ynte	Kaff
Ewein	Ewein uab Caph			Owain ap Kaff	Ywain
Seissill	Seisill y uab ynteu	Seisyll		Seisillt ap Owain	Seisill
Blegyvryt	Blegywrit			Blegowryd i vab	Blegowryd ²³⁴
Arthmael	Arthuael i urawt	Arthvayl		Arthavael ap Seisillt	Arthavael
Eidol	Eidol i uab	Eidol		Eidol vab hwnnw	<Eidol
Rydyon	Rydeon uab Eidol	Rrydion		Rydion vab Eidol	Rydion
Ryderch	Ryderch i uab ynteu	Rrydderch		Rydderch	Rydderch
Sawyl Ben Yssel	Sawl i vab yntev	Sawl Bennisel		Sawl Bennisel	Sawl Benisel
Pyrr	Pyrr (ap Sawl)	Pyr		Pyrr	Pyrr ^{>235}
Capoyrr	Kapoir nev Pabo ²³⁶	Kerwyd		Pabo ne Kapoir	Pabo ²³⁷
Manogan y uab ynteu	Mynogan ap Kapoir ap Pyrr ap Sawl ap Rydderch	Manogan		Mynogan	Mynogan
Beli Mavr y uab ynteu	Bei Mawr i vab yntav	Beli Mawr		Beli Mawr	Beli Mawr
		[...] Marchvd		[...] Marchudd	
		[...] Ywain ap Maredvd		[...] [incomplete]	

²³³ Like Peniarth 27ii, Peniarth 131ii omits Owain after Caff.

²³⁴ – LIIG (GO) G1.2.

²³⁵ LIIG (GO) G1.2; – Peniarth 131iii.

²³⁶ There is no equivalent to ‘nev Pabo’ in Cleopatra B. v, part i.

²³⁷ Kapoyr LIIG (GO) G1.2.

APPENDIX B: EDITIONS

Appendix B.1: The St Davids Recension

The text below is an attempt to recreate the St Davids recension of the Gwynedd collection of genealogies as it might have existed in St Davids in the tenth century. Out of necessity, the text is based on the Harleian genealogies, supplemented and corrected by the other partial witnesses to the St Davids recension discussed in Chapter 2. The sigla employed are as follows:

- C: The St Cadog genealogies (ed. and transl. *VSBG* 116–19).
- D: *Vita secunda sancti Carantoci*, §§1–3 (ed. and transl. *VSBG* 148–9).
- G: Geoffrey of Monmouth, *De gestis Britonum* (ed. and transl. Reeve and Wright).
- H: The Harleian genealogies (ed. Phillimore).
- Q: *Vita sancti Gurthierni*, §§1–4 (ed. Maître and de Berthou, *Cartulaire*, p. 42).
- W: *De antiquitate Glastonie ecclesie*, §4 (ed. and transl. Scott, pp. 52–3).

Since all of the witnesses aside from H are fragmentary, witnessing only parts of the text, the silence of the apparatus can never be assumed to indicate agreement across multiple witnesses. Variants are provided if the alternative witnesses present forms that are different to the forms in the Harleian genealogies, except when the differences arise from minor orthographical variation. For example, in §1 the variants *Amgoloit* (C) and *Amguoloid* (D) for *Amguoloyt* (H) are not noted, whereas *Oumun* (H) and *Omnid* (D) for *Oumiud* (C) are noted. In any given footnote, all witnesses available for that part of the text are quoted.

Any emendations to the base text of the Harleian genealogies are placed in angular brackets < > if taken from an extant witness, or square brackets [] if provided by the editor. Speculative emendations have been attributed to the people who suggested them. Since some variants have been taken from editions rather than directly from the manuscripts, abbreviations have been expanded silently; only the problematic abbreviations receive comment in the footnotes. The section numbering of previous editors of the Harleian genealogies has been maintained. The folio numbers provided in square brackets are the folio numbers of Harley 3859.

[Harley 3859, f. 193rc]

[§1] [O]uen map [H]iguel map Catell map Rotri map Mermin map Ethil merch [193va] Cinnan map Rotri map Iutgual map Catguala[tr]¹ map Catgollaun map Catman map Iacob map Beli map Run map Mailcun map Catgolaun [L]auhir² map Eniaun Girt map Cuneda map Ætern map Patern Pesrut³ map Tacit map Cein⁴ map Guorcein⁵ map Doli map Guordoli map Dumn⁶ map Guordumn⁷ map Amguoloyt map Amguerit⁸ map <Oumiud>⁹ map Dubun map Brithguein map Eugene map Aballac¹⁰ map Amalech¹¹, qui fuit Beli Magni filius et Anna mater eius, quam dicunt¹² esse <consobrinam>¹³ Mariae uirginis matris Domini nostri Iesu Christi.

[§2] [O]uein map [H]elen merc [L]oumarc¹⁴ map Himeyt [193vb] map Tancoys[tl]¹⁵ merc Ouein map Margetiut map Teudos map Regin map Catgocaun map Cathen map Cloten map Nougoy map Arthur map Petr map Cincar map Gourtepir map Aircol map Triphun map Clotri map Gloitguin¹⁶ map Nimet map Dimet map Maxim Gule[t]ic¹⁷ map Protec map Protector map Ebiud map Eliud map Stater map Pincr Misser map Constans map Constantini magni map Constantii et Helen Lui[t]dauc¹⁸, que de Britannia exiuit ad crucem Christi querendam usque ad Ierusalem, et inde attulit secum usque ad Con[193vc]stantinopolin, et est ibi usque in hodiernum diem.

[§3] [H]iguel map Caratauc map Meriaun map Rumaun map Enniaun map Ytigoy[n]¹⁹ map Catgual Crisban map Cangan map Meic map Cinglas map Eugene Dantguin ap Enniaun Girt map Cuneda.

[§4] [I]udgual map Tutagual map Anara[u]²⁰ map Mermin map Anthec map Tutagual map Run map Neithon map Senill map Dinacat map Tutagual map Eidinet map Anthun map Maxim Guletic, qui occidit Gratianum regem Romanorum.

[§5] [R]un map Arthgal map Dumnagual map Riderch map Eugene map Dumnagual [194ra] map Teudebur map Beli map Elfin map Eugene map Beli map Neithon map Guipno map Dumnagual Hen map Cinuit map Ceritic Guletic map Cynloyp map Cinhil map Cluim map Cursalem²¹ map Fer map Confer. Ipse est uero [qui]²² o litauc di mor meton uenditus²³ est.

¹ Catgualart H.

² Iauhir H.

³ H; Peis Rudauc C; Pes Rudauc D.

⁴ H; Ceint C; Kein D.

⁵ H; Guorceng C; Guorchein D.

⁶ H; Dubn C; Domn D.

⁷ Gurdū H; Guordubn C; Guordomn D. Cf. Phillimore, '*Annales Cambriae*', p. 170, n. 3.

⁸ Āguerit H; Anguerit C; Amguerit D. The nasal contraction in H should arguably be expanded to *Am-* rather than *An-*: see above, p. 37, n. 174.

⁹ C; Oumū H; Omnid D. Cf. Omid *VS David*, §68; Eimet JC 6; Ennot *GM* 2; Onnet *VGC* §3; etc.

¹⁰ H; Baallad C; Aballach D.

¹¹ H; Aballach C; Canalech D.

¹² C adds periti.

¹³ CDQ; consobrina H.

¹⁴ Ioumarc H.

¹⁵ Tancoyslt H.

¹⁶ H. Cf. Gloigin G; Gletwin LIIG 38.1. These variants show that the erroneous *G* for *C* was already present in the St Davids recension.

¹⁷ Gulecic H.

¹⁸ Luicdauc H. Emendation suggested by Phillimore, '*Annales Cambriae*', p. 171, n. 7.

¹⁹ Ytigoy H. Cf. Idwin JC 39; Idgwin LIIG 44.

²⁰ Anarant H.

²¹ Cursalē H. It is uncertain whether the nasal contraction at the end of this word should be expanded as *-en* or *-em*, but cf. Cursalem G.

²² – H. Cf. §25.

²³ Loth suggested that *uenditus* could be an error for *uentus*: '*Une généalogie*', p. 182, n. 3.

[§6] [R]iderch Hen map Tutagual map Clinoch map Dum[n]gual Hen.

[§7] [Clitgno]¹ Eitin map Cinbeli[n]² map Dumngual Hen.

[§8] [U]rbgen map Cinmarc map Merchia[un]³ map Gurgust map Coil Hen.

[§9] [G]uallauc map Laenauc [194rb] map Masguic Clop map Ceneu map Coyl Hen.

[§10] [M]orcant map Coledauc map Morcant Bulc map Cincar braut map⁴ Bran Hen map Dumngual Moilmut map Garbaniaun map Coyl Hen map⁵ Guotepauc map Tecmant map Teuhant map Telpuil⁶ map Vrbān map Grat map <Rimetel>⁷ map Ritigirn map Oudecant map Outigir[n]⁸ map Ebiud map Eudos map Eudelen⁹ map Aballac¹⁰ [map]¹¹ [Amalech]¹² map Beli et Anna.

[§11] [D]unaut [194rc] map Pappo map Ceneu map Coyl Hen.

[§12] [G]urci ha Peretur mepion Eleuther Cascordmaur map Letlum map Ceneu map Coyl Hen.

[§13] [T]riphun map Regin map Morgetiud map Teudos map Regin.

[§14] [R]egin, Iudon, [Ouein]¹³ tres filii Morgetiud sunt.

[§15] [G]ripiud, Teudos, Caten tres sunt filii Nougoy, et Sanant, Elized [regis Pouis]¹⁴ filia, illorum mater erat.

[§16] [R]un map Neithon map Caten map Caurtam map Serguan map Letan¹⁵ map Catleu map Catel map Decion map Cinis Scaplaut map Lou Hen map Guidgen map Caratauc map Cinbelin map Teuhant map Constantis¹⁶ [194va] map Constantini magni map Constantini¹⁷ map Galerii map Diocletiani, qui persecutus est Christianos¹⁸ toto mundo¹⁹. In tempore illius²⁰ passi sunt beati martires in Brittannia Albanus, Iulianus, <Aaron>²¹ cum aliis compluribus. Map Caroci map Probi map Titti map Auriliani map Antun Du et²² Cleopatre map Valeriani map Galli map Decius Mus map

¹ linog H. Emendation suggested by Phillimore, 'Errata, &c., in vol. ix', p. 248.

² Cinbelim H. Cf. §16. The final *m* probably resulted from an incorrect expansion of a nasal abbreviation.

³ Merchianū H.

⁴ Possibly erroneous.

⁵ HC. Although this *map* may be erroneous, the evidence suggests that it was present in the St Davids recension.

⁶ H; Teilpuill C.

⁷ C; Iumetel H. Cf. Rivedeli *VGC* §3; Rifedyl LIIG 11.1.4.

⁸ Outigir H; Outigirun C.

⁹ H; Oudolenn C.

¹⁰ H; Baallad C.

¹¹ – H; cf. genuit C.

¹² – H; Aballach C. Cf. Amalech *Buchedd Beuno*, §23 (ed. Sims-Williams, p. 153); Aphlech JC 5; Amalech *GM* 1; Aflechi *VGC* §3; Aflech LIIG 11.1.4; Analech Exeter 3514 (Thornton, 'Neglected Genealogy', p. 11).

¹³ iOuem H.

¹⁴ In H, *regis Pouis* appears after *erat*. Emendation suggested by Dumville, 'Late-Seventh- or Eighth-Century Evidence', pp. 48–9.

¹⁵ Letā H. It is uncertain whether the nasal contraction at the end of this word should be expanded as *-an* or *-am*.

¹⁶ H; Constantii C.

¹⁷ map Constantini H; – C.

¹⁸ C adds in.

¹⁹ H; orbe C.

²⁰ tempore illius H; illius enim cronico (*glossed* i. tempore) C. *Cronicus* is used in C, somewhat unusually, to mean 'time, age'. The closest meaning given in *DMLBS* s.v. *chronicus* is 'concerned with temporal events'. 'Chronicle' is a far more common meaning of *chronicus*; presumably this is what prompted the explanatory gloss.

²¹ C; Aron H. Cf. *LL* 26 and 225; J. R. Davies, 'Old Testament Personal Names', p. 191.

²² Antun Du et H; – C.

Philippus map Gordianus map <Maximus>¹ map Alaxander map Aurilianus map <Maucanus>² map Antonius map Seuerus map Moebus map Commodius map Antonius map <Adrianus>³ map Troianus map Nero, sub quo passi sunt beati apostoli Domini nostri Iesu Christi, Petri [194vb] et Pavli, map Domitianus map Titus map Vespasianus map Claudius [map]⁴ <Gaius>⁵ map Tiberius, sub quo passus est Dominus noster Iesus Christus, [map]⁶ Octauianus [map]⁷ Augusti Cessar. In tempore illius natus est Dominus noster Iesus Christus.

[§17] [Cuhelin]⁸ map Bleydiud map Caratauc map Iouanaul map Eiciaun map Brochmail map Ebiau[n] map Popdelgu map Popgen map Isaac map Ebaiu[n] map Mouric map Dinacat map Ebiau[n] map Dunaut map Cunedu.

[§18] [C]inan map Brochmail map Iutnimet map Egeniud map Brocmail map Sualda map Iudris map [Gueithno]⁹ map [Clitno]¹⁰ map Guurgint [194vc] Barmb Truch map [Catgualatr]¹¹ map Meriaun map Cunedu.

[§19] [C]atguallaun Liu map Guitcun map Samuil Pennissel map Pappo Post Priten map Ceneu map G[o]yl Hen.

[§20] [A]mor¹² map Moriud map Ædan map Mor map Brechiaul.

[§21] [M]eriaun map Loudogu.¹³

[§22] [S]elim map Cinan map Brocmayl map Cincen map Maucan[n]¹⁴ map Pascent map Cattegirn map Catel [Durnluc]¹⁵.

[§23] [?]jesselis map Gurhaiern[n]¹⁶ map Elbodgu map Cinnin map Millo map Camuir map Brittu map Cattegirn map Catell.

[§24] [S]elim map Iouab map Guitgen map Bodug map [Carantmail]¹⁷ map Cerennior map Ermic map Ecrin.

[§25] [I]udnerth map Morgen [195ra] map Catgur map Catmor map Merguid map [Morniuet]¹⁸ map Morhen¹⁹ map Morcant map Botan map Morgen map Mormayl²⁰ map Glast; unum sunt Glastenic, qui uenerunt [a ciuitate]²¹ que uocatur Loyt Coyt.

¹ C; Alaximus H.

² C; Mapmau Cannus H.

³ C; Adiuuandus H.

⁴ – H; cf. genuit C.

⁵ C; – H.

⁶ – H; cf. genuit C.

⁷ – H; cf. genuit C.

⁸ uhelm H.

⁹ Gueinoth H. Cf. Gwethyno LIIG 42; Guy, ‘Second Witness’, pp. 87–90.

¹⁰ Glitnoth H. Cf. Clyno LIIG 42; Guy, ‘Second Witness’, pp. 87–90.

¹¹ Gatgular H.

¹² Cf. Anor G; Amor JC 46.

¹³ This pedigree may have been more like LIIG 41 in the St Davids recension; see Guy, ‘Second Witness’, pp. 86–7.

¹⁴ Maucanu H.

¹⁵ Dunluc H. Emendation suggested by Phillimore, ‘*Annales Cambriae*’, p. 179, n. 6.

¹⁶ Gurhaieru H.

¹⁷ Canatitinaul H. Emendation suggested by Phillimore, ‘*Annales Cambriae*’, p. 180, n. 3. Note that Phillimore printed *Canantinail*.

¹⁸ Moriutned H; Moruined W. Cf. Mornvyet LIIG 39.

¹⁹ H; Morehel W. Cf. Moraeth LIIG 39.

²⁰ H; Mortineil W. Cf. – LIIG 39.

²¹ – H. Cf. o Gaer LIIG 39. Of the various suggestions for the missing words, I have selected Bradley’s

- [§26] [G]uocaun map Mouric map Dumnguallaun map Arthgen map Seissil map Clitauc map Artgloys map Artbodgu map Bodgu map Serguil map Iusay map Ceretic map Cuneda.
- [§27] '[C]incen map Catel map Brocmayl map Elitet map Guilauc map Eli map Eliud map Cincen map Brocmail map Cinan [195rb] map Maucant map Pascent map Cattegr[n] map Catel map Selemiaun.
- [§28] [I]udhail map Atroys map Fernmail map Iudhail map Morcant map Atroys² map Teudubric.
- [§29] [B]rocmail map Mouric map Artmail³ map Ris map Iudhail map Morcant.
- [§30] [M]aun, Artan, Iouab, Meic: filii Grippi⁴ filii Elized.
- [§31] [E]lized, Ioab, Ædan: filii Cincen filii Brocmail filii Elized.
- [§32] [H]ec sunt nomina filiorum Cuneda quorum numerus erat .ix.. Typipaun⁵ primogenitus, qui mortuus <fuit>⁶ in⁷ regione que uocatur⁸ Manau Guodotin, et non uenit huc cum patre suo et cum fratribus suis⁹. <Sed>¹⁰ [195rc] Meriaun filius eius diuisit possessiones <patris sui>¹¹ inter fratres suos: .ii. Osmail¹² .iii. Rumaun¹³ .iiii. Dunaut¹⁴ .v. Ceretic .vi. Abloyc¹⁵ .vii. Enniaun Girt .viii. Docmail .ix. Etern.
- [§33] [H]ic est terminus eorum: a flumine quod uocatur Dubr¹⁶ Duiu usque ad aliud flumen <quod uocatur>¹⁷ Tebi¹⁸, et tenuerunt plurimas regiones in occidentali plaga Britannie.

a ciuitate because it most closely renders the sense of LIIG 39: Bradley, 'Etymology', p. 306. Other suggestions include *a regione* (Thurneysen, 'Zu Wilhelm', p. 319); *secus uillam* (Wade-Evans, 'Origin', p. 134); and *per uillam* (EWGT 12). Cf. Thornton, 'Glastonbury', p. 197.

¹ H adds Map.

² The words *map Mouric* may have been omitted here: Guy, 'Did the Harleian Genealogies Draw on Archival Sources?', p. 130; Guy, 'Second Witness', pp. 84–5; contrast Sims-Williams, 'Kings', pp. 72 and 79, n. 52 and Sims-Williams, *Book of Llandaf*, pp. 122–4.

³ The St Davids recension may have omitted two generations, Gwriad and Brochfael, between Arthfael and Rhys: compare Guy, 'Did the Harleian Genealogies Draw on Archival Sources?' and Guy, 'Second Witness', p. 84 with Sims-Williams, 'Kings' and Sims-Williams, *Book of Llandaf*, ch. 13.

⁴ For possible emendations, see Guy, 'Earliest Welsh Genealogies', pp. 467–70.

⁵ H; Tipipaun D. This error for *Typiaun* must have already been present in the St Davids recension.

⁶ D; – H.

⁷ H; – D.

⁸ que uocatur H; – D.

⁹ cum patre suo et cum fratribus suis H; pater suus Cuneda et fratres sui D.

¹⁰ D; pre H. The error in H may have been caused by a misreading of an abbreviation for *sed* with a long s.

¹¹ D; – H.

¹² H; Ismael D.

¹³ H; Kumaun D.

¹⁴ H; Dunaun D.

¹⁵ H; Abalach D.

¹⁶ H; Doubyr D.

¹⁷ D; – H.

¹⁸ H; Gvoun D.

Appendix B.2: The Jesus 20 Genealogies

The text has been transcribed directly from the manuscript. In-curling *v* has been transcribed as *l* rather than *w*, because sometimes it stands for /u/ rather than /w/ (e.g. *Ceneb*). Italic type is used to expand abbreviations and bold type is used for rubricated passages. The initial letters of all proper nouns (including epithets) are capitalised, and punctuation is modernised. The layout of the text emulates that in the manuscript: an item is placed on a new line if it begins with a rubricated letter in the manuscript, and lines are left blank between items only when the scribe did the same. Folio numbers are provided, enclosed within square brackets. In order to be consistent with previous editions, Bartrum's section numbering is retained throughout. Inconsistencies in the numbering scheme are noted in the footnotes. Editorial intervention is kept to a minimum: round brackets are used sparingly to indicate a *m.* or a *verch* that has, without doubt, crept into the text inadvertently, and square brackets are used for editorial insertions. No attempt is made to impose on the text substantial emendations of corrupt genealogies. In §§33–34, angular brackets are used to indicate a reading taken from another witness. The sigla employed are as follows:

P: Jesus College 20, ff. 33r–41r (s. xiv/xv).

M: NLW 3042B (Mostyn 134), f. 17r (s. xvii¹).

Earlier editions of the text by Phillimore, Wade-Evans, Bartrum and the *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300–1425* project are listed in Chapter 3.¹ Due to the inaccuracies of these earlier editions, caused partially by the illegibility of certain sections of the text, the footnotes below draw attention to all difficult or uncertain readings.

Note that the king-list of JC 51 has been included in the edition because in the manuscript it follows on from the genealogies without a significant break. Although an eye-skip indicates that the list has been copied as a list from elsewhere, it is not certain when it entered the textual tradition of the Jesus 20 genealogies.²

¹ For a comparison between the present edition and earlier editions, see Guy, 'Medieval Welsh Genealogy' II, 325–34.

² See Appendix A.3.2.

[*Jesus 20, f. 33r*]

[§1] **Llyma'r mod y treythir o ach Kynaŵc Sant:**

Kynaŵc mab Brachan m. Chormuc¹ m. Eurbre Gŷydel o Iwe[r]don. Mam Vrachan oed Marchell merch Teŵdric m. Teidfällt m. Teidtheryn m. Thathal m. Annŵn Du vrenhin Groec.

[§2] **Enweu y meibyon ereill y Vrachan:**

[§2.2]² Drein³ Dremrud m. Brachan.

[§2.3] Clitwin⁴ m. Brachan. Clytaŵc Sant he Dettu Sant meibyon Clytwin.

[§2.4] [A]ttlien⁵ m. Brachan.

[§2.5] Papai m. Brachan.

[§2.6] Kynon mab Brachan.

[§2.7] Ruvann m. Brachan yssyd yn y [lle]⁶ a elwir Manaŵ.

[§2.8] Marchararhun⁷ yg⁸ Keueilyaŵc⁹.

[§2.9] Dindat¹⁰ m. Brachan yn Llanymdyfri. Pascen m. Dingat. Cyblider m. Dingat¹¹.

[§2.10] Berwin m. Brachan yg Kernyŵ.

[§2.11] Reidoc m. Brachan yn Freink¹² yn y lle a elwir Tŵmb Reidoc o'e enŵ ef.

[§3] **Llyma enweu merchet Brachan weithon:**

[§3.1] Gŵladus verch Vrachan, mam Cattŵc Sant.

[§3.2] Ugrngen verch Brachan, gŵreic¹³ Ioroereth Hirblaut.

[§3.3] Marchell verch Brachan, gŵreic¹⁴ Gŵrhyn¹⁵ Bramdrut¹⁶.

[§3.4] Tutlith verch Vrachan yn¹⁷ [33v] Llys Ronŵy yGwlat Vorgan.

[§3.5] Drynwin verch Vrachan mam Vryen [ac] Erduduyŵl gŵynn dorliud¹⁸. Owein m. Vryen a Morud verch Vryen. Gŵrgi a Pheredur ac Arthur Penuchel a Tonlut a Hortuan¹⁹ a Dyrnell, trydyth gwyn dorliud²⁰.

[§3.6] Kyngar verch Vrachan.

[§3.7] Rinhidyr verch Vrachan.

¹ The *m* and *u* of this name appear as five indistinct minims. The *c* is barely distinguishable.

² Bartrum did not use the label '2.1', even though '3.1' is used for the first of Brychan's daughters.

³ The final three minims are indistinct.

⁴ During rubrication, the first *i* was expuncted and a small *y* was placed above it.

⁵ A gap has been left for the missing rubricated initial: cf. Arthen *DSB* 11.4, *CB* 14.4, *LIIG* 1.2.3. Although comparison with the other versions of the Brychan Tract would suggest that this name should be Arthen, I am sure that [A]ttlien is the correct reading of the manuscript (agreeing with Phillimore).

⁶ Cf. §2.11.

⁷ Cf. *Marchaun hun* (*Rhyddiaith Gymraeg*), *Marchara...un* (Bartrum), *Marchar(airj)un* or *Marthar(anh)un* (Wade-Evans), and *Marcharairjun* (Phillimore). The central letters of this word are quite worn and difficult to read. For his first reading, Wade-Evans followed Phillimore, while for his second reading he mostly followed Gwenogvryn Evans, who, in his note on this word (*apud* Phillimore, 'Pedigrees', p. 91), suggested reading *Marcharanhun*. In my opinion, Evans's reading is closest to being correct. I suggest that *ar* was accidentally written twice by dittography; cf. especially *Marthaerun* in *CB* 14.7.

⁸ Before the *yg*, a letter resembling an *o* was written and then crossed through.

⁹ The *i* is barely distinguishable.

¹⁰ The *n* is partially obscured.

¹¹ The *in* is very faint.

¹² Other editors agree in reading *Freink*, though the foot of the *k* is difficult to see.

¹³ The final *ic* is barely visible.

¹⁴ The final *eic* is barely visible.

¹⁵ The *t* is barely visible, but I have followed the other editions on this point.

¹⁶ Most of this is very faint, and it is difficult to be certain about the reading.

¹⁷ Very faint.

¹⁸ The word intended is *torllwyth*, 'womb-burden', so the reading should be *dorluid*: *EWGT* 138, n. 3.5. However, there is a faint tick on the first of the three minims, indicating that it is an *i*. This item is a version of the triad *Tri Gwyn Dorllyth Ynys Brydein* (*TYP*⁴ no. 70).

¹⁹ Compare the *Chornan* who appears in Peniarth 47iv in *TYP*⁴ no. 70.

²⁰ The scribe has ticked the first minim, implying that the exemplar's *dorluid* has been misread. See above, n. 18.

[§3.8] [M]eleri¹ *verch* Vrachan, gwreic Keredic, ma[m]² Sant tat Dewi.

[§3.9] Gwaŵr *verch* Vrachan.

[§3.10] Gutuyl *verch* Vrachan, gŵreic Kynger mab Kynwaŵr, a mam Brochuael Yscithraŵc, a mam Veic Mengŵrac, a ma[m]³ Sanant gwreic Vaelgŵn.

[§3.11] [G]rugon⁴ *verch* Vrachan, gwreic Katraŵt *vrenhin*.

[§3.12] [K]erdech⁵ *verch* Vrachan yssyd yGlan Tywi yMeiryonyd.

[§3.13] Taghŵystyl.

[§3.14] Tutuel *verch* Vrachan ym Merthyr.

[§3.15] Goleudyd gwreic Tutwaŵl Beper.

[§3.16] Van⁶ *verch* Vrachan; honno oed vam Aidan mab Gwauream Vredaŵc⁷.

[§3.17] Gwenn *verch* Vrachan yn Talgard.

[§3.18] Felis *verch* Vrachan.

[§3.19] Tebieu *verch* Vrachan yn Estratewi.

[§3.20] [K]einŵreith⁸ *verch* Vrachan.

[§3.21] Ryn[34r]eidon *verch* Vrachan yg Kitweli yMynydd Kyuor.

[§3.22] Cledei *verch* Vrachan yn Emlyn.

[§3.23] Gwenn *verch* Vrachan yMon vam Gymry.

[§3.24] Llund *verch* Vrachan yn Ruthun yGŵlat Vorgant.

[§4] **Llyma weithon ach Cattŵc Sant:**

Cattŵc m. Gwynllŵ m. Glŵs m. Filur m. Nor m. ab.⁹ Owein mab Maxen¹⁰. Maxen Wledic brenhin y Brytanyeit, a gwedy hynny yn amheraŵdyr yn Rufein, a Chynan yn *vrenhin* yn y le. Kynan m. Eudaf m. Custenin m. Maxen m. Maximianus m. Constantinus m. Custeint. Mam Constantinus oed Elen Luedyaŵc, yr hon a enillaŵd y groes yg Karusalem, ac a duc rann genthi y Gonstantinobyl, a ran arall a anuones y'r Brytanyeit. Ac y gyt a hi yd oed Ewein y mab. Ewein oed vab y Vaxen o Keindrech *verch* Reiden. Reiden m. Eledi m. Mordu m. Meirchaŵn m. Kasswallaŵn. Yn amser y Kasswallaŵn [34v] hŵnnŵ y kymellaŵd y Rufeinwyr treth o Ynys Prydein. Kasswallaŵn m. Beli Maŵr m. Anna. Yr Anna honn oed *verch* y amheraŵdyr¹¹ Rufein. Yr Anna honno a dywedei wyr yr Eiff y bot yn gyfynithderŵ y Veir Vorŵyn.

[§5] **Eenweu meibon:**

Ewein vab Keredic, Pedroc sant, Kynvarch, Edelic, Luip¹², Clesoeph, Sant, Perun, Saul, Peder, Katwaladyr, Meirchyaŵn, Gŵrrai, Mur, Margam Amroeth¹³, Gŵher, Cornuill, Catwall, Cetweli.

¹ A gap has been left for the missing rubricated initial: cf. Meleri *DSB* 12.8, *CB* 15.8; Eleri *LIIG* 1.3.8; Eleri *LIFB* 3.9.

² man J. A later hand added the missing final minim of the second *m*.

³ man J.

⁴ A gap has been left for the missing rubricated initial: cf. Gurycon *DSB* 12.16; Grucon *CB* 15.16; Grwgon *LIIG* 1.3.7; Gwrgon *LIFB* 3.14.

⁵ A gap has been left for the missing rubricated initial: cf. Kerdych *DSB* 12.13; Kerdech *CB* 15.13. *LIIG* 1.3.13 has *Gweurdyt*.

⁶ A slight gap was left before this name, but the *v* was rubricated as if it were the intended first initial. At some point, a red mark, which appears to resemble 'II' (probably for 'LI'), was added interlineally to the top-left of *van*. This would seem to be the correct initial: cf. Luan *DSB* 12.12; Lluan *CB* 15.12; Lleian *LIIG* 1.3.9. Perhaps the confusion was caused by the use of *v* rather than *u* for a non-initial vowel.

⁷ A later hand expuncted the *e* and wrote *a* above it. Wade-Evans moved 'Vredawc' in order to make it Aidan's epithet: *VSBG* 319, n. 2.

⁸ A gap has been left for the missing rubricated initial: cf. Kein *DSB* 12.21; Kein breit *CB* 15.21; Ceinddrec *LIIG* 1.3.16; Keinddrych *LIFB* 3.23. The row of three minims before *ŵ* is indistinct.

⁹ The exemplar clearly read 'mab Owein', but it seems that the scribe took *ab* to be a name and *Owein* to be the start of a new item.

¹⁰ This name occurs in the right-hand margin immediately following the line ending *Owein m.*. It appears to have been written by the main scribe, and so may have simply been omitted by an eye-skip to the following word upon first copying.

¹¹ The *d* is written over an *r*.

¹² The three minims are indistinct.

¹³ The punctuation reflects the punctuation of the manuscript, where there is no punctus following *Margam*.

Ac vn verch, Douſn¹, gŵreic Meuric mab Emminni² merch Kynvarch m. Meirchaſn m. Gŵrgust Letlſm mab Ceneſ m. Coyl Hen m. Godebaſc³ m. Tecwant m. Eweint m. Tepſyll m. Vrban m. Grad m. Rŵuedyl m. Rudeern m. Tegant m. Kyndeern Wledic m. Elud m. Eudos m. Eudolen m. Auallach m. Aphlech m. Beli Maſr vab Anna, val y mae vchot.

[§6] [35r] Cuneda m. Edern m. Padarn Beisrud m. Tegyth m. Iago m. Genedaſc m. Cein m. Gorein m. Doli m. Gŵrdoli m. Dŵfyn m. Gordofyn m. Anuueret⁴ m. Eimet m. Dibun m. Prydein m. Ewein m. Auallach m. Amalech m. Beli m. Anna, val y dewetpŵyt vchot.

[§7] Tebiaſnym Meiriaſn Meirionnyd. Run Rywinnyaſc. Dunaſtyn Dunodyn. Ceredic yg Keredigyaſn. Afloch yn Aphlocyaſn. Einyaſn Hyrth. Docuayl yg Keueilyaſc. Edern yn Edreinyaſn. Dŵy verchet Cuneda: Tecgygyl a Gwenn gŵreic⁵ Anlaſd Wledic. Mam veibyon Cuneda oed Waſl verch Coyl Hen. Gŵreic Coyl Hen oed verch Gadeon m. Eudaf Hen, vchot.

[§8] Teſdŵr m. Griffri m. Elisse m. Theſdŵr m. Gruffud. Gruffud a Theſdos [35v] a Cathen, meibyon y vrenhin Powys o Sanant *verch* Elisse, y mam. Elisse *verch* Neuue Hen mab Teſdŵr m. Rein m. Cadſgaſn m. Caden m. Keindrech merch Ruallaſn m. Idwallaſn m. Llowarch m. Rigeneu m. Rein Dremrud m. Brachan, val y mae vchot.⁶

[§9] Morgant m. Eweint m. Howel m. Rees m. Ar[th]uael m. Gŵryat m. Brochuael m. Rees m. Nud Hael m. Morgant m. Adroes m. Meuric m. Theſdric m. Llywarch m. Nynnyaſ m. Erb m. Erbic m. Meuric m. Enenni. (verch) Erbic m. Meuric m. Caradaſc Vreichvras. O enw Morgant vchot y gelwir Morgannſc. Ereill a dyweit mae o enſ mochteyrn⁷ Predein m. Gliſs, mal y mae vchot.⁸

[§10] Morgant m. Eweint m. Hewel m. Rees m. Arthwael m. Kenedlon merch Buael⁹ Vrydic m. Llywarch [36r] m. Teſdŵr m. Pibiaſn Glaſraſc m. Arbeth m. Deuric Sant merch Peibiaſn, mam Theudu m. Peredur m. Cado m. Gereint m. Erbin.¹⁰

[§11]¹¹ Gereint m. Erbin m. Kynſaſr m. Tudwaſl m. Gŵrwaſr m. Gadeon m. Cynan m. Eudaf Hen, mal y mae vchot.

[§12] Heuyt, Morgant m. Eweint m. Hoel m. Rees m. Arthuael m. Ceingar merch Maredud m. Teudos o Gantref Teudos. Teudos m. Gŵgaſn m. Cathen m. Eleothen m. Nennue¹² m. Arthur m. Peder. Arthur¹³ m. Peder m. Kyngar m. Gŵrdeber m. Erbin m. Aircol Laſhir.

[§13] Ayrcol Laſhir m. Tryphun m. Ewein Vreisc m. Cyndŵr Bendigeit m. Ewein m. Kyngar m. Prŵtech m. Ewein m. Miser m. Custennin m. Maxen Wledic m. Maximianus m. Constan[36v]tinus Maſr¹⁴ m. Custenint o Elen.

¹ Cf. *Dibunn* in *VS Cadoci*, §25.

² The *is* are ticked, but the other minims are indistinct.

³ The ascender of the *b* is partially obscured.

⁴ The six minims after the *A* are somewhat indistinct. See Chapter 1 above, p. 37, n. 174.

⁵ The *ei* is partially obscured by a smudge.

⁶ Confusion in this passage stems from a misinterpreted gloss: Dumville, ‘Late-Seventh- or Eighth-Century Evidence’, pp. 48–9; Guy, ‘Earliest Welsh Genealogies’, p. 475.

⁷ In *GPC Online* the word *mechdeyrn*, ‘king, lord’ is listed with variant forms *mychdeyrn* and *machdeyrn*, showing variation in the spelling of the vowel in the first syllable. No *mochdeyrn* is listed, but it is likely that the same word is intended here. Otherwise the meaning would be ‘pig-prince’.

⁸ A fifteenth-century hand has added a comment to this passage in the left-hand margin: ‘o enw Morgan mab Maglawn y kavas Morgannwg y henw, canys Moſgan Wg y gelwid’. See above, p. 103; *EWGT* 139, n. 9; Phillimore, ‘Pedigrees’, p. 85, n. 1.

⁹ *GM 5* has *Briauayl*, agreeing with Bartrum’s suggested emendation: *EWGT* 139, n. 10.

¹⁰ For a discussion of this corrupt passage, see Chapter 3 above, pp. 148–9.

¹¹ This item begins on a new line with a two-line rubricated initial at the start of *Gereint*, despite being a continuation of the preceding item.

¹² The row of six minims is indistinct.

¹³ By the criteria followed in the rest of this edition, this name should begin a new numbered section. However, I have followed previous editions by including it in §12.

¹⁴ This word and the part of the previous word on f. 36v are partially obscured by a smudge.

- [§14] Morgant mab Ewein m. Howel m. Rees m. y Vraustud merch Gloud m. Pascen Buellt m. Gwedgad m. Morvo m. Elaed m. Paŵl m. Idnerth m. Riagath m. Pascen m. Gŵrtheyrn Gŵrthenev.
- [§15] Gŵrtheyrn Gŵrtheneu m. Gwidaŵl m. Gŵdloeu m. Gloyŵ Gŵalltir. Y gŵr hŵnŵl a wnaeth ar ymyl Hafren tref, ac o'e enŵ ef y gelwir yn Gaer Loeŵ.
- [§16] Morgant vab Ewein m. Howel m. Arthuael m. Idwal. Brodyr oedynt hŵy y Leuku. Lleuku merch Envleŵ m. Kynfelyn m. Iaceu (m.)¹ Leuku merch Adwent merch Elyuer m. Goronŵy m. Kanhaethoe m. Ceno m. Noe m. Madaŵc m. Sandeph m. Tutwaŵl m. Merin m. Madaŵc m. Run m. Kenelaph² Drem[37r]rud m. Kynan m. Kasanauth³ Wledic. Gŵreic Cassanauth Wledic oed Theŵer merch⁴ Bredoe m. Kadell Deernlluc m. Cedeherm m. Gŵrtheyrn Gŵrtheneu, vchot.
- [§17] Rodri Maŵr m. Meruyn Vrych m. Gŵrhyat m. Elidyr m. Sandef m. Alcun m. Tegyth m. Ceit m. Douc m. Llewarch Hen m. Elidyr Lydanwyn m. Meirchaŵn m. Gŵrgust m. Keneu m. Coil Hen, mal y mae vchot.
- [§18] Rodri Maŵr mab Nest merch Cadell Pywys brenhin Pywys. Cadell m. Brochuael m. Elisse m. Coledaŵc m. Beli m. Seliph m. Kynan Garwin m. Brochuael Yscithraŵc m. Manogan m. Pascen m. Cadell Deyrlluch m. Cadern m. Gŵrtheyrn Gŵrth[en]eu.
- [§19] Rodri Maŵr m. Meruyn m. Guriat m. Elidyr⁵ m. Celenion merch Tutwal [37v] Tuclith m. Anaraŵd Gŵlchcrŵn m. Meruyn Maŵr m. Ky[n]juyn⁶ m. Anllech m. Tutwaŵl m. Run m. Neidaon m. Senilth Hael, tryd[yd] hael o'r gogledd. Senilth m. Dingat m. Tutwaŵl m. Edneuet m. Dunaŵt m. Maxen Wledic, val y mae vchot.
- [§20] Llyma enweu meibon Rodri Maŵr: Cadell, Meruyn, Anaraŵt, Aidan, Meuruc, Morgant; Nest oed y vam ef,⁷ ac Anghara[t]⁸ verch [Veuric]⁹ oed vam y rei ereill. A deu dyn oed idaŵ o wreic arall: Tutwaŵl ac Elisse.
- [§21] Angharat verch Veuric mab Dyfaŵl m. Arthen m. Seissill m. Clydaŵc m. Aruodeu m. Argloes m. Podedŵ m. Seruuel m. Vsai m. Keredic m. Kuneda Wledic.
- [§22] Rodri m. Meruyn m.¹⁰ Ethellt merch Cynan Tintaethŵy m. Rodri Molŵynaŵc m. Idwal Iŵrch m. Kadwaladyr Vendigeit m. [38r] Katwallaŵn m. Kadŵgaŵn m. Iago m. Beli m. Run Hir m. Maelgŵn Gŵyned m. Kadwallaŵn Llaŵhir m. Einyaŵn Yrth m. Kuneda Wledic.
- [§23] Einyaŵ[n] a Katwallaŵn Llaŵhir: deu vroder oedynt. Ac eu dŵy vam oedynt chwioryd, merchet y Didlet, brenhin Gŵydyl Fichti ym Pywys.
- [§24] Rees Gryc m. Rees Mŵynuaŵr m. Gruffud m. Rees m. Teŵdŵr m. Cadell m. Einyaŵn m. Ewein m. Howel Da m. Kadell m. Rodri Maŵr.
- [§25] Rees Gryc m. Rees Mŵynuaŵr m. Gwenlliant. Brodyr y Rees Mŵynuaŵr oedynt Maredudd a Morgant a Maelgŵn, meibon Gwenlliant merch Gruffud m. Kynan.
- [§26] Gruffud m. Kynan m. Iago m. Idwal m. Meuric m. Itwal Voel m. Anaraŵt mab Rodri Maŵr.
- [§27] [38v] Rees Gryc mab merch Madaŵc m. Maredudd m. Bledynt. [m.] Kynwyn m. Gŵedylstan m. Kynvin. Y Kynvin¹¹ hŵnŵl a Gruffud vab Llewelyn a Thrahayarn m. Cradaŵc, tri broder oedynt,

¹ This *m.* is probably an unintended addition to the text (cf. *EWGT* 46).

² This word and the part of the text at the end of f. 36v are partially obscured by a smudge.

³ This word and the next are partially obscured by a smudge.

⁴ This word is very faint and protrudes into the right-hand margin. I am not sure if it has been abbreviated.

⁵ This word has been smudged and is very difficult to read.

⁶ Cf. *Kynfyn* in *LIIG* 20, though note *Kynin* in *Peniarth* 127i.

⁷ i.e. mother of Morgan.

⁸ Cf. *Angharat* in §21.

⁹ Cf. §21.

¹⁰ A gap large enough for another name has been left after *m.*; *Ethellt* begins on the following line.

¹¹ Bartrum, probably correctly, amends to *Bledynt* (*EWGT* 47). *LIIG* 11.1.4 and 28.2.3 claim that Bleddyn ap Cynfyn was the son of Angharad, and the *Brutiau* concur that Bleddyn was the half-brother of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn through their mother Angharad ferch Maredudd (*BT* (PS) 1073 [1075]; (R) [1075]; (PRS) 1113 [1116]). Manuscript D of the Anglo-Saxon chronicle also has Bleddyn as the half-brother of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn: *ASC* (D) 1063. The Cottonian chronicle, paralleled by the vernacular chronicles, adds that Bleddyn was the *consobrinus* of Trahaearn ap Caradog: Cott. c397.1 [1075]. The text of §27 is probably corrupt, though the manner of the corruption is uncertain.

- meibon y Hagharat merch Mareduð mab Ewein m. Howel Da.
 [§28] Llywelyn m. Iorwoerth m. Ewein Gŷyned m. Gruffud m. Cynan.
 [§29] Llewelyn m. Marereda merch Madaŷc m. Mareduð. Braŷt oed Varedud y Rees Gryc.
 [§30] Howel m. Gronŷy m. Kadŷgaŷn m. Elstan m. Cuelyn m. Cadŷr m. Gŷvenuenuen merch Idnerth m. Iorwoerth Hirulaŷd.
 [§31] Howel m. Gronŷy m. Agharat merch Laŷr. Mam Hagharat oed Leuku merch Mareduð m. Ewein m. Howel Da.
 [§32] [39r] Howel ac Adam a Phylib a Thrahaearn, Iorwoerth a Meilyr, Gruffud a Chadŷgaŷn a Ridyt, meibyon Seissyll m. Llewelyn m. Kadŷgaŷn m. Elstan. A mam Seissyll oed Elleŷ.
 [§33]¹ Elleŷ mam Seissyll m. Llewelyn o Vuellt. Merch oed Elleŷ hono y Elidyr mab Llywarch m. Bledri m. Mor mab Llowarch m. Gŷgaŷn <vab>² Keneu Menrud³, a vu neidyr vlŷdydyn am y vonŷgyl. Y Gŷgaŷn hŷnŷ a wnaeth Aber Gŷyli, ac yno y lladŷyt ef a Llewelyn m. Seissyll, tat Gruffud m. Llewelyn.
 [§34] Keneu Menrud⁴ oed hŷnŷ, m. Pascen m. Vrien Reget m. Kynuarch m. Meirchyaŷn⁵ m. Gŷrguest m. Keneu m. Koel Hen.
 [§35] Rvn m. Einyaŷn m. Keneu m. Coyl⁶ Hen.
 [§36] Gwallaŷc m. Llyennaŷc m. [39v] Mar m. Coyl Hen.
 [§37] Morgant m. Cledaŷc m. Morgant Uull⁷ braŷt Branud⁸ Voel m. Dyuynewaŷl m. Carboniaŷn m. Coel Hen.
 [§38] Dunaŷt m. Pabo Post Prydein m. Ceneu m. Coel Hen.
 [§39] Howel m. Cradaŷc m.⁹ Meirchaŷn m. Howel m. Runyaŷn m. Einyaŷn m. Idwin¹⁰ m. Cadwall m. Meic m. Ewein m. Cenlas m. Ewein Danwyn m. Einyaŷn Yrth m. Cuneda Wledic.
 [§40] Bleidut m. Cradaŷc m. Iewanaŷl m. Eigaŷn m. Brorchuael¹¹ m. Eidan m. Hoedleŷ m. Podgen Hen m. Isaac m. Einyaŷn m. Meuruc m. Dingat m. Einaŷn m. Dunaŷt m. Cunada Wledic.
 [§41] Kynan m. Brochuael m. Einud m. Brochuael m. Sualda m. Ydris¹² m. Gweidno m. Gŷrent Vraŷdruth¹³ m. Katwaladyr. Katwaladyr a Chatwallaŷn, [40r] deu vroder oedynt, meibon Eueiryaŷn m. Tebiaŷn m. Kuneda Wledic.
 [§42] Howel Da m.¹⁴ Kadell m. Rodri Maŷr m. Meruyn Vrych. Agharat oed mam Rodri Maŷr, merch Veuruc m. Dyfynwal m. Arden m. Seissyll m. Cledaŷc m. Aruodeu m. Argloes m. Podeŷ m. Seruul m. Vsai m. Karedic m. Kuneda Wledic.
 [§43] Dewi m. Sant m. Ceredic m. Cunada Wledic.
 [§44] Kynan Buellt m. Cedric Traŷs m. Ceredic m. Kuneda Wledic.
 [§45] Cenuur m. Einyon m. Keredic m. Kuneda Wledic.
 [§46] Amor m. Morith m. Aidan m. Mor m. Brochuael m. Kuneda Wledic.
 [§47a] Gwynlliŷ m. Gŷvaŷr merch Keredic (m.)

¹ In M, §§33–34 are entitled ‘Ach y gwr y naeth Abergwili’.

² M; – J.

³ J; Mavrydh M.

⁴ J; Maurydh M.

⁵ J; Meirion M.

⁶ The *yl* is very faint.

⁷ Cf. Morcant Bulc HG 10; Morgan Vwlch LIIG (GO) G9.8.

⁸ The four minims are indistinct.

⁹ A gap large enough for another name has been left after *m.*, before *Meirchaŷn* begins on the following line.

¹⁰ Cf. Ytigoy HG 3; Idgwin LIIG 44. The tick above the *i* is faintly visible.

¹¹ The *ua* is barely visible due to a smudge.

¹² The final letter is obscured by a smudge.

¹³ The curvature of the ascender indicates that the fourth letter is an in-curling *ŷ* rather than a *b*.

¹⁴ The rest of the line after *Howel Da m.* is left blank, and *Kadell* begins on the next line.

[§47b] Kynuelyn¹ m. Meirya² m. Ceredic m. Kuneda² Wledic.

[§48] Gŵga³ m. Lla³ m. Kedic m. Keredic m. Kuneda Wledic.

[§49a] Bangar m. Gardan m. Karedic (m.)

[§49b] Dunun³ m. An[40v]n³ m. Ceredic (m.)

[§49c] Ceneu m. Corun m. Cunada Wledic.

[§50] [?]euruc⁴ m. Elaed m. Elud m. Glas m. Elnu m. Docuael m. Cuneda Wledic.

[§51] **Llyma enweu brenhined y Britanyeit:**

Eneas Yscŷydwyn, Ascanius, Siluius, Brutus, Locrinus, Mada⁵, Membyr, Efra⁵, Brutus Taryanlas, Llyr Lletieith, Bleidud, Llyr, Cordiella, Cunada, Riwalla⁶, Gŵrgan Varyftr⁶ch, Seissyll, Iago, Kynvarch, Gorbannya⁶, Porrex Dyfynwa⁶l⁵, Beli, Gŵrnet Vrichhir, Cuelyn, Seissyll, Kynuarch, Dainus, Maredud, Gorbannia⁶, Arthgal, Elidyr, Vigenius, Paredur, Gorbannya⁶ m. Morgan⁶, Einon, Idwal, Run, Cereint, Catellus, Coel, Porex, Fferuex, Ffulgen, Eldagius⁷, Andre⁶, Kynon, Eliud, Cledno, Cloten, Gŵrgant, Meirya⁶, Bledyn, Caap, Ewein, Seissyll, Blegywryt, Arth[41r] uael, Eidol, Reidon, Ryderch, Samuel, Pir, Cat⁶, Eligullus, Beli, Llud, Catwalla⁶, Tenean, Kynuelyn. Yn amser Kynuelyn y ganet yn Argl⁶vyd ni, Iessu Grist. Gwider, Marius, Coel, Lles. Y Lles h⁶nn⁶ a anuones att Eleutherius pab y adol⁶vc danuon g⁶vyr g⁶vybodus ar y ffyd gatholic y bregethu y'r Brytanyeit y ffyd, mal y gellynt gaffel trugared raclla⁶. Ac ynteu a danuones D⁶van a Ffagan. Seuerus, Basian, Carancius, Aleetus, Asclepiodotus, Coel, Llyr, Constans. G⁶vreic y Constans h⁶nn⁶ oed Elen verch Coel. Constantinus, Constans Vanach, G⁶rtheyrn, Gwertheuyr Vendigeit, Emrys Wledic, Vthur Pendreic, Arthur, Constantinus, Aurelius, Iuor, Maelg⁶vn G⁶vyned, Caterius, Catuan, Catwalla⁶, Catwaladyr Vendigeit.

¹ The *nue* is very difficult to read.

² The *eda* is very difficult to read, but certainly present.

³ The groupings of the minims in this word are uncertain.

⁴ A gap was left for a rubricated initial, and at some point three small minims were inserted into the gap, presumably to indicate that the initial letter should be *M*. However, compare the form *Euryt* in the equivalent genealogy in LIIG 46.1.

⁵ There is no punctus separating *Porrex* from *Dyfynwa⁶l*, and the initial *D* of the latter is not marked with red.

⁶ The *M* of *Morgan* is not marked with red, indicating that the scribe understood him to be the father of *Gorbannya⁶l*. *Gorbannya⁶l* m. should properly stand in its own right: *EWGT* 50, n. 2.

⁷ The contraction mark is barely visible.

Appendix B.3: Gwehelyth Morgannwg

The text has been edited from two manuscripts, as follows:

- B: Brogyntyn I. 15, transcript 7, pp. 396–7 (George Owen Harry, 1593–6).
 Ll: Llanstephan 12, pp. 81–5 (s. xvi^{med}).

The relationship between these two manuscripts is discussed in Chapter 4, where it is suggested that they both derive from a lost manuscript of Ieuan Brechfa.¹ In Appendix A.4.1, the sections of the two manuscripts that probably derive from Ieuan Brechfa's lost manuscript are tabulated in parallel. Although B is the later manuscript, it contains a superior text of *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* by comparison to Ll. This should be clear from the footnotes to the edition below, which indicate all instances of significant variation between the two witnesses.² Aside from the corruption of certain name forms, there are also two instances in which Ll appears to have been 'corrected' against another text, possibly a version of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies (which Llanstephan 12 itself contains). These are the omission of *ap Gyriat ap Brochuail* from *GM* 1 and the striking through of *Merfyn Vrych* in *GM* 2.³

Another version of *Gwehelyth Morgannwg*, partially translated into English, is found in one of the manuscripts of the deputy-herald Hugh Thomas: Harley 6831, f. 197r (s. xvii/xviii).⁴ There, the genealogy is brought forward to Crisli (d. 1633/4; daughter of Jenkyn ab Ieuan of Neath and alleged direct descendant of Morgan ab Owain), her husband Thomas Jones (or ap John) of Llanfrynach (d. 1616), and their children.⁵ The same text was used again by Hugh Thomas in Harley 4181, ff. 37r–39v (within the section of the manuscript compiled between 1713 and 1718), where it was combined with part of the pedigree of *Brenhinllwyth Morgannwg* (see Appendix B.11) and other information deriving from the Book of Llandaf.⁶ Later in the manuscript, the genealogy is continued to Crisli and Thomas Jones and on to their eighteenth-century descendants, including their great-grandson Hugh Thomas (f. 93r).⁷ Hugh Thomas apparently copied this relative of *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* from an exemplar by Richard Williams of Llywel (fl. 1644).⁸ Briefer extracts from a further version of *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* are found in manuscripts associated with Thomas Jones of Tregaron: NLW 3067Bi (Mostyn 212B, compiled for and partly by Jones in c. 1574), pp. 58–9, following a version of *Brenhinllwyth Morgannwg*, and again, almost identically, in Cardiff 2.136 (c. 1616–23, partly based on material by Thomas Jones), pp. 38–9.⁹

¹ See above, pp. 185–6.

² For a more exhaustive account of variation between the two witnesses, see Guy, 'Medieval Welsh Genealogy' II, 335–7.

³ For the former, see above, p. 337, n. 3. For the latter, see above, p. 226, and Sims-Williams, 'Historical Need', pp. 22–3.

⁴ Owen, *Catalogue* II, 482. For Hugh Thomas, see above, p. 105, n. 40.

⁵ *WG* 3, s. 'Trahaearn Fawr 10(A1)/2'. For Thomas Jones of Llanfrynach, see F. Jones, 'Hugh Thomas', pp. 45, 48, 53–5 and 71; Huws, *Repertory*, s. Jones, Thomas (Thomas ap Siôn).

⁶ Owen, *Catalogue* II, 417. This part of Harley 4181 is described in Vaughan, 'Welsh Pedigrees', pp. 109–11.

⁷ *WG* 3, s. 'Trahaearn Fawr 10(A1)/4'.

⁸ Cf. Harley 4181, ff. 39v and 40r. For Hugh Thomas and Richard Williams, see Bartrum, 'Notes', pt 2, 117–18. Richard Williams wrote Bodley Add. A. 281: see Chapter 4 above, p. 188.

⁹ *RMWL* I, 287; II, 265 (no. 59). See also Appendix B.11. The texts associated with Hugh Thomas and Thomas Jones of Tregaron are noticed in *EWGT* 139–40, n. 10 and 141, n. 20, and Sims-Williams, *Book of Llandaf*, pp. 125–6 and 129–31. I am very grateful to Patrick Sims-Williams for sharing his transcriptions of these manuscripts with me and to Gruffudd Antur for supplying me with images of NLW 3067Bi and Cardiff 2.136.

B has been used for the base text of the edition below. For readings where Ll seems to preserve more accurately the reading of the common source, Ll's reading has been printed in the main text in angular brackets and B's reading has been removed to the footnotes. Otherwise Ll's variant readings are printed in the footnotes.

The text is divided into five sections. The initial letters of all proper nouns, including epithets, are capitalised. Expansions are indicated by italics. The punctuation is modernised.

[*Brogyntyn I. 15, p. 396*]

Ag velly gwehelyth Morganog.

[§1] Morgan Mwynfawr ap Ywain ap *Howel* ap Rys ap Arthuayl ap Gyriat ap Brochuail¹ ap Meyrig ap Rys ap Haddhail² ap Morgan ap Adroes ap Meyrig ap Tewdrig, y gwr <a>³ seiliodd eglwys Llandaf ag <a>⁴ roes iddi y harglwyddayth a brainaiy. [397] Mayrig ap Tewdrig ap Taithfalch⁵ ap Nynyaw⁶ ap Yrp ap Erdig ap Meyrig ap Henvyn *merch* <Gynfarch>⁷ ap Mairchiawn ap Gwr Galedd Lym ap Kenay ap Koel Hen ap Godebawg⁸ ap <Tegvant>⁹ ap Ywain ap Taithpwyl ap <Yrban>¹⁰ ap Grat ap Ryueddel¹¹ ap Yndeyrn¹² ap Elvydd ap Endos ap Enddolay ap Afallach ap Amaleg¹³ ap Beli Mawr ap Anna *merch* amherodur Ryfain o Iddewes y mam. Honno oedd gares agos <yr>¹⁴ Arglwyddes Vair. Marchell chwaer Meyrig, *merch* Dewdrig, a briodes Brychan Brycheinog.

[§2] Morgan Mwynfawr ap Ywain: mam Morgan oedd Nest *verch* Rodri Mawr ap Mervyn Frych¹⁵ ap Essyllt *merch* Gynan Dyndaethwy ap Rodri Malwynawg ap Eidwal Iwrch ap Kadwaladr Vendigaid ap Kadwallon¹⁶ ap Katvan ap Iago ap Beli ap Ryn Hir ap <Maelgwn>¹⁷ Gwynedd ap Kydwallon Lawir ap Einon Yrth ap Kynhedda Wledig ap Edyrn¹⁸ ap Patarn Beisrydd ap Tegydd ap Kaint ap Doli ap Gorddoli ap Dwfn ap Gorddwfn ap Amgolaith¹⁹ ap Anerod²⁰ ap Ennot ap <Dybion>²¹ <ap>²² Prydain ap Ywain ap Avallach²³ ap Analeg²⁴ ap Beli ap Anna.

[§3] Morgan Mwynfawr ap Ywain ap *Howel*: mam Ywain oedd Gaingar *merch* Mredydd ap Tewdos²⁵ ap Gwgon ap Kathan²⁶ ap Klodden²⁷ ap Neyney ap Arthan²⁸ ap Peter ap <Kangar>²⁹ ap Gyrdeber ap Erbin ap Airchol Lawhir ap Tryffin ap Ywain Vraig³⁰ ap Kyndyn Vendigaid ap Ywain ap Nyser

¹ ap Gyriat ap Brochuail B; – Ll.

² Hyddheyl Ll.

³ Ll; y B.

⁴ Ll; – B.

⁵ Teithvach Ll.

⁶ Synyaw Ll.

⁷ Ll; Gynarth B.

⁸ Hen ap Godebawg B; Godebog Hen Ll.

⁹ Ll; Teguint B.

¹⁰ Ll; Ayrban B.

¹¹ Ryddfeddel Ll.

¹² Yndeyrn Ll.

¹³ Aflach Ll.

¹⁴ Ll; y B.

¹⁵ In Ll, *Merfyn Frych* has been struck through.

¹⁶ Kaswallawn Ll.

¹⁷ Ll; Maelgwyn B.

¹⁸ *ap Edyrn* was initially omitted and then added interlineally by B's main scribe.

¹⁹ Amgoel Ll.

²⁰ Averod Ll.

²¹ Ll; Dyttyn B.

²² Ll; – B.

²³ Avlach Ll.

²⁴ Avallach Ll.

²⁵ Tewdws Ll.

²⁶ Oethair Ll.

²⁷ Bothen Ll.

²⁸ Arthen Ll.

²⁹ Ll; Kaingar B.

³⁰ Braisg Ll.

ap Kystenyn ap Maxen Wledig ap Maximiaig¹ ap Konstantinis Mawr² ap Elen <Lyyddawg>³.

[§4] Morgan Mwynfawr ap Ywain ap Howel ap Rys⁴: mam Howel oedd Brawst merch Kloudd⁵ ap Pasgen Byellt ap Gweddgat ap Merini⁶ ap Elayth ap <Peul>⁷ ap Idnerth ap Riagath ap Pasgen ap Gwrtheyrn Gwrtheney ap Gwyddawl ap Gyddoley ap Gloyw amherodyr Rhyfein.

[§5] Morgan Mw[y]nfawr ap Ywain⁸ ap Howel ap Rys: mam Rys oedd <Geneddlon>⁹ merch Briauayl Vredig ap Llywarch ap Tewdwr ap Angwarat ap <Pybyaw>¹⁰ tad Ayreddyl¹¹ mam Dyfrig sant, archesgob pennaf Ynys Brydain, a goronawdd Arthur. Ag velly.

¹ Maxiniang Ll. The final g is an error for the Latin abbreviation for final -us.

² – Ll.

³ Ll; Lyddawg B.

⁴ Morgan... Rys B; – Ll.

⁵ Kloydd Ll.

⁶ Meirini Ll.

⁷ Ll; Peil B.

⁸ ap Ywain B; – Ll.

⁹ Ll; Gyneddlai B.

¹⁰ Ll; Rybiaw B.

¹¹ Aur ddys Ll.

Appendix B.4: The Llywelyn ab Iorwerth Genealogies

The following is a critical edition of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, based on the survey of the manuscript tradition given in Chapter 4. The base text is provided by John Jones's close copy of the lost medieval witness Y, as found in Cardiff 3.77, pp. 40–100 (E). E's page numbers are given in the main text in square brackets. On the whole, Jones was an accurate copyist, even to the extent that he left gaps in his copy whenever his exemplar was illegible. Such gaps have been treated as parts of the text and are indicated in the footnotes by [GAP].

Jones's most significant intervention into the text of his exemplar was his partial alteration of its orthography to conform to his system of letter dotting.¹ In order to represent Jones's lost exemplar as closely as is now possible, a particular view has been taken on the interpretation of this orthography (summarised in Table B.4.1). It has been decided to remove the letter dotting from the transcription of Cardiff 3.77, allowing its text to be edited alongside the texts of the other witnesses with greater ease. In some cases, Jones seems to have added dots to certain letters while copying his exemplar without making any other changes to the exemplar's orthography; these dots have simply been ignored (*a d ê ġ k ô r y*). In other cases, Jones added dots to letters and, at the same time, changed an additional aspect of the exemplar's orthography. For example, when his exemplar read *ph*, *th* or *ch*, he copied out and dotted the *p*, *t* or *c* but then also removed the *h*. Dotted letters of this type have been transliterated so as to restore what was almost certainly the exemplar's orthography (i.e. *p̣* = *ph*, *ṭ* = *th*, *c̣* = *ch*, *u* = *w*). Jones occasionally seems to have omitted the *h* where his exemplar read *ph*, *th* and *ch* while neglecting to add the dot; in these instances, a *h* has been added in square brackets.

Only one type of important dot was applied to the text by Jones inconsistently: dotted *l* for modern/medieval *l* (/l/), as opposed to undotted *l* for modern/medieval *ll* (/l/). Jones often neglected to dot *l* for /l/, resulting in many instances of undotted *l* for /l/ which should, according to the system Jones was attempting to follow, be transliterated as *ll*. *ll* for /l/ looks preposterous by any standard of Welsh spelling, and so it has been decided to transliterate all instances of undotted *l* for /l/ as *l*, italicised. Similarly, but less frequently, Jones sometimes added a dot to instances of *l* that should stand for /l̥/; these have been transliterated as *ll*, italicised.

Overall, this system for transcribing Cardiff 3.77 is closely comparable to that of Bartrum, except in one important respect.² Bartrum transliterated some dotted letters into their equivalent graphs in modern Welsh orthography even when this entailed adding orthographical elements to the text that are neither present in Cardiff 3.77 nor would have been present in Jones's exemplar (*ġ* = *ng*, *ḍ* = *dd*, *ṛ* = *rh*, *q̣* = *â*, *ệ* = *ê*). It has been thought best to avoid this, because it would result in an additional and unwarranted intervention into the text's orthography. This has been avoided even in the case of *ḍ* = *dd*, since certain inconsistencies in the application of Jones's orthography strongly imply that Jones's exemplar usually used *d* (and occasionally *t*) for /ð/, meaning that Jones's only action was to dot those instances of *d* which he thought represented /ð/.

In sum, the system of transliteration followed here, though sure to introduce some elements into the text that may not have corresponded exactly with E's lost exemplar (e.g. some instances of *u* may be for *ŷ* rather than *w*), has hopefully resulted in a transcription that is closer to E's lost exemplar than Bartrum's transcription, without misrepresenting John Jones by introducing arbitrary orthographical changes in order to 'restore' the text to

¹ For John Jones's orthography, see Lloyd, 'History' I, 324–36.

² See Bartrum, 'Bonedd yr Arwyr', p. 231; Bartrum, 'Achau', p. 203; Bartrum, 'Hen Lwythau', p. 203.

its medieval form. A summary of the system used for transliterating Jones's dotted letters is shown in Table B.4.1.

Table B.4.1: The system for transliterating John Jones's dotted letters

Cardiff 3.77	Edition
ā	a
ċ	ch
đ	d
è	e
ġ	g
ķ	k
l (for /l/)	l
l (for /h/)	ll
l (for /l/)	l
l (for /h/)	ll
ò	o
ḡ	ph
ṛ	r
ṭ	th
u	w
ý	y

The readings of eight other witnesses, in addition to E, are regularly consulted in the text's footnotes. The sigla for the witnesses are as follows:

- A: Peniarth 182, pp. 13–24 and 39–41 (Huw Pennant, 1509 × 1513).
- B: Cardiff 3.77 (*RMWL* 25), pp. 1–19 (John Jones, 1640).
- C: Peniarth 131, part ii, pp. 13–19, 21–3 and 25–43 (Ieuan ap Madog ap Rhys, 1509 × 1536).
- E: Cardiff 3.77 (*RMWL* 25), pp. 40–100 (John Jones, 1640).
- F: Peniarth 129, pp. 7–12 and 20–41 (1500 × 1536).
- L: NLW 732B, pp. 9–18, 21–38, 40–1 and 56 (Richard Longford, s. xvi^{med}).
- M: NLW 3032B (Mostyn 113), part i, pp. 97–101 and 110–38 (Roger Morris, 1580 × 1600).
- R: Rylands Welsh 1, ff. 1r–8v (Gutun Owain, 1497).
- T: Harley 1970, part ii, ff. 35r–36v and 39r–44v (Thomas Chaloner, s. xvi^{ex}).

The sigla used here agree with Bartrum's sigla for those witnesses employed in both editions (ABCEF). The only difference is that Bartrum used 'C' for the present C (Peniarth 131, part ii), because he reserved 'C' for Gutun Owain's portion of the same manuscript (Peniarth 131, part iii), which is not used as a regular witness in this edition.

The witnesses have been selected on the basis that they are the best sources for the readings of the archetype. They are also intended to be representative of the tradition as a whole. BA derive from the lost Hengwrt 33 and are representative of the X-branch of the tradition. The two chief sub-branches of the Y-branch are represented by E (the base text) and by R, which has been contaminated with readings drawn from other parts of the tradition, including Y (E's lost exemplar). LC represent Δ, a lost manuscript that was a close relative of Y, though C has also been conflated with readings from the southern tradition. M, representing an early draft of the conflated text of Peniarth 127i, derives from Σ, a relative

of Δ , but has been conflated with readings from the tradition of R. The significant degree of conflation in the tradition precludes a mechanical selection of variants based on the stemma.

The readings of all these witnesses have been transcribed exactly as they are found in the manuscripts, with the exceptions of EBM. E has already been discussed, and the same rules of transcription apply to B, which is found in the same manuscript. In M, Roger Morris uses a system of letter dotting comparable to that of John Jones in Cardiff 3.77, except that Morris's dotting is less pervasive and, on the whole, more consistently applied. M's dotted letters have been transliterated with the following values: $d = dd$, $l = ll$, $u = u$, $w = w$.

R is a badly damaged manuscript that has required extensive repair work. Sometimes the repair work has slightly obscured text that was visible beforehand. Some of this text can be recovered by consulting NLW 11114B, the negative photostat facsimile of R acquired by the National Library of Wales in 1959.¹ Readings taken from NLW 11114B which are now obscured in Rylands Welsh 1 are reported in the footnotes as belonging to R.

Two other witnesses are often used to supplement the text, though only when they offer superior readings. The sigla for these are as follows:

P: Peniarth 177, part i, pp. 204–21 (Gruffudd Hiraethog and others, 1544–61).

S: NLW 21001B, part ii, ff. 197r–202v (1701).

In addition, other occasional witnesses are used when they can provide correct readings that are not found in the regular witnesses. These appear in the notes under the names of their manuscripts, with the following abbreviations: Card. = Cardiff, Llst. = Llanstephan, Pen. = Peniarth. The occasional witnesses are as follows:

Cardiff 4.265, ff. 2r–15v (Simwnt Fychan, c. 1567–1600).

Llanstephan 12, pp. 29–30, 46, 66–79, 122–38 and 146–52 (s. xvi^{med}).

Peniarth 118, part ii, pp. 601–3 (Siôn Dafydd Rhys, c. 1580–c. 1619).

Peniarth 127, part i, pp. 49–52, 74–95 and 98–110 (Thomas ab Ieuan ap Deicws, 1510).

Peniarth 131, part iii, pp. 79–92 and 109–24 (Gutun Owain, 1483 × 1489).

Peniarth 131, part viii, pp. 199–205, 276–84 and 290 (Ieuan Brechfa, 1494 × 1509).

Peniarth 132, part i, p. 118 (1509 × 1547).

Peniarth 143, pp. 4–12, 22–4, 26–30 and 47–8 (Thomas Gruffydd, s. xvi^{med}).

In one instance a reading has been taken from a portion of C (on p. 20) that might derive from an exemplar separate from C's main exemplar; the siglum for this portion of C is C².

Each 'witness' constitutes the text as it was finally left by the main hand(s) of the manuscript, including any erasures, additions or alterations, with the following important exceptions. Later additions to C which cause its readings to be at variance with its sister copy L are ignored, even if the additions seem to have been supplied by C's main scribe (Ieuan ap Madog ap Rhys). Additions to L that have been taken identifiably from the 1498 edition of Gutun Owain's recension are ignored. Additions to M that have been taken from the lost manuscript of William Salesbury (the exemplar of NLW 21001B) are ignored. Additions to P from *Llyfr John Saer* are ignored.

The witnesses are generally listed in the following order of priority in the footnotes: EBALCMR(FT)(PS). Variants from FT are only reported when R is lacunose. Variants from PS are only reported occasionally, and appear together wherever possible. Following the citation of a variant, each witness containing that variant is listed in the usual order of priority. The order of priority is altered only when a more junior witness contains a better version of a particular variant than a more senior witness. Each consecutive variant is separated by a semicolon. An en-dash (–) indicates the absence of the reading concerned from the

¹ Cf. *MMBL* III, 469, n. 2.

witness(es) named. If the subject of a note is limited to a single word in the main text, then the witness sigla appear at the beginning of the note. If the subject of a note comprises more than one word in the main text, then each of those words is given at the beginning of the note. Ellipses (...) are used if the note concerns a portion of the main text longer than three words in length. Sometimes a footnote might concern both a single word and a longer portion of the main text ending with the same word; in these instances, the variants for the single word are always reported first, separated from the variants for the longer portion by a period. Footnotes might also report additions to the main text, using the function *add(s)*. Additions are always reported after variants. Moreover, additions are only reported if they would form part of the same 'section' of text; thus, for example, the new sections of text found in Gutun Owain's recension are not reported here as additions.

Variants are generally offered for one of four purposes: (1) to show how the edition's base text has been altered; (2) to indicate the range of variants available in the witnesses where the reading of the archetype cannot be confidently established; (3) to draw attention to some significant divergences from the probable readings of the archetype; (4) to give significant additions to the archetypal text that are found in the regular witnesses. However, the variants are not intended to provide a comprehensive account of the contents of the regular witnesses.¹ For example, many minor changes in phraseology, particularly with regard to how maternal relationships are described, are ignored. On the other hand, significant variations in verbal and nominal morphology are consistently noted. The process of variant selection has entailed an inevitable degree of subjective judgement, not least as to what counts as a substantive spelling variant. In general, the following variations have not been included as variants: presence or absence of spellings for initial mutation; alternation between *ei/ai*, *eu/au*, *o/aw* and *t/d*; presence or absence of the glide vowel *yod*; alternation of *m(ab)/ap*; accidental omission of *m(ab)/ap*; presence or absence of *t* after *Bleddyn*, *Gwenllian*, *Morgan*, *oeddyn*; presence or absence of *h* in words such as *bren(h)in* or *Gwr(h)ydr*; provection of initial consonants (especially of /b/ > /p/) following *ap*; absence or presence of final *-f* in words such as *Addaf*; reduction of the vowel in the first syllable of a polysyllabic word to /ə/, spelled *y*, prevalent especially in C; occasional use of *th* for /ð/, especially in FT; occasions when C inserts an extra *y* into a word; occasions when Roger Morris has forgotten to dot a letter in M. The many ways of spelling or abbreviating some common names, including Brochfael/Brochwel, Caradog, Cynwrig/Cynfrig, Goronwy/Gronw, Hofa/Hwfa, Maredudd and Trahaearn, are generally ignored. Dittographic repetitions are ignored; these are often the result of the same word being written at the end of one line and then again at the beginning of another, or at the end and beginning of two consecutive pages. The addition or removal of common epithets is mostly ignored, except when judged to be of interest. Slight variation in the number of generations enumerated at the ends of pedigrees is ignored, particularly since some witnesses frequently extend pedigrees backwards in time without providing any information that cannot be found elsewhere in the text (e.g. *ap Bleddyn* extended to *ap Bleddyn ap Cynfyn ap Gwerystan*).

Every quoted variant reading has been reproduced exactly as it is found in the first of the witnesses listed after the reading. The other listed witnesses contain readings approximating to the one quoted, allowing for slight differences in spelling. Such differences are limited to very common spelling variation, such as the interchangeability of *u/l/v* or of *i/y*. If they are judged to be of especial orthographic interest, minor spelling variations are quoted separately.

In EBAM, letters formed of consecutive minims (chiefly *m*, *n*, *u*) are consistently distinguished from one another. In other witnesses, such letters are less easy to distinguish. In

¹ For an approximation to this, see the edition of the text in my PhD thesis: 'Medieval Welsh Genealogy' II, 339–84.

all ambiguous cases, it has been assumed that the letter which would facilitate the ‘correct’ reading was intended; no other method would have enabled a consistent approach.

Many witnesses consistently distinguish between two letter forms which may be described as in-curling *v* and out-curling *v*. Since this distinction can sometimes carry phonological implications, it has been decided to maintain the distinction in transcription, with in-curling *v* represented by ‘*b*’ and out-curling *v* represented by ‘*v*’.

When one or more witnesses offer a reading that is more likely to derive from the archetype than the reading in the base text (E), this reading is given in the main text enclosed in angular brackets <>, and E’s reading is relegated to a footnote. A footnote immediately following a closing angular bracket pertains to all the text enclosed in the angular brackets. Due to the many acts of conflation that have produced the main witnesses, the readings of the archetype can seldom be established by stemmatic means alone. More often, the readings of the main text are chosen on the basis of comparison of the content of the text with various external sources. The chief sources for comparison are the following:¹

The Harleian genealogies.
 The Jesus 20 genealogies.
 The Mostyn genealogies.
De situ Brecheniauc.
Cognacio Brychan.
Canu Heledd.
Canu Llywarch Hen.
Culhwch ac Olwen.
Brut y Brenhinedd.
Historia Gruffud vab Kenan.
 The Welsh Latin chronicles.
Brut y Tywysogyon.
 The 1334 Survey of the Honour of Denbigh.
 The 1352 Extent of Anglesey and Caernarfonshire.

Although the readings of only nine witnesses have been regularly reported in the notes, the readings of the entire tradition have been taken into account during the process of selecting variants for the main text. Consequently, a reading given by only one of the primary witnesses may in fact be supported by a large number of other witnesses within the text’s substantial tradition.

A principle followed throughout the edition is that, in any particular note, one should always know exactly which of the regular witnesses do and do not include any particular variant. For this reason, notes generally begin by stating in which witness(es) may be found the reading of the main text. For the same reason, every note reports the readings of all witnesses available at that point. On the other hand, a distinction is made between the omission of variants (indicated by an en-dash) and the failure of a witness to produce a variant because the witness is unavailable at that point. A witness may be unavailable for a variety of reasons. For example, it may be lacunose; it may have accidentally skipped over the portion of text including the variant; or it may have deliberately omitted the section including the variant. In cases such as these, no variant is reported for the unavailable witness.

The text has been divided into sections, parts and sub-sections, in imitation of the structuring principles of the text’s creator. The divisions bear no deliberate relation to the divisions of Bartrum’s editions. A new section is begun each time the text turns to a new subject. Each section is made up of one or more parts, designated by the sequence of numbers after the initial dot (e.g. §1.1, §1.2, §1.3). If a section has only one part, the number following the

¹ For discussion and references, see Chapter 4.

dot is not included (e.g. §1 rather than §1.1), unless that part has one or more sub-sections. If a section has a heading (e.g. *Plant Ywain Gwyned*), it is given after the initial section number, and is not included within any particular part. Occasionally, a particular part of a section is followed by one or more sub-sections whose primary referent is the part itself rather than the section as a whole; these sub-sections are designated by the sequence of numbers after the second dot (e.g. §1.1.1, §1.1.2, §1.1.3), and are indented in order to separate them as a group from the main sequence of section parts.

In addition to the main sequence of sections, there are four sections designated §§A1–4, where A signifies ‘Addition’. These are sections which were probably not part of the original text, but which entered the textual tradition at an early stage and are consequently found in more than one of the best witnesses. These sections are all indented.

Occasionally a witness may omit a particular section; in these cases, a note has been added to the section number stating that the witness has omitted the section. On the other hand, if a long sequence of sections is not present in a witness (often for reasons other than simple ‘omission’), no note is given.

Sometimes abbreviations are used which require expansion. All expansions are given in italics. All expansions attempt to follow the prevalent orthographic system of the witness in question, and, if possible, abbreviations are expanded using the spelling employed by the witness on the last occasion when that word was written out in full. A word commonly requiring expansion is *ferch*, often abbreviated to *v’z*, where the *z* stands for *ch*. In these instances, the word is expanded as *verch*.

All proper names have been capitalised, including epithets. The punctuation is editorial. Any other editorial additions are enclosed in square brackets [].

[Cardiff 3.77, p. 40]

[§1.1] Brychan Brycheinawg mab¹ <Korvmawc>² vrenin Iwerdon, a Marchell <verch>³ Tewdrig⁴ mab Teithfalt⁵ m. Teithrin⁶ m. Tathal⁷ m. Annun Du⁸ vrenin Groeg⁹ y fam.

[§1.2.1] Kynawg mab Brychan yMerthyr Kynawg¹⁰, a <Banhadlwedd>¹¹ ferch Vanady¹² <o>¹³ Vanhady/fa¹⁴ ym Powys <i vam>¹⁵.

[§1.2.2] Kletwyn mab Brychan a oresgynnwys¹⁶ Deheubarth Gymry¹⁷.

¹ The archetype omitted the name of Brychan’s father, Anlach. The name has been resupplied in some witnesses, including those of the Pen. 127i branch (e.g. M, *Anlech*), the southern branch and the Henry Salesbury branch.

² F; Kornok E; Tormoc A; Anlech Gorbuauc M; Korvinawg T.

³ AMFT; – E.

⁴ EA; Tendric MT; Dendric F.

⁵ EA; Tithffalt MF; Taithffant T.

⁶ EMFT; Teithan A.

⁷ EMFT; Tuthal A.

⁸ Annun Du EAFT; Armun Den M.

⁹ EAM; Grog T.

¹⁰ yMerthyr Kynawg E; merthyr yMrecheiniawc M; merthyr oedd ac yMrecheinioc y may FT.

¹¹ Pen. 127i; Banaduled E; Banhadledd M; Banhadlweth T.

¹² E; – M; Banadle FT. E adds y vam.

¹³ FT; o’r E; – M.

¹⁴ EM; Vanhantla F; Vanhatla T.

¹⁵ MFT; – E.

¹⁶ EFT; oresgynnawdd M.

¹⁷ EM; – FT.

- [§1.2.3] <Arthen>¹ mab Brychan <yn Manaw>².
 [§1.2.4]³ Dyngat m. Brychan.
 [§1.2.5] <Kyfliver>⁴ m. Brychan <yMerthyr Kyflevyr>⁵.
 [§1.2.6] Rein⁶ m. Brychan ym Manaw yng Galedyn⁷.
 [§1.2.7] Dyfnan⁸ m. Brychan yMon.
 [§1.2.8] [41] <Berwyn>⁹ mab Brychan yg Kernyw.
 [§1.2.9] Rodawg¹⁰ mab Brychan yn Ffreink.
 [§1.2.10]¹¹ <Pabal>¹² mab Brychan.
 [§1.2.11]¹³ Pasken m. Brychan.
 [§1.2.12]¹⁴ <Mathayarn>¹⁵ m. Brychan yGeredigyawn.
 [§1.2.13] <Avallach>¹⁶ mab Brychan.
 [§1.3.1] <Gwladus>¹⁷ ferch Brychan, gwreig¹⁸ <Kynlluc>¹⁹ m. *G/iwys*²⁰ Gorneu²¹, mam Kadwg sant²².
 [§1.3.2] <Arianwen>²³ ferch Brychan, gwreig Ierwerth Hirvawt; o hwnnw Iorwerthiawn²⁴.
 [§1.3.3] Tudwy²⁵ ferch Brychan, gwraig Kyngen mab Kadel/ Deyrnllug, <mam>²⁶ Brochwe/ Ysgythrawg, a mam Feig a Yeuaf.
 [§1.3.4] [42] <Marchell>²⁷ ferch Brychan, gwreig Wynnir²⁸ Varyfdrwch.
 [§1.3.5] Nefyn ferch Brychan, gwreig Kynfarch m. Meirchiawn²⁹, mam Urien, a mam Eurdy/, y wraig a vu y *E/lifer*³⁰ Gosgordfawr.
 [§1.3.6] Gwawr ferch Brychan, gwreig E/idir Llydanwyn, mam Lywarch Hen.
 [§1.3.7] Grwgon³¹ ferch Brychan, gwreig Kadrot Ka/c[h]fynydd, y wraig a dreissiws³² Tynwaed³³ Vaglawg ar Rydeu Tynwaed³⁴.

¹ T; Archen E; Marthen M. E *adds* Manaw.

² MFT; – E.

³ FT omit this section.

⁴ MF; Kyflenet E; Ryflevyr T.

⁵ T; Merthyr Kyflyner E; merthyr M; [...] Kyflyuyr F.

⁶ EM; Kein FT.

⁷ yng Galedyn E; yngkalled M; – FT.

⁸ ET; Dyfnari M.

⁹ MFT; Erwyn E.

¹⁰ E; Rhodaw M; Kadawc FT.

¹¹ In FT, this section is positioned after §1.2.13.

¹² MFT; Par E.

¹³ In M, this section is positioned after §1.2.7.

¹⁴ In M, the order of §1.2.12 and §1.2.13 has been reversed.

¹⁵ M; Marchayd E; Maethhaia M.

¹⁶ T; Aflach E; Vallach M.

¹⁷ MFT; G/adus E.

¹⁸ E; mam Cadawc sant ap M; mam Gadawc sant ap gwraig FT.

¹⁹ MFT; Kynullug E.

²⁰ EM; Glewys FT.

²¹ EM; Kerniw FT.

²² mam Kadwg sant E; – MFT.

²³ FMT; Bryanwen E.

²⁴ o hwnnw Iorwerthiawn E; – MFT.

²⁵ E; Tudwal M; Tvdwystl FT.

²⁶ MFT; mab E.

²⁷ Pen. 118ii; Mechyl/ EMFT.

²⁸ EM; Gynyr FT. M *adds* neu Ynyr.

²⁹ Kynfarch m. Meirchiawn EFT; Kynfarch Oer M.

³⁰ EM; Oliver FT. M *adds* ne Oliver.

³¹ E; Gwenfrewy M; Gwrgon FT.

³² E; dreisia M; dreisiodd FT.

³³ EM; Tynwedd F; Tynawedd T.

³⁴ EM; Tynwedd FT.

- [§1.3.8] Eleri ferch Brychan, gwraig Keredig mab Kuneda Wledig, mam Sant¹ tad Dewi.
 [§1.3.9] [43] <Lleian>² ferch Brychan, gwraig Gauran³, <mam>⁴ Aedan <Vradawc>⁵.
 [§1.3.10] Neufyd⁶ ferch Brychan, gwraig Tutwal⁷ Pefyr.
 [§1.3.11] <Keyngar>⁸ ferch Brychan, ⁹mam Kynedyr sant.
 [§1.3.12] <Go/eu>¹⁰ ferch Brychan¹¹ yn Llanhesgyn¹².
 [§1.3.13] <Gweurdyt>¹³ ferch Brychan yn Llantewyn¹⁴.
 [§1.3.14] <Tidyei>¹⁵ ferch Brychan¹⁶ <yManaw¹⁷.
 [§1.3.15] <Elived>¹⁸ ferch Vrychan yGrug Gorsabawl¹⁹.
 [§1.3.16] <Ceinddrec>²⁰ ferch Vrychan>²¹ yn Trigabaellognar²².
 [§1.3.17] Gwenn ferch Brychan yn Ta/garth.
 [§1.3.18] [44] Kenodlon²³ ferch Brychan yMynydd²⁴ Kymorth.
 [§1.3.19] Klydei²⁵ ferch Brychan yn Em/yn.
 [§1.3.20] Keinwen²⁶ ferch Brychan²⁷ a Dwyn²⁸ ferch Brychan yMon.
 [§1.3.21] Tudwystyl²⁹ ferch Brychan³⁰.
 [§1.4] Teir gwraged a vu y Vrychan: ³¹Eurbaust³² a Rybrawst a Phroestri³³.
 [§1.5] Teir gwe/gyrd saint Kymru³⁴: p/ant Brychan³⁵ a phlant Kuneda <Wledig>³⁶ a phlant Kaw o Brydyn³⁷.

¹ E *adds* mab Keredig.

² MFT; Llian E.

³ E; Gawran FT; Iafrain M.

⁴ MFT; m. E.

⁵ MFT; – E. E *adds* m. Gauran.

⁶ E; Nenmydd M; Nevydd FT.

⁷ EMF; Tudawl B; Todwl T.

⁸ B; Reyngaer E; Renigar M; Reingar F; Rieingar T.

⁹ E *adds* gwraig [GAP] a.

¹⁰ BFT; Gole E; Dolau M.

¹¹ M *adds* santes. M does the same for all remaining daughters except Ceinddreg and Tudwystl.

¹² E *adds* y [GAP]; MFT *add* yNgwent.

¹³ BM; Gwentydd E; Gwenddydd FT.

¹⁴ EB; Llan Dowyn M; Llan y Towyn F; Llann Gywyn T. MFT *add* yMeirionnydd.

¹⁵ BFT; Hydeu E; Tydei M.

¹⁶ In the archetype, both *Tidyei*'s proper location, Ystrad Tywi, and the following name, *Bechan*, were skipped over, resulting in *Tidyei* acquiring *Bechan*'s location. The missing text was resupplied in Pen. 132i: '[...] yn Ystrad Tywi. Bochan verch Vrychan [...]']

¹⁷ BM; – E; yn Tri Gabelogwar F; yn Crigabelogwar T. E's exemplar must have had the same reading as F, which caused an eye-skip to §1.3.16.

¹⁸ MF; E/inet B; Elined T.

¹⁹ yGrug Gorsabawl B; yNghorsabawl FT; yNghorsebawl M.

²⁰ MT; Keyndereg B.

²¹ yManaw... Vrychan BMFT; – E.

²² yn Trigabaellognar E; yn Tregabaellog Far B; yn Trigodalawr M; yNhaer Godlawr F; yNghaer Godolawr T.

²³ EB; Kenedlon MFT.

²⁴ EBM; yn y Mynydd FT.

²⁵ EM; Klydyei B; Elydai FT.

²⁶ EMFT; Keynweyn B.

²⁷ M *adds* santes yMon.

²⁸ EB; Dwynwen MFT.

²⁹ EBT; Vdwystyl M; Tudwyst F.

³⁰ FT *add* yn Ron yn Fraingk.

³¹ E *adds* sef; M *adds* i henweu oedd.

³² E; Eurbraw B; Gurbrawst M; Eurbrawst FT.

³³ EB; Phwrwystri M; Pherisgri F; Pheresgri T.

³⁴ EBA; Ynys Brydain M; – FT.

³⁵ AM *add* Brycheiniawg.

³⁶ ABMFT; – E.

³⁷ EBAM; Brydain FT. M *adds* arglwydd Cwm Cawlwyd.

[§2] Plant Kyndrwyn: [45] Elfan Powys m. Kyndrwyn, <Kynon m. Kyndrwyn>¹, <Gwyawn>² m. Kyndrwyn, ³Riadaf m. Kyndrwyn, Hayarnllen⁴ m. Kyndrwyn, Pasken m. Kyndrwyn, ⁵<Gwin>⁶ m. Kyndrwyn, <Kynwreith>⁷ m. Kyndrwyn, Ehedyn m. Kyndrwyn⁸, Kynan m. Kyndrwyn, Gwena/ogyd <ap>⁹ Kyndrwyn¹⁰, Moruael/ <ap>¹¹ Kyndrwyn, ¹²<Ffefur>¹³ ferch Kyndrwyn, Medfy/¹⁴ ferch Kyndrwyn, Medlan ferch Kyndrwyn, Gwledyr ferch Kyndrwyn, Meissir ferch Kyndrwyn¹⁵, Keinvryt¹⁶ ferch Kyndrwyn, Heled ferch Kyndrwyn, Gwladus ferch Kyndrwyn, Gwendwyn ferch Kyndrwyn¹⁷.

[§3] [46] Plant Yaen¹⁸: Dirmig Korneu¹⁹ m. Yaen, Gwin²⁰ Go/wtheu²¹ m. Yaen, <Siaun>²² m. Yaen, Karadowg²³ m. Yaen, Yeuuanwy m. Yaen²⁴, Llych/in m. Yaen, ²⁵E/eirch²⁶ ferch Yaen, <mam>²⁷ <Kyduan>²⁸ mab Arthur.

[§4] Plant Kaw o Dwyrwyl: Dirmig mab Kaw, Ki/it²⁹ m. Kaw, ³⁰Ustig m. Kaw, <Echmic>³¹ m. Kaw, Kof m. Kaw, <Aneirin m. Kaw>³², <Gwydrein>³³ m. Kaw, Samsson m. Kaw, Bangar³⁴ m. Kaw>³⁵, <Kefyn m. Kaw>³⁶, Hueil/ m. Kaw, Gildas m. Kaw, Aedan m. Kaw³⁷, [47] ³⁸Gallgaw³⁹

¹ BAM; – EFT.

² BAMFT; Gwron E.

³ FT add Kynon ap Kyndrwyn.

⁴ EAFT; Haeam[GAP] B; Hayarllew M.

⁵ M adds Gwennagloed ab Kyndrwyn.

⁶ BAM; Gwyen E; Kwna FT.

⁷ BM; Kynvreich E; Kynwraidd A; Kynvarch FT.

⁸ Ehedyn m. Kyndrwyn EFT; Ebeyd m. Kyndrwyn B; y Bedyn ap Kynrwyn A; – M.

⁹ A; [GAP] EB. John Jones seems to have doubted that Gwenalogid and Morfael were sons rather than daughters.

¹⁰ Gwena/ogyd <ap> Kyndrwyn EBA; – MFT.

¹¹ AMFT; [GAP] EB.

¹² FT add Gwenalogid verch Kyndrwyn.

¹³ BA; Ffener E; Phreuer M; Ffeuer F; Ffever T.

¹⁴ EBAMF; Meddnyd T.

¹⁵ Meissir ferch Kyndrwyn EAM; [GAP] B; Meishir verch Kyndrwyn F; Meisher verch Kyndrwyn T.

¹⁶ EBM; Kynvryd A; Kenvric FT.

¹⁷ In M, the last three daughters are positioned after Medlan.

¹⁸ EBAM; Owain FT. FT use *Owain* for *Yaen* throughout §3.

¹⁹ EFT; Torfen B; Kormeŵ A; – M.

²⁰ EBAM; Gwion FT.

²¹ E; Goluthon AB; – MFT.

²² BA; Siann E; Stiawn M; Sidin FT.

²³ E; Karudawg B; Caradawc MAT; Karad F.

²⁴ Yeuuanwy m. Yaen EBAM; – FT.

²⁵ FT add Ieuaf ap Owain.

²⁶ EBAM; Eberth FT.

²⁷ BAMFT; m. E.

²⁸ A; Gyrfan E; Kytan B; Gatnaw M; Kadvan FT.

²⁹ EBMFT; Kilidd A.

³⁰ E adds Bangar m. Kaw. FT add Bangaw ap Kaw.

³¹ Pen. 143; Ethenw E; Echyniwig B; Echymwg A; Ethymvo M; Kynwric FT.

³² BAM; – EFT.

³³ BM; Gwydreyn A; Gwydron FT.

³⁴ BM; Bangor A; Kyngar FT.

³⁵ BAMFT; – E.

³⁶ BAM; – EFT.

³⁷ Aedan m. Kaw EBA; Aydon ab Caw M; – FT.

³⁸ FT add Kvhelyn ap Kaw.

³⁹ EBAM; Gallgof FT.

m. Kaw, ¹Eirigrawn² m. Kaw, <Dyfnwe>³ m. Kaw⁴, ⁵<Kowillawg>⁶ ferch Kaw, Peithien ferch Kaw, Gwenawy⁷ ferch Kaw⁸, Gwrde/w mab Kaw, Aneu m. Kaw⁹.

[§5]¹⁰ Plant Egri o Dalebolion a vuant¹¹ yn oes Vae/gwn¹²: Nud mab Egri, Ronyn¹³ m. Egri, Eardur m. Egri, <Geiriat>¹⁴ m. Egri, Tryderan¹⁵ m. Egri, Meirchiawn m. Egri, Uchno m. Egri, <Hed m. Egri, Eblyt¹⁶ m. Egri, Koll m. Egri, <Glassan>¹⁷ m. Egri>¹⁸, A/an m. Egri, Kamo m. Egri, Belyn¹⁹ m. Egri, Elinwy²⁰ m. Egri, Llurig Ros m. Egri, <Teyrnawg>²¹ m. Egri, [48] Nwy m. Egri (y gwr y gelwyd²² o'e henw Karnwy²³), Lleuned²⁴ ferch Egri.

[§6] Plant Llywarch Hen²⁵: Gwen²⁶ m. Llewarch, ²⁷Pyll m. Llewarch, Llawr m. Llewarch, Mechyd mab Llywarch, <Maen m. Llywarch>²⁸, Dwywg²⁹ m. Llewarch, Nefyd³⁰ m. Llywarch, Sandef m. Llywarch, Selyf m. Llewarch, Dilig m. Llewarch, <Lliuer>³¹ m. Llewarch, Deigir³² m. Llewarch, Rut m. Llewarch, Madawg m. Llewarch, Medel m. Llewarch, Hei/in m. Llewarch, [49] <Gwell>³³ m. Llewarch³⁴, Sawy/ m. Llewarch, Lloryen³⁵ m. Llewarch, Keni³⁶ m. Llewarch, Llynghedwy³⁷ m. Llewarch, Kynllug³⁸ m. Llewarch, Llewenyd m. Llowarch, ³⁹Gorwynon⁴⁰ m. Llawarch, Riell⁴¹ ferch Llowarch⁴².

¹ TF add Gwrddelw ap Kaw.

² EB; Eirgrawn A; Eigrad M; Eirigawn FT.

³ A; Ffynwe E; Dyfinfe B; Dyfnwy M.

⁴ <Dyfnwe> m. Kaw EBAM; – FT.

⁵ M adds Gwrddelw ab Caw, Aneu ab Caw, Keidiaw ab Caw, Kayn ab Caw.

⁶ BAM; Gowyllawg E; Kywylloc FT.

⁷ EBAFT; Gwenbwy M.

⁸ <Kowillawg>... Gwenawy ferch Kaw EBAM; Merched Kaw bellach: Kywyllog verch Kaw, Peithien verch Kaw, yMonn y maent yll dwy, a Gwenawy hevyd yno mae TF.

⁹ Gwrde/w... Kaw EBA; – MFT.

¹⁰ M omits this section.

¹¹ EBFT; wnant A.

¹² EBFT; vaelgwyn A. FT add Gwynedd.

¹³ EAFT; Rouyu B.

¹⁴ BAFT; Geurat E.

¹⁵ EB; Tryderaw A; Trystan F; Tristan T.

¹⁶ B; Eblydd A.

¹⁷ A; Giassan B.

¹⁸ Hed... m. Egri BA; – EFT.

¹⁹ EB; Kelyn A; Kyhelyn FT.

²⁰ EAFT; Elinw B.

²¹ B; Teyrydwg E; Tynrawg A; Tynoc FT.

²² EBFT; gelwir A.

²³ EB; Karn Nwy A; Kowrnwy FT.

²⁴ EB; Llenvedd AFT.

²⁵ B adds o Benllyn.

²⁶ EBT; Gweir M; Gwyn F.

²⁷ F adds Morvdd ap Llowarch; T adds Morudd Llowarch.

²⁸ BMFT; – E. FT reverse the order of Mechydd and Maen.

²⁹ EBFT; Dwyws M.

³⁰ EBFT; Nenytt M.

³¹ B; Llifer E; Lliver M; Lliner F; Llvner T.

³² EF; Beigir B; Deigr MT.

³³ BM; Gouell E; Genell FT.

³⁴ m. Llewarch EBM; – FT.

³⁵ EMFT; Lloryeu B.

³⁶ EB; Kyni M; Kain FT.

³⁷ ET; Llyngghedfy B; Kynghedwy M; Llynghevdwy F.

³⁸ EBMF; Kyllug T.

³⁹ F adds Kenev ap Llowarch; T adds Kyenev ap Llowarch.

⁴⁰ EB; Gorwynnion MT; Garwynion F.

⁴¹ EBM; Ruell FT. In T, *Ruell* is positioned between the extra sons and the englyn: see LIIG (GO) G8.1.

⁴² FT have additional sons and an englyn attributed to Llywarch Hen: see §G8.

- [§7.1] P/ant Urien¹ ap Kynfarch²: Ewein ap Urien, Run ap Urien, ³Riwallown⁴ ap Urien⁵, Elffin ap Urien, Pasken ap Urien, ⁶<Kateel>⁷ ap Urien.
- [§7.1.1] <Kyndeyrn>⁸ Garhwys ap Ewein ap Urien.
- [§7.2]⁹ P/ant Kynfarch ap Meirchiawn¹⁰: [50] Llew ap Kynfarch, Arawn ap Kynfarch, Urien ap Kynfarch, Anarawn¹¹ ap Kynfarch, archesgob <Llydaw>¹².
- [§7.3] P/ant Keneu ap Koel: Padern¹³ ap Keneu, <Gorwst>¹⁴ ap Keneu, <Garmoniawn>¹⁵ ap Keneu, Maesgwig K/off ap Keneu.
- [§7.3.1] Edern¹⁶ ap Padern¹⁷ ap Keneu¹⁸.
- [§7.4] P/ant Gwrwst ap Keneu¹⁹: Meirchiawn ap Gwrwst²⁰, E/lifer²¹ Gosgordfawr ap Gwrwst ap Keneu ap Koel.
- [§7.5] P/ant Meirchiawn ap Gwrwst: Kynfarch ap Meirchiawn, E/ldir Llydanwyn ap Meirchiawn²², <Idno m. Meirchiawn>²³.
- [§7.6] [51] P/ant Idno ap Meirchiawn²⁴: Meurig mab Idno, Mabon ab Idno ap Meirchiawn ap Gwrwst²⁵ ap Keneu ap Koel.
- [§8] <Helygy>²⁶ ag Elfedan, meibion Hilon²⁷ Hwylfawr o'r gog/ed²⁸.
- [§9.1] Elidir Muynfaur ap Gwrwst Priodawr ap <Gwydwal>²⁹ ap Dyfynyewal³⁰ Hen ap Ednyfet ap Maxen³¹ W/edig ap Llywe/yn ewythy³² E/len Luydawg.
- [§9.2] Ryderch Hael/ glaer³³ ag <arderchdrut>³⁴ a Morgant Mwynfawr, ³⁵meibion Tudwal Tutk/ut³⁶.
- ¹ EBAMF; Brien T.
- ² EBMFT; Kyndrwyn A.
- ³ F *adds* Gariel ap vrien; T *adds* Sariell ap Vrien.
- ⁴ E; Riwallawn BA; Rhiwallon M.
- ⁵ Riwallown ap Urien EBAM; – FT.
- ⁶ FT *add* Rriwallon ap vrien.
- ⁷ BA; Karte/ E; Kattel M; Kad/vael FT.
- ⁸ ABMT; Kyndrwyn E; Kynedyrn F.
- ⁹ In BFT, this section is positioned before §7.1.
- ¹⁰ Kynfarch ap Meirchiawn EBAFT; Kynvarch Oer M.
- ¹¹ EAFT; Anarun B.
- ¹² BAFT; Lludou E. Anarawn... <Llydaw> EBAFT; – M.
- ¹³ EB; Padarn AMT; Padran F.
- ¹⁴ MA; Grwrwst E; Gorust B; Grwst TF.
- ¹⁵ BAMFT; Gormoniawn E.
- ¹⁶ EBM; Edyrn AFT.
- ¹⁷ EBM; Padarn AFT.
- ¹⁸ EBAMT; Kena F.
- ¹⁹ EBAMT; Kena F.
- ²⁰ E *adds* ap Keneu ap Koel.
- ²¹ EBAM; Oliuer FT. M *adds* neu Olifer.
- ²² EFT *add* ap Gwrwst ap Keneu ap Koel.
- ²³ BA; – EMFT.
- ²⁴ EBAMT; Meirion F.
- ²⁵ ap Gwrwst EAFT; – B.
- ²⁶ AL; Helgi EF; Helygu B; Helegi T.
- ²⁷ E; – B; Bibon A; Huon L; Ilon F; Ivon T.
- ²⁸ <Helygy>... o'r gog/ed EBALFT; Meibion Hwylfawr yn disgyn Helygi ac Elvedan M.
- ²⁹ BALM; Kwydwal E; Gwydawl FT.
- ³⁰ EB; Dyfnwal ALMFT.
- ³¹ EBALMT; Mascen F.
- ³² EBAM; ewyrth LFT.
- ³³ EBALFT; – M.
- ³⁴ BALMT; ardreth druf E; ardderchdrad F.
- ³⁵ E *adds* brodoryn; FT *add* brodorion oeddynt.
- ³⁶ F *adds* ap Kredio ap Dyfnwal Hen; T *adds* ap Keidio ap Dyfnwal Hen.

[§9.3] Gwydien¹ Astrus ag Enfael² a Dos³, ⁴meibion Deigr⁵ mab Dyfynwal⁶ Hen⁷.

[§9.3.1]⁸ [52] Yeuaf a Cheneu, meibion y Vrwedyr Dirieit mab Gwydyen⁹ Astrus m. Deigr m. Dyfynwal¹⁰ Hen¹¹ m. Ednyfet m. Maxen Wledig¹²: <Gwladus>¹³ ferch Ryderch Hael <eu mam>¹⁴.

[§9.3.2] <Gwythyr>¹⁵ m. Greidiawl Galonyd¹⁶ m. Enfael¹⁷ <Adran>¹⁸ m. Deigr¹⁹ m. Dyfynwal <Hen>²⁰ m. Ednyfet m. Maxen²¹ m. Llywe/lyn²².

[§10.1] Plant Don o Arfon: ²³Gwydyon²⁴ m. Don, <Gofannon>²⁵ m. Don, ²⁶Amaethon²⁷ m. Don, ²⁸<Hunawg>²⁹ m. Don³⁰, ³¹Idwal m. Don³², Heunyd³³ m. Don, <Elestron m. Don>³⁴, ³⁵Dingat m. Don³⁶, <Gylfaethwy m. Don>³⁷, [53] Kynunan³⁸ m. Don, Hed³⁹ m. Don, Adyen⁴⁰ m. Don, <Elawg>⁴¹ m. Don, Aryanrot⁴² ferch Don⁴³.

¹ EBL; Gwdion MT; Gwyddien A; Gwydion F.

² EAL; Euuael B; Elvael M; Emael F; Ennael T.

³ a Dos EMFT; – BAL.

⁴ EFT *add* brodoryon.

⁵ EB; Deigr ALM; Deidyr FT.

⁶ EALMFT; Dyfynyeal B.

⁷ EFT *add* m. Ednyfet ap Maxen Wledig; L *adds* ap Edenyved ap Maxen Wledic ap Llywe/lyn.

⁸ L omits §§9.3.1–2.

⁹ EBAF; Gwydied T.

¹⁰ EAFT; Dyfynwal B.

¹¹ FT end the pedigree here.

¹² Yeuaf... Wledig EFT; – M.

¹³ Pen. 127i; G/adus E; o Wladus M; i mam oedd Wladvs FT.

¹⁴ M; [GAP] E; – FT.

¹⁵ FT; Gwyt[h]ur E.

¹⁶ E; Galonhydd F; Galonhudd T.

¹⁷ E; Kadvael FT. FT *add* ap. <Gwythyr>... Enfael EFT; – M.

¹⁸ M; Adian E; Aeddán FT.

¹⁹ EF; Deigr M; Leigr T.

²⁰ MFT; – E.

²¹ ET; Mascen F. Wledig... Maxen EMFT; – BA.

²² F *adds* ewrth Elen Lveddawc merch Goel oedd hono; T *adds* ewthyr Elen Lvyddawg merch Goel oed hono.

²³ M *adds* Dogyn verthyr o Arfon.

²⁴ EBALMF; Gwdion T.

²⁵ BALM; Genafon E; Samson TF.

²⁶ M *adds* Gwylvaethwy ab Don.

²⁷ EBAMF; Maethon L; Amdethon T.

²⁸ FT *add* Idwal ap Don.

²⁹ BALT; Hwnawg E.

³⁰ <Hunawg> m. Don EBALT; – M.

³¹ E *adds* Gylfaethwy m. Don; T *adds* Gelvaethwy ap Don.

³² <Hunawg>... Idwal m. Don EMALMT; – F.

³³ E; Yeuny B; Ienuydd A; Ieunyd L; Ieuyd M; E/rydd F; Evnydd T.

³⁴ BA; – E; Lestrn ap Don L; Elystron ab Don M; Elystan ap Don FT.

³⁵ E *adds* Hed mab Don.

³⁶ Dingat m. Don EM; Digant m. Don BA; Digawc ap Don L; – FT.

³⁷ BL; Gylnaethwy ap Don A; – EMFT.

³⁸ E; Kymman B; Kynnan A; Kynuan L; Kynvan M; Kynan FT.

³⁹ Followed by a gap in E.

⁴⁰ EBMFT; Addien A; Dien L.

⁴¹ BAMFT; E/aw E; Clawch L.

⁴² EBALM; Ariandrod F; Ddriandrod T.

⁴³ M *adds* Hunawc verch Don.

[§10.2]¹ P/ant Math² m. Mathonwy: Llew Llawgyffes³, Dy/lan Eil/ Tonn⁴, <Blodeuwedd>⁵ <eu chwaer>⁶, o Aryanrot ferch Don⁷ eu mam.

[§11] Llyma le treuthir o ach Llewelyn ap Iorwerth Druyndwn⁸:

[§11.1] Llywelyn ap Iorwerth ap Ywein ap Gruffyd ap Kynan ap Iago ap Idwal/ ap Meurig ap Idwal/ Foel/ ap Anarawt ap Rodri Mawr⁹ ap Essyllt ferch Kynan Dyndaeth[54]wy ap Rodri Malwynnaw¹⁰ ap Idwal/ Ywrch ap Katwaladyr Vendigait ap Katwallawn¹¹ ap Katfan ap Iago¹² ap Beli ap Run ap Mae/gwn¹³ Gwyned ap <Katwallawn>¹⁴ <Lawhir>¹⁵ ap Eynion Yrth ap Kuneda W/edig ap Edern¹⁶ ap Padarn¹⁷ Peisrud ap Tagit¹⁸ ap Iago ap <Gonedawg>¹⁹ ap Kein ap Gorgain ap Do/i ap Gwrdo/i ap Dwfynd²⁰ ap Gordwfynd²¹ ap Amweryd²² ap Onwed²³ ap Dywng²⁴ ap Brychwein²⁵ ap Ywein m. Afallach m. Aflech m. Beli Mawr m. Menogan²⁶ m. Eneid²⁷ m. Kerwyt²⁸ m. Krydon m. <Dyfnarch>²⁹ m. Prydein m. Aed Mawr m. <Antonius>³⁰ m. Seirioe/³¹ m. Gwrwst m. Riwallawn m. Kuneda m. Regau³² ferch Lyr³³ m. <Bleidyd>³⁴ m. Run³⁵ Baladyr

¹ M omits this section.

² EBALF; Maeth T.

³ Llew Llawgyffes EBA; Llewky Gyffes L; Lleullaw Gyffess F; Llen Llawgyffes T. EB *add* m. Math.

⁴ Dy/lan Eil/ Tonn EBALF; Daleiriann L. EB *add* m. Math.

⁵ ALFT; Blodeufed EB.

⁶ BALFT; m. Math E.

⁷ EBALF; Idno L.

⁸ Llyma... Druyndwn E; – BAF; Bonedd y tywyssogion L; Bonedd twyssogion Kymrv C; Bellach ir ysbyswn o vonedd tywyssogion Kymrv T.

⁹ The archetype omitted Merfyn between Rhodri Mawr and Esyllt.

¹⁰ EBAL; Molwynoc CFT.

¹¹ EBALC; Kaswallon FT.

¹² FT end the pedigree here.

¹³ EBLC; Maelgwyn A.

¹⁴ BAL; Kasswallawn EC.

¹⁵ B; Llawir EAC; Lawer L.

¹⁶ EBA; Edeirn L; Edyrn C.

¹⁷ EALC; Padarn B.

¹⁸ EBL; Tegid AC.

¹⁹ BA; Gonedawg E; Gwynnawc LC.

²⁰ EBAL; Dywywan C.

²¹ EBAL; Gwrddwywan C.

²² EBA; Iwerydd L; Ewerydd C.

²³ EBA; Enuet L; Onwydd C.

²⁴ EL; Dwiwg B; Diuwg A; Diwc C.

²⁵ EBAL; Prydain C.

²⁶ EALC; Manogan B. C here inserts a further thirty-one names derived from *Brut y Brenhinedd*: see Appendix A.5.2.

²⁷ Eneid EBAL; Kuyd C.

²⁸ ELC; Kewyt BA.

²⁹ A; Dyfuarch E; Dyfnfarch BL; Dyffnach C.

³⁰ BAL; Antoniws E; Antikonvs C.

³¹ EBAL; Seissillt C.

³² EBLC; Ragaw A.

³³ L *adds* ap Rud.

³⁴ B; Blidud E; Bleiddud AL; Bleiddvdd C.

³⁵ m. Run EBAC; – L.

Bras¹ m. Lleon² m. Brutus³ Ysgwythir⁴ m. Efracw⁵ m. Mymbyr⁶ m. Madawg m. <Lokrinus>⁷ m. Brutus⁸ twyssawg Rufain, y brenhin kyntaf a dyfu⁹ y'r ynys honn, ag o'e henw a e/wir Ynys Brydein¹⁰, ag en y bedwarded oes o'r byt y <dyvv>¹¹ y'r ynys [55] honn¹². Brutus¹³ m. Silfius¹⁴ m. <Askanius>¹⁵ m. Eneas Ysgwydwyn¹⁶ m. Enchises¹⁷ m. Kapis m. <Assarakus>¹⁸ m. Tros m. <Eriktonius>¹⁹ m. <Dardanus>²⁰ m. Iubiter²¹ m. Sadwrn²² m. Si/ius²³ m. <Kretus>²⁴ m. <Ciprius>²⁵ m. <Cetim>²⁶ m. Iauan²⁷ m. Iaffeth²⁸ m. Noe²⁹ Hen m. Lamech³⁰ m. <Matusa/e>³¹ m. Ennoc³² m. Iareth m. Ma/a/ee³³ m. Kaynan³⁴ mab Enos m. Seth m. Adaf³⁵.
 [§11.1.1] Mam Llewelyn: Mararet³⁶ ferch Madawg m. Maredud³⁷ m. Bledyn m. Kynfyn³⁸ m. Gwerystan m. Gweithfoet m. Gwrydyr m. Karadawg³⁹ m. Lles⁴⁰ Llawdeawg m. Ednyfet m. Gwynnan m. Gwynnawg <Varfsych>⁴¹ m. Keidiaw m. Koryf m. Kaenog m. Tegonwy⁴² m. Teon ap Gwineu Deu Vreudwyf ap Bywyr Lew ap Bywdeg⁴³ ap Run Rud Baladyr ap Llary ap Kasnar⁴⁴ Wledig m. Llud ap Beli Mawr⁴⁵.

- ¹ Baladyr Bras EB; – AL; Rvddbaladyr C.
- ² EBAC; Llewelyd L.
- ³ EBAC; Prydus L.
- ⁴ E; Darian Las BAC; Yscwydur L.
- ⁵ C adds Kadarn.
- ⁶ EBAC; Membyr L.
- ⁷ BALC; Lloegyr E.
- ⁸ EBAC; Prydus L.
- ⁹ dyfu EBA; ddoeth L.
- ¹⁰ ag o'e henw... Brydein EL; – A.
- ¹¹ L; doeth E; dynu A.
- ¹² y'r ynys honn EL; yma A. ag o'e henw... honn EAL; – B.
- ¹³ twyssawg... Brutus EBAL; – C.
- ¹⁴ EB; Silnius A; Silius L; Siliw/s C.
- ¹⁵ BL; Askanus E; Ysgannus AC.
- ¹⁶ E adds o Dro.
- ¹⁷ EBAL; Ansises C.
- ¹⁸ BA; Asarakws E; Assaricus L; Sarakws C.
- ¹⁹ B; Eriktoniws E; Ericconius A; Ervtonius L; Yrvcdon C.
- ²⁰ BAL; Dardanws E; Dardan C.
- ²¹ EBL; Sipiter C.
- ²² EBLC; Saturnus A.
- ²³ EBC; Selius A; Cela L.
- ²⁴ BA; Kretws E; Erecus L; Grit/s C.
- ²⁵ L; Kipriws E; Siprius B; Cipius A. m. <Ciprius> EBAL; – C.
- ²⁶ ALC; Ketun EB.
- ²⁷ EB; Iaian A; Iayuan L; Genan C.
- ²⁸ EBA; Iaphet L; Gaffeth C.
- ²⁹ EBAL; Noyff C.
- ³⁰ EBA; Lamet L; Lameth C.
- ³¹ BAL; Metusa/e E; Matteselem C.
- ³² EALC; Enoch B.
- ³³ EBA; Malalael L; Malayl C.
- ³⁴ EBAL; Keinan C.
- ³⁵ C adds ap Dŵ.
- ³⁶ E; Mareret B; Marvred ALCT; Varvered F.
- ³⁷ EALCFT; Moredyd B.
- ³⁸ FT end this pedigree here.
- ³⁹ EB; Bardawg A; Bradawc LC.
- ⁴⁰ EBAC; Lle L. C adds ap.
- ⁴¹ ALC; Varyfsyth E; Varyfsech B.
- ⁴² EBAL; Tegonwyn C.
- ⁴³ ap Bywdeg EAC; m. Buwdeg B; – L.
- ⁴⁴ EBL; Kasuar AC.
- ⁴⁵ E adds ap Mynogan.

[§11.1.2] [56] Mam Fadawg ap Maredyd¹ oed Hunud ferch Eynud ap² Gwenlliant ferch Rys ap Marchan ap Kenwrik ap Kynde/w Gam ap <Elgudy>³ ap Grwisnat⁴ a[p] Dwywg⁵ Lyth ap Tegawg ap <Dwyfnerth>⁶ ap Madog⁷ Madogiawn ap Sandef Bryt Engy⁸ ap Llywarch Hen ap Elidir Llydanwyn ap Meirchiawn Gul ap Grwst Llet/wm ap Keneu ap Koel <Godebawg>⁹.

[§11.1.3] Mam Faredyd ap B/edyn oed <Hyar>¹⁰ ferch¹¹ V/leid Rud¹².

[§11.1.4] Mam V/edyn ap Kynfyn: Angharat ferch Maredyd ap Ywein ap Hywel Da ap Kadell¹³ ap Rodri Mawr ap Merfyn¹⁴ Vrych a[p] Gwryat ap Elidir ap Sandef ap Alkwn¹⁵ ap Tagit¹⁶ ap Gwair ap Dwg¹⁷ ap Llywarch Hen ap Elidir Llydanwyn¹⁸ ap Meirchiawn Gul ap Gwrwst Lledlwm ap Keneu ap Koel Godebawg¹⁹ ap Tegfan ap Deheuvreint²⁰ ap <Tydbwyll>²¹ ap <vrban>²² [57] ap Grad ap Rifedy²³ ap <Rrydeyrn>²⁴ ap Endigant²⁵ ap <Endeyrn>²⁶ ap Eneid²⁷ ap Endos ap Endoleu ap Afallach ap Aflech ap Be/i Mawr.

[§12] Plant Ywain Gwyned²⁸:

[§12.1] Iorwerth a Maelgwn a Gwenlliant mam Wenwynwyn ap Ywain Kyfeiliawg²⁹, p/ant Ywain Gwyned, a Gw/adus oed eu mam, ferch Llewarch ap Trehayarn ap Karadawg ap Gwynn ap Gollwyn ap Ednywein ap B/edynt³⁰ ap B/edrus³¹ ap Kynawg Mawr ap Iorwerth Hirvlawt ap Tegonwy ap Teon³².

[§12.2] [58] Dafyd a Rodri a C[h]atwallawn³³ abad Enlli ag Angharat gwreig Gruffud Mae/or, meibion Ywein Gwyned, a Christin ferch Gronw ap Ywein ap Edwin eu mam.

¹ EALCFT; Moredud B.

² EBALCF; verch T.

³ ABLC; Egudi E; Elgud T.

⁴ EB; Gwrysud A; Gruissniat L; Griffinad C; Grisnadd FT.

⁵ EBAAFT; Diwc LC.

⁶ Pen. 131viii; Dwyfuert H; Dwyferch B; Dwyfnerch A; Dwyfnerth L; Dysnerth C; Kyfnerth T.

⁷ C adds ap.

⁸ Bryt Engy/ EBA; Bryd Angel LC; Brikeingl T.

⁹ BALCT; Gebawg E; Godibawc F. BA add the pedigree of Coel Godebog back to Beli Mawr: see §11.1.4.

¹⁰ A; Huar EB; Hiar LC; Haer FT.

¹¹ FT add Gillin ap.

¹² EBAL; Vyleidd/vdd C; Blaidd Rudd FT. FT add o'r Gest yn Eddionvdd.

¹³ BA add Deyrnllug. In B, the word is enclosed in square brackets; in A it is struck through.

¹⁴ EBAL; Mervryn FCT.

¹⁵ EALCFT; Alkwri B.

¹⁶ EBL; Tegid ACFT.

¹⁷ EBL; Diwg AC; Dwywc FT.

¹⁸ BAT end the pedigree here.

¹⁹ F ends the pedigree here.

²⁰ E; Deheweint L; Dehe/vwynt C.

²¹ L; Tubwyll EC.

²² LC; Wrban E.

²³ EL; Rr/vddvedyl C.

²⁴ Pen. 131iii; Rydyrn EL; Rrydern C.

²⁵ E; Endigawt LC.

²⁶ L; Endyrn E; Edyrn C.

²⁷ E; E/veidd L; Yvaidd C.

²⁸ E adds ap Gruffud ap Kynan ap Iago. R adds ap Gruffudd ap Kynan.

²⁹ mam... Kyfeiliawg EBALCR; – M.

³⁰ EBAMR; Bladdynt L; Bledws C.

³¹ EBALCR; Bledrws M.

³² ELC add the genealogy of Teon back to Beli Mawr: see §11.1.1.

³³ EBCMR; Chysswallawn A; Chadwallan L.

- [§12.2.1]¹ <Mam Gristin oed>² Genilles³ ferch Hoedlyw ap Ithael ap Edrit⁴ ap Inethan⁵ ap Iaseth⁶ ap Karwet ap Marchud.
- [§12.2.2] Mam Oronwy ap Ywein: <Morwyl>⁷ ferch⁸ Edynywain Bendew ap Neiniat⁹ ap Gweithfoed ap Gwrydyr.
- [§12.2.3] Mam Ywein ap <Etwyn>¹⁰: Iweryd¹¹ ferch Gynfyn ap <Gwyrystan>¹².
- [§12.2.4] Mam Iweryd¹³: Angharad¹⁴ ferch Faredyd ap Ywein ap Howel <Da>¹⁵ ap Kadell¹⁶ ap Rodri Mawr.
- [§12.3] Kynan ap Owain: Agharad oed y fam, ferch Peredur ap Mae/ ap Bledyn o Feirionyd.
- [§12.4] Llywelyn ap Ywain: Gwenlliant ferch Ednywain ap Gwrydyr¹⁷ ap Dyfneint oed y fam.
- [§12.5]¹⁸ [59] Maredudd <Ddu>¹⁹ fab Ewein: Morfud²⁰ ferch <verwydd>²¹ Hir²² y fam.
- [§12.6] Idwal mab Ywein: Afandreg²³ ferch Wrgi o Benn Mynydd Gradifel²⁴ y fam.
- [§12.7] Run mab Ywein: Aned²⁵ ferch Wrgi y fam, chwaer Afandreg²⁶.
- [§12.8]²⁷ Madawg ag Einyon, meibion Ywein, ag un fam oedynt.
- [§12.9]²⁹ <Hywel m. Yweyn: Ffynnot³⁰ Wydeles oed y fam.>
- [§12.10] Deu Kynwrik a vuant³¹ feibyon y Ywein.
- [§12.10.1] Un onadunt³² a wystlws³³ Ewein y Henri vrenin yg Goet Keiryawg³⁴, ag y dallwyt³⁵ y gyt <a'r>³⁶ gwyst/on pann dorres Ywain³⁷, ag o hynny y bu farw.
- [§12.10.2] <Y>³⁸ Kynwrik arall a elwit Kynwrik ap y faerones³⁹.

¹ M omits §§12.2.1–4.

² BR; – ELC; Mam Gristin A.

³ ELC *add* oed fam Kristin.

⁴ EBLR; Edrydd AC.

⁵ EBCR; Methan A; Nethan L.

⁶ EBA; Iasset L; Siareth C; Iasedd R.

⁷ BA; Morfud ELR; Morila C.

⁸ E *adds* Oronw ap; R *adds* Ronwy ap.

⁹ EAC; Feinniat B; Meimat L; Miniad R.

¹⁰ BACR; Edwein E; Ywain L.

¹¹ EB; Iewerydd A; Ewrydd L; Gwerydd C; Ewerydd R.

¹² RB; Gwyrystan EA.

¹³ EB; Iewerydd A; Ewerydd R. ferch Gynfyn... Iweryd EBAR; – LC.

¹⁴ EBALR; – C.

¹⁵ BALR; – EC. R ends the pedigree here.

¹⁶ ap Kadell EBAR; – C.

¹⁷ EBACMT; Gwhydr L; Gwryd F.

¹⁸ B omits this section.

¹⁹ ALM; Duy EC; – R.

²⁰ EACMR; Morud L.

²¹ ALCR; Nerwyd E; Verwud M.

²² M *adds* o Dref Verwydd.

²³ EBALCR; Anawdrec M.

²⁴ EBACM; Gradivol L; Gradivael R.

²⁵ EBALC; Adnedd M; a Medd R.

²⁶ EBALCR; Anawdrec M.

²⁷ AB omit this section, and in M it is positioned after §12.9.

²⁸ M *adds* Cadell ab Ywain a.

²⁹ ER omit this section. The text is taken from B.

³⁰ BALC; Ffinioc M.

³¹ EBLCMR; wnant A.

³² EBALCR; ohonynt M.

³³ EBAL; wystlawdd MCR.

³⁴ C *adds* ne Keiriadoc.

³⁵ EBM; dalliwyd A; daliwyd LCR.

³⁶ BALCR; ac E.

³⁷ y gyt... Ywain EBALCR; – M. C *adds* ac ef; R *adds* a'r brenin.

³⁸ BALC; – ER; A'r M.

³⁹ EB; veiriones ACMR; veiriones L.

[§12.11] Ffy/lip m. Ewein: Morfud¹ ferch E/fan² m. Sandef o Ros y fam.

[§12.12] <Ririd>³ mab Ewein, y gwr bieuvu⁴ Glochran⁵, y dref⁶ a rodet⁷ y hen Ruffud ap Kynan, ysyd y rwng Dinas Du/yn a Swrth⁸ Kolomkelli⁹.

[§13] Plant Katwa/adyr ap Gruffud <ap Kynan>¹⁰:

[§13.1] [60] Katfan m. Katwa/adyr: un fam oed ag Ewein Kefeiliawg¹¹.

[§13.2] Eynion a Maredudd Goch¹² a Chatwallawn, meibion Katwa/adyr m. Gruffud, a Dyddu ferch Maredudd ap Bledyn eu mam.

[§13.3] Kuneda a Rikerd a Randw/ff¹³ a Gruffud, meibion Katwa/adyr, ag Ad/es¹⁴ ferch iarll <Caer>¹⁵ eu mam.

[§13.4] Iwein¹⁶ Vychan m. Katwa/adyr ag Agharat <i>¹⁷ chwaer¹⁸: Tagwystyl¹⁹ ferch Katwa/llawn m. Gruffud eu mam.

[§14] Plant Kadwallawn mab Gruffud <ap Kynan>²⁰: Kuneda a Thagwystyl²¹. Ywein ap Gruffud²² a beris dallu [61] Kuneda²³, ac etwa²⁴ y diarhebir: is Konwy o²⁵ ryfel Kuneda²⁶.

[§15] Plant Gruffud ap Kynan²⁷:

[§15.1] Ewein a Chatwaladyr a Chatwallawn a Ranillt²⁸ a Gwen/lliant²⁹ a <Maryreda>³⁰ a Sussanna ag Agnest³¹: Agharat ferch Ywein ap Edwin eu mam.

[§15.2] Iago mab Gruffud <a'i>³² chwaer, y wreig a vu y Hwfa ap Ithel Fefyn o Yal: a merch Lychwy³³ o Lan <Be/vlan>³⁴ eu mam.

¹ M *adds* neu Morwyl.

² EBCMR; Elnan A; Eluam L.

³ ALCM; Rydit EB.

⁴ EBA; a bieu/v L; bioedd CR; biau M.

⁵ EBACMR; Clochram L.

⁶ y dref EBALCR; tref o Iwerddon M.

⁷ EBA; roed LCR; roddessid M. M *adds* ynn gyntaf.

⁸ EBA; Swrch L; Swch C; Swydd MR.

⁹ ELCR; Kolomkilli AB; Coloneili M.

¹⁰ LCR; ap [GAP] E; – M. C *adds* ap. E *adds* Meibion Kadwaladyr m. Gruffud.

¹¹ M *adds* honno oedd Gwerfyl *verch* Wrgeneu ap Howel ab Ieuaf ab Kadwgon ab Elystan Glodrydd.

¹² R reverses the order of Einion and Maredudd Goch.

¹³ M reverses the order of Rhicerd and Rhandwlff.

¹⁴ ELCR; Ales M.

¹⁵ LC; K/laer E; Clar MR.

¹⁶ ELCM; Iwera R.

¹⁷ LC; eu E; – R.

¹⁸ <i> chwaer ELCR; – M.

¹⁹ ELC; Tanglwyst M; Dangelwystl R.

²⁰ R; ap [GAP] E; – LCM.

²¹ ELCR; Thanglwyst M. R *adds* yr honn a v/ yn planta o Gadwaladr i hewythr.

²² ap Gruffud ELC; – M; Gwynedd R.

²³ R *adds* i nai ap i vrawd.

²⁴ EL; eto CR.

²⁵ ELC; – R.

²⁶ ac etwa... Kuneda ELCR; – M.

²⁷ E *adds* ap Iago ap Idwal ap Meurig.

²⁸ ER; Rrafallt L; Ranallt C.

²⁹ a Ranillt a Gwen/lliant ELCR; – M. In M, Rhanillt is positioned after Susanna and Gwenllian is positioned after Agnes.

³⁰ L; Marfredra E; Mereda C; Mareda M; Maredd R.

³¹ EM; Nevest L; Nest C; Anes R.

³² R; y E; ac Slani i L; ac Yslani i CM.

³³ ELMR; Lychwr C.

³⁴ LCMR; Penlan E. M *adds* yMon.

[§15.3] Idwal¹ m. Gruffyd a vu abad ar Benmon, ag y mae y ved ym² Pennmon³.

[§15.4] Duling⁴ m. Gruffyd, effeiriad vu ag athro da, a vu fab iddaw: Thomas m. Duling⁵.

[§16] Mam Gruffud ap Kynan:

[§16.1] Ra[62]nillt⁶ ferch Afloid⁷ m. Sutrig⁸ m. <Glinvarn>⁹ m. Sutrig¹⁰ m. Harallt Harfagyr m. Siwyrdur Sur m. Beor¹¹ m.¹² Siwyrdur Ris¹³ m. Harallt Harfagyr¹⁴. Yr Harallt hwnnw a oresgynnws¹⁵ Lychlyn oll, ag a diolyes¹⁶ y holl vrenined ohonei¹⁷, ag a vu ehun oruche/ vrenin dros Lychlyn. Harallt <Harffagyr>¹⁸ ap¹⁹ Haldan Du ap <Gwythrid>²⁰ Vrenin Helgwr²¹ ap Ha/dan Milde²² ap Eisten²³ ap Haldan Chinbein²⁴, y brenin kyntaf a doeth y Lychlyn o Suesia²⁵.²⁶ Ranallt m. <Gwrthryd>²⁷ ap Afloyd m. Gwrthryt²⁸ Mearch²⁹ m. Harallt Du m. Ifor Gamle³⁰ m. Afloyd m. <Sutric>³¹.

[§16.1.1] <Mam>³² Ranillt³³, nain Gruffud ap Kynan: Maelgreg³⁴ ferch Dwling³⁵ m. Dwthil³⁶ vrenin³⁷ Lani³⁸, y bymet ran o Iwerdon³⁹.

[§16.1.2] Slani⁴⁰ oed fam Afloyd vrenin, merch brenin Muen⁴¹, dwy rann o Iwerdon⁴².

¹ ELMR; Ithel C.

² LC *add* eglwys.

³ CR *add* eto. ag y mae... Pennmon ELCR; – M.

⁴ ER; Dwling CLM.

⁵ m. Duling ER; ap Dwling CL; – M.

⁶ EMR; Ravallt L; Ryvald C.

⁷ ELCM; Awloed R.

⁸ EL; Swdric CM; Settric R.

⁹ M; G/in[GAP]aru E; Gwiriarn L; Gwriarn C; Gluivarn R.

¹⁰ EL; Swdric CM; Settric R.

¹¹ ER; Boern M.

¹² Siwyrdur... m. EMR; – L.

¹³ Siwyrdur Ris ELR; Siwerderic M.

¹⁴ m. Siwyrdur Sur... Harfagyr ELMR; – C.

¹⁵ EL; oresgynodd CMR.

¹⁶ E; ddeholes LCMR.

¹⁷ EM; ohoni LCR.

¹⁸ LC; Harfag[GAP] E; – R.

¹⁹ Harallt <Harffagyr> ap ELC; Yr hen Haralt hwnnw oedd vab i R.

²⁰ R; Gwythrig E; Gwrthric LC.

²¹ ECR; Heigwr L.

²² EL; Mildi C; Melde R.

²³ ap Eisten E; ap Iesden L; – C; ap Eistrid R.

²⁴ E; Chwebeben L; Chwibib C; – R.

²⁵ doeth y Lychlyn o Suesia EC; ddoeth Lychlyn i Soocia L; vñ yn Llychlyn R.

²⁶ C *adds* Ap. R omits the following pedigree.

²⁷ Ll. 12; Gwythryg E; Gwrthric LC.

²⁸ E; Gwrthric LC.

²⁹ EL; Meach C.

³⁰ EL; Gamlef C.

³¹ L; Swtrig EC.

³² LCM; m. E.

³³ EM; Ranallt LC.

³⁴ ER; Maelgroes L; Maylgros C; Maelgroec M.

³⁵ ELMR; Dwlin C.

³⁶ m. Dwthil E; – LC; ab Twthyl M; ap Dwchil R.

³⁷ ELMR; brein C.

³⁸ E; Llami L; Llaim C; Laym M; Kamwri R.

³⁹ ELR; Werddon C. y bymet... Iwerdon ELCR; – M.

⁴⁰ EL; Ysani C; Islani M; Yslain R.

⁴¹ ELMR; meñ L.

⁴² dwy... Iwerdon ELCR; – M.

[§16.1.3] [63] <A>¹ <Gwrymlaith>² oed fam Sutrig³, merch y <Vwrchoth>⁴ vrenin Llaini⁵. Tri maib⁶ a vu y <Wrchath>⁷ vrenin, klotforaf⁸ tri o wiring⁹ oedunt¹⁰ <yn>¹¹ Iwerdon¹² yn eu hoes, a buanaf tri dyn: <Dwnchath>¹³ vrenin¹⁴ Muen¹⁵; <Sutric>¹⁶ vrenhin Dinas Dulyn¹⁷; Moelkelyn¹⁸ vrenin¹⁹ Midi²⁰.

[§16.2] Deu vroder oed un fam²¹ a Gruffud ap Kynan²²:

[§16.2.1] Ranallt mab²³ <Mathawn>²⁴ a oresgynnws²⁵ dwy rann o Iwerdon yn oet²⁶ <pythef-nos>²⁷ a mis; dewraf gwr ieuang oed ym pum rann Iwerdon²⁸. <Buanaf>²⁹ march oed yr eidaw; mae y <lam>³⁰ etto³¹ <yn ddihareb>³² yn Iwerdon³³, a nodeu <ymhob>³⁴ tal idaw³⁵; sef y kynebygit³⁶ y <Bucefal>³⁷, march A/alexander Mawr.

[§16.2.2]³⁸ Y brawt arall un fam a Gruffud fab Kynan: Etwathawn³⁹ brenin⁴⁰ <Wltw>⁴¹.

[§17] Mam Kynan ap Iago: Afandreg ferch Wair ap Pyll ap Kenwrik ap Kynde/w Gam ap [64]

¹ LC; Ag E; – MR.

² R; Wrymlaith E; Grymlaith LC; Gwrwmlaeth M.

³ EL; Swdric CM; Settric R.

⁴ R; Wrthach EM; Wrthrach L; Wrthlach C.

⁵ ER; Laini L; Layni M; Leim C.

⁶ ECM; mab LR.

⁷ R; Wrthach EM; Wrthrach LC.

⁸ E; clotvorussaf LCR; gore M.

⁹ tri o wiring E; tri gwreing L; trywyr C; tri dyn M; trywyr ievaing R.

¹⁰ ELCR; vuant M. M adds eu clod.

¹¹ LCM; y E.

¹² <yn> Iwerdon ELCM; – R.

¹³ L; Dwnchach E; Dwnach C; Dwnchad M; Bwrchath R.

¹⁴ M adds yn.

¹⁵ ECMR; Niven L.

¹⁶ L; Swtrig ECM; Settric R.

¹⁷ Dinas Dulyn ELCR; yn Nulun M.

¹⁸ ELCM; Moelkolwn R.

¹⁹ M adds yn.

²⁰ EL; Mydd C; Medi MR.

²¹ oed un fam E; vn vam oyddynt LCM.

²² Deu... Kynan ELCM; oedd vrodyr vn vam a Gruffudd ap Kynan R. In R, this is a relative clause whose subject is *Moelkolwm* in the previous section: see LIIG (GO) G39.1.3.

²³ ELCR; a M.

²⁴ LM; y Amachaden E; Machawn C; Wrchadd R.

²⁵ EL; oressgynawdd CMR.

²⁶ yn oet ELR; o vewn C; mewn M.

²⁷ LCM; pum nos ER.

²⁸ dewraf... Iwerdon ELCR; – M.

²⁹ LC; Kyntaf E.

³⁰ L; [GAP] E; lin C.

³¹ EC; ettwo L.

³² LC; – E.

³³ C adds a'i neidev.

³⁴ LC; am bob E.

³⁵ EL; vdd/vn C. <Buanaf>... idaw ELC; A buanaf march ynn Iwerddon oedd i farch a mwyaf i naid, ac y mae yno etwa nod ymhob tal i'r naid M; A buanaf oedd i varch a mwyaf i naid, kains ef a noded i naid yno R.

³⁶ sef y kynebygit EC; sef kynhebic L; ef a debygid M; sef i kyfflybid R.

³⁷ L; Buseffal E; Bvcival C; Bucephal M; – R.

³⁸ R omits this section.

³⁹ E; Ecwmachawn L; Ekamachawn C; Ecwmathawn M.

⁴⁰ M adds ynn.

⁴¹ LM; Wlt E; Eltw C.

Elgudy¹ ap Grusnat² ap Dwywg³ Lyth ap Tegawg ap Dwyfnerth⁴ ap Madog⁵ ap Mechyd⁶ ap Sandef Bryt Egy⁷ ap Llywarch Hen ap Elidir Llydanwynn⁸ ap Meirchiawn Gul ap Gwrwst Letlwm ap Keneu ap Koel.

[§18] Mam meibion Rodri Mawr⁹: Angharat ferch Feurig ap Dyfynwal ap Arthen¹⁰ ap Seissill ap Kledawg¹¹ ap <Arthloes>¹² ap <Aruotheu>¹³ ap <Bothev>¹⁴ ap Serwy¹⁵ ap Usa¹⁶ ap Keredig¹⁷ ap Kuneda¹⁸ Wledig.

[§19] Mam Merfyn¹⁹ Vrych: Nest ferch Gadell ap Brochwal ap <Elisse>²⁰ ap <Kynllaw>²¹ ap Beli ap Eilud²² ap Selyf²³ Saryf Gadau ap Kynan Garwyn ap Brochwe/ Ysgithrawg ap Kyngen²⁴ K/otryd ap Kade// Dehyrnllug²⁵ ap Pasgen ap <Brydw>²⁶ ap Rudfedel²⁷ ap²⁸ Kyndeyrn²⁹ ap Gortheyrn³⁰ Gortheneu³¹.

[§20]³² Mam Elidir³³ ap³⁴ Sandef: Ke/leinion³⁵ ferch Anarawd Gallgrwm m. Merfyn³⁶ Mawr m. Kynfyn [65] m. <Annech>³⁷ m. Tudwal <ap Rvn ap Meythion³⁸ ap Senillt³⁹ ap Dingat ap Tvtwal⁴⁰>⁴¹ ap Ednyfet ap Maxen Wledig.

¹ EL; Elgwyty C; Elgud MR.

² E; Gruisnat LC; Gwrisnadd neu Grussiat M; Grisnadd R.

³ ECMR; Dwywr L.

⁴ E; Dwysnerth LC; Kyfnerth M; Dwfnerth R.

⁵ M adds Madogiawn.

⁶ ap Mechyd ELCR; – M.

⁷ Bryt Egy/ E; Bryd Angel LCM; Brikeingl R.

⁸ R ends the pedigree here.

⁹ meibion... Mawr ELCR; Cadell ab Rhodri Mawr a'i vrodyr M.

¹⁰ ELMR; Achen C.

¹¹ EMR; Klydno L.

¹² M; Arthloes ELR.

¹³ LMR; Bruothen E. ap Seissill... <Aruotheu> ELMR; – C.

¹⁴ LCMR; Dorthen E.

¹⁵ ELC; Seirioel neu Serwyll o henw arall M; Seiriol R.

¹⁶ ELMR; Ełssa C.

¹⁷ ap Keredig ELCR; – M.

¹⁸ ELMR; Kłna C.

¹⁹ EM; Merłryn LR; Vorvryn C.

²⁰ LC; Elisser E; Elisheu MR.

²¹ LCMR; Kyllau E.

²² ELC; Mael Myngam M; Mael Mynan R.

²³ M adds ab.

²⁴ ELMR; Kynan C.

²⁵ ECM; Deirnlud L; Dyrnlluc R.

²⁶ RC; Berydw E; Prydeł L; Rhydwf M.

²⁷ MR add Vrych.

²⁸ ELCR; verch M.

²⁹ ELMR; Kynderyn C.

³⁰ ELMR; Gwrtheyrn C.

³¹ M adds the genealogy of Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenau back to Beli Mawr: see §A4.1.1.

³² M omits this section.

³³ ELR; Elid C.

³⁴ ELR; a C.

³⁵ ELR; Kyleiffion C.

³⁶ EL; Morvyn C; Merłryn R.

³⁷ L; Afech E; Anerch C; Anechwi R.

³⁸ C; Mythion L; Meirchion R.

³⁹ C; Seni[GAP] L; Seisillt R.

⁴⁰ ap Tvtwal CR; – L.

⁴¹ ap Rvn... Tvtwal CLR; – E.

[§21]¹ Mam Gatwaladyr Vendigait: Merch Pyt, chwaer y <Bianda>² ap Pyt.

[§22] Mam Gatwallawn³ ap Katfan: Tandreg⁴ Du ferch Gynan Garwyn.

[§23] <Mam>⁵ Beli m. Run: <Perweur>⁶ ferch Run <Rymeduawr>⁷ ap <Einiawn>⁸ ap Mar⁹ ap Keneu ap Koel.

[§24] Mam Run ap Mae/gwn¹⁰: Gwallwenn¹¹ ferch Afallach.

[§25.1] Mam Mae/gwn Gwyned¹²: Medyf¹³ ferch Faeldaf¹⁴ m. Dylan¹⁵ <Draws>¹⁶ o Nankonwy.

[§25.1.1] Mam Medyf¹⁷: ¹⁸Merch Tal/wch¹⁹ ap Kwch²⁰ m. Kychwein²¹, chwaer y Drystann <ap Tallwch>²².

[§26] Mam Katwallawn²³ <Lawhir>²⁴: <Prawst>²⁵ ferch <Tithlym>²⁶ Prydyn²⁷.

[§27] [66] Yn²⁸ tri lle y dylyt²⁹ arg/wydiaeth³⁰ Wyned³¹ <o gogeil>³²:

[§27.1] Un onadunt³³: Stratweu³⁴ ferch <Gadeawn>³⁵ m. Kynan³⁶ m. Eudaf m. Karadawg³⁷ ap Bran ap

¹ R omits this section.

² C; Banna EL; Penda M.

³ ELCM; Gaswallon R.

⁴ ELCM; Avandrec R.

⁵ LCMR; m. E.

⁶ LR; Perwar E; Perwa'v R; Berwevyr M.

⁷ L; Ryvodoawg E; R'vdd Vawr C; Ryveddvawr MR.

⁸ CLMR; Eynlawn E.

⁹ ap Mar E; – L; ap Mat C; ab Maesgwic Cloph MR.

¹⁰ M adds ac Einion i frawd.

¹¹ EL; Walltwn MR.

¹² Gwallwenn... Gwyned ELMR; – C.

¹³ ELCR; Medyf neu Medgein o henw arall M.

¹⁴ EMR; Moeldaf L; Vayldyff C.

¹⁵ EM; Dalan L; Dylan R.

¹⁶ MR; Darws E; – L.

¹⁷ m. Dylan... Medyf ELMR; – C.

¹⁸ E leaves a gap before *Merch*.

¹⁹ ELCM; Kallwch R.

²⁰ ELM; K'wch CR.

²¹ EMR; Kychwen L; Kychwin C.

²² CM; – EL; Danll'wch R.

²³ EL; Gysswallawn CMR.

²⁴ M; Llawir ELR; – C.

²⁵ LCMR; Praws E.

²⁶ R; Eith'ym E; Trychlyn LC; Tethlym M.

²⁷ ELC; Pydein neu Prydyn M; Prydain R.

²⁸ EB; – AL; Y C; Llyma y M; Mewn R.

²⁹ y dylyt EL; y dylyt B; y dyleid A; yr aeth CM; y delid R.

³⁰ EBALMR; – C.

³¹ EBACMR; Wneth L.

³² BAL; [GAP] E; ar gogail C; i gogail M; o gogael R.

³³ onadunt EBAMR; ohon'vnt L; – C.

³⁴ EBALM; Ysdradwel CR.

³⁵ LC; Kadeaun E; Gadeann B; Gadean A; Addeawn M; Gad'van R.

³⁶ m. Kynan EBACMR; – L.

³⁷ EBACMR; Karawd L.

Llyr Lledieith. Stratweul¹ oed wreig Goel Godebog, mam Dyfyrwr², a mam Geneu ap Koeß.

[§27.2] Eil yw Gwawl ferch Goel Godebawg, mam Guneda Wledig, gwraig <Edern>⁴ ap Padarn⁵ Peisrud⁶.

[§27.3] Tryded vu Ethyll⁷ ferch Kynan <Dyndaethwy>⁸, gwreig Merfyn⁹ Vrych, mam Rodri Mawr¹⁰.

[§28] Meibion Rodri Mawr: Anarawt a Chadell a Meurig a Merfyn¹¹ a Thudawa¹² a <Gwriat>¹³ a Gwyde/ig¹⁴.

[§28.1] Me[i]bion Anarawt ap Rodri: Idwal ag Elisse¹⁵.

[§28.1.1] Meibion Idwal/ Foel m. Anarawt¹⁶: Ieua¹⁷ a Iago a Meurig a Chynan ag Idwal/ Vychan.

[§28.1.2] Meibion Ieua¹⁸: Meig¹⁸ a Howel [67] a Ieua¹⁹ tad Kynan y kwn.

[§28.1.3] <Plant I[a]go ap Idwal Voel: Kynan ap Iago>²⁰, <Kustenin>²¹ Du <ap>²² Iago²³, a las yg gwaith Hiradug.

[§28.1.4] Prawst²⁴ ferch <Elisse>²⁵ oed fam Kynan ap Seissyllt a mam Lewelyn ap Seissyll, tad hen Ruffud ap Llewelyn.

[§28.1.5]²⁶ Idwal/ m. Meurig²⁷, odyne Iago²⁸ mab Idwal²⁹, odyne Kynan mab Iago³⁰, tad³¹ Gruffud mab Kynan.

[§28.2] P/ant Kadell m. Rodri: Howel a Meurig a C[h]lydawg³².

[§28.2.1] P/ant Howel/ ap Kadell: Ewein a Rein³³ a Rodri.

[§28.2.2] P/ant Ewein m.³⁴ Howel: Maredud ag Eyniawn³⁵.

¹ ELM; – BA; Ystradwa/ CR.

² EBALC; Dyvyr Aur M; Dyfr R.

³ M reverses the order of *Dyfyrwr* and *Ceneu*. M adds eraill a ddywaid mae Seradwen i gelwid hi verch Gynan ab Eudaf ab Caradawc.

⁴ B; Edeyrn EL; Edyrn ACMR.

⁵ EACMR; Padarn B; Pedernn L.

⁶ R reverses the order of *mam Guneda* and *gwraig Edern*.

⁷ E; Esill B; Esyllt ACMR; Ecyll L.

⁸ BALCMR; Dindeethwy E.

⁹ EBALM; Vorvryn C; Vervryn R.

¹⁰ mam Rodri Mawr EBALR; – C. M reverses the order of *gwreig Merfyn* and *mam Rodri*.

¹¹ ELC; Mervryn MR. R(FT) reverse the order of Meurig and Merfyn.

¹² E; Chadwal L; Thvdwal CR; Idwal M.

¹³ LCMR; Gwryyat E.

¹⁴ ELCM; Gwydlid R.

¹⁵ ELC; Elisseu MR.

¹⁶ m. Anarawt ELM; Anarawt ac C; – R.

¹⁷ ECLR; Ieuan Alys M.

¹⁸ ECMR; Mevric L.

¹⁹ M adds [a Chadwallon].

²⁰ R; – ELCM.

²¹ R; Kwstenin EM; Kystenyn LC.

²² LMR; a E.

²³ <ap> Iago ELMR; – C.

²⁴ ELCR; Trawst M.

²⁵ LCM; E/ut E; Elisev R.

²⁶ M omits this section.

²⁷ ELR; Maic C. TF add a vv dywysog.

²⁸ odyne Iago EFT; – LC.

²⁹ mab Idwal/ E; – LCR.

³⁰ mab Iago ELC; – R.

³¹ ELC; oddyna R.

³² a C[h]lydawg ELMR; – C.

³³ ECMR; Rriain L; Rvn R.

³⁴ ECMR; – L.

³⁵ M adds a Llywarch.

- [§28.2.3] Plant Maredud ap Ewein: Katwallawn¹ ag Agharat, mam Ruffud ap Llewe/yn, a mam Vledyn ap Kynfyn².
- [§28.2.4] [68] Meurik ap Kadell a ladawd Klydawg y vrawt.
- [§28.2.5] Plant Einyawn m.³ Ewein: Tewdwr.
- [§28.2.6] Plant Tewdwr: Rys a <Rydderch>⁴ ag E/en⁵.
- [§28.3] Plant Merfyn⁶ ap Rodri: <Tryffin>⁷ ap Merfyn⁸, yd henyw⁹ gweheliaeth¹⁰ y Riw o Leyn ohonaw¹¹.
- [§28.4] Meurik ap Rodri a digwydus¹² y ar <i>¹³ farch yn Ystrat Meurik¹⁴, ag ni bu etifed idaw.
- [§28.5] Tudwal¹⁵ G/off ap Rodri a vrathwyt ym penn y lin ygwaith kymrit¹⁶ Konwy, pann ymladawd meibyon Rodri¹⁷ ag Edryd Gwallthir vrenhin Lloegyr, ag o'r brath hwnnw y kloffes, <ac>¹⁸ am hynny¹⁹ y rodes²⁰ y vrodyr idaw uche/ogod²¹ Gwyned.
- [§28.6]²² Plant Gwryat²³ m. Rodri: [69] Gwgawn²⁴ ap Gwriat²⁵, gwyr y Nant Mawr o Dwyrke/yn a henynt ohonaw. Rodri Mawr a²⁶ Gwryat²⁷ y fab²⁸: yn yr un kyfrangk y lladawd Saesson eill dau²⁹.
- [§28.7]³⁰ Gwydelig ap Rodri: yr henyw gwyr Penmmon Lys ohonaw.
- [§29] Yma y treuthir am wehelydion Kymru³¹.
- [§30] Gwehelieith³² Deheubarth:
- [§30.1] Rys ap³³ Gruffud ap Rys ap Tewdwr³⁴ ap Eynon ap Ewein ap Howel Da ap Kadell³⁵ ap Rodri <Mawr>³⁶.
- ¹ ELMR; Kyswallan C.
- ² R adds a mam Riwallon ap Kynvyn ac Ewerydd.
- ³ ELMR; – C.
- ⁴ CLMFT; Rydach E.
- ⁵ F adds gwraic [GAP]. T adds gwraic plant Gronw ap Owain ap Hoel Dda edo.
- ⁶ ELM; Me/vric C; Mervryn R.
- ⁷ LCMR; E[GAP] E.
- ⁸ ap Merfyn E; ap Me/vryn L; a Morvyn C; – MR.
- ⁹ ELMR; henwi'r C.
- ¹⁰ E; gwehelith LCM; gwyr R.
- ¹¹ M adds Mervyn ab Mervyn ac o hwnnw yr heniw gwyr Llyn.
- ¹² E; ddigwyddws L; ddigwyddawdd MR.
- ¹³ LMR; – E.
- ¹⁴ a digwydus... Meurik ELMR; i gelwit Ystrat Me/vric wrth i henw C.
- ¹⁵ ELCR; Tudwad M.
- ¹⁶ E; ge/vric L; kerik C; kemryt M; kamryd FT.
- ¹⁷ pann ymladawd meibyon Rodri ELCFT; ynn ymladd M.
- ¹⁸ LCMR; – E.
- ¹⁹ am hynny ELCM; – R.
- ²⁰ ELCM; roes R.
- ²¹ E; vchelgoed LC; vynachlogoedd M; vchel llogieid R.
- ²² R omits this section.
- ²³ ELC; Gwiriad M.
- ²⁴ ECM; Gwgaw L.
- ²⁵ ELC; Gwiriad M.
- ²⁶ ELC; ab M.
- ²⁷ ELC; Gwiriad M.
- ²⁸ ELC; vrawd M.
- ²⁹ EL; daw C. y lladawd... dau ELC; – M.
- ³⁰ R omits this section.
- ³¹ Yma... Kymru E; Llyma vonedd Gwehelaethe Kymr/v C; – R; A llyma hysbysrwydd am wehelyth holl Gymr/v P; Bonedh y gwyr goreu o genetl Kembri S.
- ³² E; Gwehelyth CMR.
- ³³ EMR; a C.
- ³⁴ The archetype omitted Cadell between Tewdwr and Einion.
- ³⁵ ap Kadell ECR; – M.
- ³⁶ CMR; – E.

[§30.1.1] Gwenlliant ferch Gruffyd ap Kynan oed fam Rys ap Gruffud¹.

[§30.1.2] [70] Merch² Riwallawn ap Kynfyn oed wraig Rys ap Tewdwr, mam Gruffud ap Rys³.

[§31] Gwehelieth⁴ Gwerthrynon⁵:

[§31.1] Katwallawn ap Madawg ap <Idnerth>⁶ ap Kadwgon⁷ ap <Elystan>⁸ ap Kuhe/yn ap Ifor⁹ ap¹⁰ Seferus¹¹ ap Kadwr¹² Wenwenn¹³ ap Idnerth ap Iorwerth Hirvlawt¹⁴ ap <Tegonwy>¹⁵ ap Teon¹⁶ ap Gwineu Deu Vreudwyt ap Bywyr Lew ap Bywdeg ap Run Rud Baladyr ap Llary ap Kasnar¹⁷ Wledig ap Llud ap Beli Mawr.

[§31.1.1] Ranillt ferch Gruffud ap Kynan oed fam Katwallawn ap Madawg.

[§32] Gwehelieth¹⁸ Powys:

[§32.1] [71] Gruffud Mae/or <ac>¹⁹ Ewein Vychan ag <Elisse>²⁰, meibyon Madawg ap Meredyd ap Bledyn ap Kynfyn ap Gwerystan²¹ ap Gweit[h]foet ap Gwleden²² ap Gwrydyr²³ ap Karadawg ap Lles Llawdeawg ap <Edenyvet>²⁴ ap Gwynnan ap Gwynnawg Varyfsych ap Keidiaw ap Koryf ap <Kaenawc>²⁵ ap Tegonwy ap Teon ap Gwineu Deu Vreudwyt ap Bywyr Lew ap Bywdeg ap Run Rud Baladyr mab Llary ap Kasnar Wledig m. Llud ap Beli Mawr.

[§32.1.1] Sussanna ferch Gruffud ap Kynan oed fam Gruffud Maelor a mam Ewein Vychan a mam Elisse ap Madog.

[§33] Gwehelieth²⁶ Arwystli:

[§33.1] [72] Howel m. <Ie/vaf>²⁷ m. <Ywain>²⁸ m. Trahayarn m. Karadawg ap Gwynn m. Gollwynn ap Etnywain²⁹ ap Bledyn ap Bledrus³⁰ ap Kynawg Mawr ap Iorwerth Hirvlawt m. Tegonwy m. Teon³¹ m. Gwineu Deu Vreudwyt m. Bywyr Lew m. Bywdeg m. Run Rud Baladyr m. Llary m. Kasnar³² Wledig m. Llud m. Beli Mawr.

¹ oed fam Rys ap Gruffud E; i vam C; oedd i vam M; oedd vam yr arglwydd Rys hwnnw R.

² Merch ECM; Mam Gruffudd ap Rys ap Tewdwr oedd Wladus verch R.

³ oed... Rys ECM; – R.

⁴ E; Gwehelyth CMR.

⁵ ECR; Meilienydd rhwng Gwy a Hafrenn M.

⁶ MPS; Iorwerth ECR.

⁷ EMR; Kadwallawn C.

⁸ CMR; Elystan E. ER *add* Klodrud; M *adds* Glodrydd iarll Henphordd.

⁹ ECR; Mor M.

¹⁰ ECR; – M.

¹¹ E; Severws C; Senerus M; Sevirus R.

¹² EMR; Kadwallawn C.

¹³ E; – C; Wenwyn MR.

¹⁴ M *adds* yr hwnn a elwir ynn yr iaith newydd Ierwerth Hirymladd.

¹⁵ CMR; Tegoni E.

¹⁶ MR end the pedigree here.

¹⁷ E; Kassvar C.

¹⁸ E; Gwehelyth CMR.

¹⁹ CMR; – E.

²⁰ CM; E/lor E; Elissev R.

²¹ MR end the pedigree here.

²² E; Gwlyddien C.

²³ E; Gweydr C.

²⁴ C; Ednufet E.

²⁵ C; Keneawg E.

²⁶ E; Gwehelyth CMR.

²⁷ RM; Ewein E; Ieyva C.

²⁸ CMR; Ieuf E. E *adds* m. Bledyn.

²⁹ M ends the pedigree here.

³⁰ ER; Bledyrws C.

³¹ R ends the pedigree here.

³² EL; Kassvar C.

[§33.1.1] A <Mareryda>¹ ferch Gruffyd ap Kynan oed fam Howel ap Ieuf.

[§33.2] Mareddy m. Rotbert <ab Llywarch>² m. Trahayarn m. Karadawg.

[§33.2.1] Dydgu ferch Madawg ap <Idnerth>³ y fam.

[§A1.1] Kadwallawn m. Madawg m. Kadwgawn <ap Bleddyn>⁴ ap Kynfyn.

[§A1.1.1] Gwennlian ferch Gruffud ap Kynan y fam.

[§A2] [73] Rae⁵ ferch Gruffud ap Kynan oed wreig <Lywarch>⁶ ap <Bleddyn>⁷ ap Kynfyn.

[§A3] P/ant B/edyn ap Kynfyn:

[§A3.1] Madawg⁸ a Ryrit, un fam un dat⁹ oedynt, ag yngweith Penllechren¹⁰ yn Deheubarth¹¹ y lladawd gwyr Rys ap Tewdwr wynt eill dau¹².

[§A3.2] Maredudd ap B/edyn, a Hyar¹³ ferch Kellin¹⁴ <y Blaidd Rhudd>¹⁵ y fam.

[§A3.3] Iorwerth ap B/edyn: merch <Brochwel>¹⁶ ap Moe/yn o Dwrke/yn y fam.

[§A3.4] ¹⁷Llywarch ap B/edyn a Cadwgon ap B/edyn, tad Ewein ap Kadwgon a that Madawg ap Kadwgon¹⁸.

[§A3.5] [74] Gwehelieth¹⁹ Nanneu²⁰: Meibion Maredudd ap Bledyn: Madawg, Gruffud a Hywel. Hunud ferch Eunud²¹ ap Gwen/iant ferch Rys ap Marchan²² eu mam.

[§A3.6] Gwenwenwen²³ mab Ewein Kefeilawg m. Gruffud m. Maredudd ap B/edyn ap Kynfyn ap Gwerystan ap Gweithfoet ap <Gwyn>²⁴ ap Gwlyden²⁵ ap Gwrydyr²⁶ ap Karadawg²⁷ ap Lles Llawddeawg ap Ednyfet ap Gwynan ap <Gwynnawc varyfsych>²⁸ ap Keidiaw ap Koryf ap Kaenawg ap Tegonwy²⁹ ap Teon ap Gwineu Deu Vreudwyt ap Bywyr

¹ S; Mareda P; Marideda E; Marida L; Merida C; Varred M; Varvred R.

² MR; – ELC.

³ LCM; Iorwerth ER.

⁴ PS; – ELC.

⁵ EL; Riayl C.

⁶ LC; Lywyarch E.

⁷ LC; By/edyn E.

⁸ E adds m. Bledyn.

⁹ un dat ELC; – M.

¹⁰ yngweith Penllechren ELC; – M.

¹¹ yn Deheubarth ELM; – C.

¹² lladawd... dau ELC; llas M.

¹³ ELC; Haer M.

¹⁴ ELC; Gillin M. LCM add ap.

¹⁵ M; Beleid Rud E; Bledrus L; Bledyrws C.

¹⁶ CLM; Berochwe/ E.

¹⁷ M adds Gwehelieth Nannau.

¹⁸ a that... Kadwgon ELC; – M.

¹⁹ E; Gwehelieth L; Cwehelieth C.

²⁰ Gwehelieth Nanneu ELC; – M.

²¹ ELM; Davydd C.

²² ap Marchan ELC; ab Archan o Ddyffryn Clwyd M.

²³ E; Gwennwynwyn LC.

²⁴ CL; Gwny E.

²⁵ EL; Gwlyddien C.

²⁶ E; Gweydder L; Gwydr C.

²⁷ EC; Barawc L.

²⁸ LC; Gwynvaryf Syth E.

²⁹ ap Tegonwy EC; – L.

Lew ap Bywdeg ap Run Rud Baladyr ap Llary ap <Kasnar>¹ Wledig ap Llund ap Beli Mawr².

[§A3.6.1] Gwenlliant ferch Ewein ap³ Gru[75]ffud oed fam Wenwynwyn.⁴

[§34.1]⁵ ⁶Iorwerth Goch ap Maredudd ap Bledyn.

[§34.1.1] Merch⁷ Bledris⁸ ap Ednywain Bendew y fam.

[§35] Gwehe/ieith⁹ Morgannwg:

[§35.1] Morgant ap Kariadawg ap Iestin ap Gwrgant ap <Ithael>¹⁰ ap Idwallawn¹¹ ap Morgant Mawr ap Ewein ap Howel ap Rys ap Arthafael¹² ap Rys ap Ithael ap Morgant¹³ ap <Athrwys>¹⁴ <ap Mevric>¹⁵ ap <Teuderic>¹⁶ ap Teithfallt¹⁷ ap Nynyaw¹⁸ ap Irb¹⁹ ap <Erbic>²⁰ ap Meurig²¹ ap <Enynny>²².

[§35.1.1] Gwladus ferch Gruffud ap Rys ap Tewdwr <oed>²³ mam Forgant.

[§35.2] ²⁴Gruffud²⁵ ap <Ivor>²⁶ ap <Mevric vychan>²⁷ <mab>²⁸ uchelwr o Sainghenyd²⁹.

[§35.2.1] [76] Nest ferch Gruffud ap Rys ap Tewdwr³⁰ oed fam Gruffud ap <Ivor>³¹.

[§36] Gwehe/ieith³² Gwent³³:

[§36.1] Morgan ap Howel ap Iorwerth ap Ewein³⁴ ap Gruffud ap Ryderch³⁵ ap Iestin.

[§36.1.1] Gweyrfyl³⁶ ferch Ewein Kyfeiliawg y fam.

¹ L; Kanar E; Kassvar C.

² E adds ap Mynogan.

³ Ewein ap EL; – C.

⁴ L adds Gwenlliant verch Wrgenaf ap Hoedliw o veilienydd oed fam Owain Kyveilioc. C adds A Gwenllian verch Wrgenaf ap Hoedliw oedd fam Ywain Kyveilioc.

⁵ In LCM, this section is positioned after §A3.5.

⁶ R adds Gwehelyth Powys.

⁷ Merch ELM; Eva verch R.

⁸ ELMR; Vyledyrws C.

⁹ E; Gwehelith LCMR.

¹⁰ LC; Ithel EMR.

¹¹ EMR; Cadwallawn LC.

¹² ECR; Arthvael LM.

¹³ M adds ab Ywain. M ends the pedigree here.

¹⁴ Pen. 127i; Arth[GAP] E; Athruws L; Athues C; Athraws R; Athyrwys P; Arthmes S.

¹⁵ LCRPS; – E.

¹⁶ L; Tewdrig ECR; Denderic PS.

¹⁷ ER; Teith LC.

¹⁸ E; Nynnyw L; Neiniaw C; Mynan R.

¹⁹ This is followed by a gap in E.

²⁰ LCR; Ebig E.

²¹ ap Meurig EPS; – LCR.

²² RLC; Efyddy E.

²³ CLMR; yw E.

²⁴ M adds Gwehelyth Sainhenyd.

²⁵ ELMR; Gwffvydd C.

²⁶ LCMR; I[GAP] E.

²⁷ LCMR; [GAP] E.

²⁸ LCMR; ap [GAP] E.

²⁹ E; Senhynydd L; Sainhenydd CR; Sainhenyd M.

³⁰ Gruffud... Tewdwr ELCR; yr arglwydd Rys M.

³¹ LC; I[GAP] E.

³² E; Gwehelith LMR.

³³ Gwehe/ieith Gwent ELMR; – C.

³⁴ The archetype omitted Caradog between Owain and Gruffudd.

³⁵ ap Ryderch ELMR; – C.

³⁶ ER; Gwerwil LM; Gwenllian C.

[§37]¹ Neur deryw yn² dywedut³ am⁴ wehe/lydieith⁵ Kymry oll, y rai yssyd yn⁶ yr oes⁷ honn⁸ <yn>⁹ gwladychu¹⁰. Weithion y dywedwn <vonedd>¹¹ wehelydion¹² Kymru, y rei¹³ a wledychynt¹⁴ <er yn>¹⁵ oes¹⁶ Arthur hyt yn oes feibion Rodri Mawr¹⁷.

[§38]¹⁸ [77] Gwehe/ieith¹⁹ Dyfet²⁰:

[§38.1] Iwein ap Elen ferch Lywarch ap Hyfeid ap Tangwystyl²¹ ferch Ewein ap Maredudd ap <Teudos>²² ap <Cadwgawn Trydelic>²³ ap <Kathen>²⁴ ap <Gwlyddien>²⁵ ap Nowy²⁶ ap <Arthur>²⁷ ap Pedyr ap Kyngar ap Gwerthefyr ap Erbin ap Aergu/ ap²⁸ <Llawhir>²⁹ ap Tryffin ap Ewein Vreig ap Kyndeyrn Vendigeit ap Ewein ap Kyngar ap Ewein ap Gw/edyr³⁰ ferch³¹ G/etwin ap Nyfed³² ap <Dyvet>³³ ap Ebynt³⁴ ap E/lynt ap Am/oyd³⁵ ap Amweryd ap <Kustennin>³⁶ ap Maxen W/edig.

[§38.2] Rykert ap Meredyd m. Ryderch m. B/etri³⁷ m. Kedifor m. Koll/wyn³⁸ m. Gwynn m. Ryderch m. E/lan Wefylhwch <ap Kynan ap Achanet³⁹ ap Iob⁴⁰ ap Dei⁴¹ ap Llywry^{42>}⁴³ m. Kynan

¹ C omits this section.

² E; ym L; – R.

³ EL; ysbysv R.

⁴ E; – L. L adds bonedd.

⁵ E; gwehelith L.

⁶ am wehe/lydieith... yn EL; – R.

⁷ ER; ynys L.

⁸ R adds o vonedd.

⁹ L; y E.

¹⁰ <yn> gwladychu EL; – R.

¹¹ L; [GAP] E.

¹² E; gwehelyth L.

¹³ <vonedd>... rei EL; y gwyr R.

¹⁴ E; wladychasant L; vvant R.

¹⁵ P; [GAP] E; yn yr L; o R.

¹⁶ EL; – R.

¹⁷ yn oes feibion Rodri Mawr EL; Vaelgwn R.

¹⁸ C omits this section.

¹⁹ E; Gwehelith LMR.

²⁰ ELR; Gwentllwc M.

²¹ EL; Tanglwyst M; Tangwstl R.

²² LMR; [GAP] E. The archetype omitted Rhain between Tewdos and Cadwgawn.

²³ LM; Kadwg[GAP] E; Kadwgwn ap Kynddelw R.

²⁴ PS; Kadeu E; Arthen L; Cadoc M; Kadien R.

²⁵ LMR; Gw[GAP] E.

²⁶ ELR; Nwy M. M ends the pedigree here.

²⁷ L; Arth E; Arthen R.

²⁸ This erroneous insertion was probably present in the archetype.

²⁹ L; Llawir ER.

³⁰ ER; Gwladus L.

³¹ ER; – L.

³² ap Nyfed EL; – R.

³³ LR; Dofet E.

³⁴ ER; Evynt L.

³⁵ ER; Amlwd L.

³⁶ RL; Kwstennin E.

³⁷ E; Clotri L; Kledri MR.

³⁸ E; Gollwyn LMR. E adds Du.

³⁹ S; Achawet P. Cf. Artha'vad Pen. 131iii; Archenad Pen. 127i.

⁴⁰ S; Iab P.

⁴¹ S; Dyeni P.

⁴² S; Llywery P.

⁴³ SP; – EMR.

<Kylchef>¹ ap Tryffin Varfawg² m. Ewein Vreisg m. <Kyndeirn>³ Vendigait⁴.

[§39]⁵ [78] Ednyfet ap Moryen⁶ ap <Kadgwr>⁷ <ap Kadvor>⁸ m. Merwyd m. <Mornvyet>⁹ m. Moraeth¹⁰ m. Morgwn m. Botang¹¹ m. Moryen <Glas>¹². <Oddyna y Glastyniaid a dyvodd¹³ o Gaer Lwydkoed¹⁴ i gaer a elwir yr awr honn Aldud>¹⁵.

[§40] Gwehe/ieith¹⁶ Kadel/ling o Gegitfa¹⁷:

[§40.1] Gwynn ap Gruffud ap Beli ap Selyf m. <Brochvae>¹⁸ m. Aedan¹⁹ m. Elisse m. Gwylawg²⁰ m. Beli m. Mael²¹ Myngam²² m. Selyf m. Kynan Garwyn m. Brochwel Ysgithrawg²³ m. Kyngen m. Kadell Dyrnllug²⁴ m. Pasken m. Bridw²⁵ m. Rudfedel Vrych m. Kyndeyrn²⁶ m. Gortheyrn Gort[h]eneu.

[§40.2]²⁷ Alawg Wr <ap Idic>²⁸ m. Kadell Deyrn//ug²⁹.

[§41] [79] Gwehe/ieith³⁰ Pen//lynn:

<Meiriawn>³¹ m. <Lleuodev>³² m. <Roet>³³ m. <Donet>³⁴ m. Tudwal³⁵ m. Ednyfet m. Brochwel <ap Dyfnwal>³⁶ m. Dunair³⁷ m. Kadwr³⁸ m. Pybyr m. <Caper>³⁹ m. <Puter>⁴⁰ m.

¹ R; Kyleef E; Kilkelff M. m. Gwynn... <Kylchef> EMR; – L.

² L adds ap varuaut.

³ LMR; Kyndrwyn E; R adds nev Cyndrwyn.

⁴ M adds ab Gwrtheyrn Gurthenau.

⁵ C omits this section.

⁶ ER; Maxen L.

⁷ R; Kadwr EL.

⁸ R; – EL.

⁹ L; Morfynet ER.

¹⁰ EL; Morith R.

¹¹ EL; Bodawc R.

¹² LR; La E.

¹³ P; dynawt S.

¹⁴ P; Luythoet S.

¹⁵ PS; – ELR.

¹⁶ E; Gwehelith LCMR.

¹⁷ Kadelling o Gegitfa E; Cadelling LC; Kegidva M; Kadelling o Gegidva yMhywys R.

¹⁸ LC; Brechaul E; Brochwel MR.

¹⁹ EMR; Adeng L; Adawc C. M adds ab Kyngyn.

²⁰ ELCM; Gwynawc FT.

²¹ M adds ab.

²² EL; Migan CM; Mynan R.

²³ M ends the pedigree here.

²⁴ E; Deyrnlluc R. m. Brochwel... Dyrnllug ER; – LC.

²⁵ ELC; Rydw R.

²⁶ ELR; Kyndern C.

²⁷ C omits this section.

²⁸ LR; Medig E.

²⁹ E; Dyrnlluc LR.

³⁰ E; Gwehelith LCMR.

³¹ CLMR; Merfaun E.

³² L; Selenweu E; Lleuoddeu C; Lleufoddeu M; Lleuweu R.

³³ LCM; Raet E; Koed R.

³⁴ LMR; Donod E; Danet C.

³⁵ ECMR; Tudawal L.

³⁶ R; – ELCM; ap Dyrnawl P; ap Dynyawl S.

³⁷ ELC; Dinoer M; Deinioc Lyr R.

³⁸ E adds m. Kadw.

³⁹ LMR; Karoer EC.

⁴⁰ RM; Panwl E.

<Stader>¹ m. Panwlff² m. Ranwlff³ m. Kornulig⁴ <ap>⁵ <Beblic>⁶ m. <Svlbych>⁷ m. Pebit⁸ Penllyn.

[§42] Gwehe/iaeth⁹ Meirionydd:

Kynan¹⁰ m. <Brochvaelan>¹¹ m. Edynefet <Meirionydd>¹² ap Einud¹³ Bach m. Brochfael m. Sualdei¹⁴ ap Idris Garw¹⁵ m. Gwethyno¹⁶ m. <Clytno>¹⁷ m. Gwynyr¹⁸ Varyf [80] Drwch¹⁹ m. <Kydwaladr>²⁰ m. Meiriawn Meirionnyd m. Tibiawn²¹ m. Kuneda Wledig.

[§43] Gwehe/ieith²² Ardudwy:

Bledud m. Karadawg m. Ieuanaw²³ ap Eigiawn²⁴ <ap Peibion²⁵ ap Pobdelw ap Pobien²⁶ Hen ap Issac>²⁷ <ap Peibiaw ap Mevric ap Dyngat>²⁸ m. Peybyau²⁹ m. Dunawt³⁰ m. Kuneda Wledig.

[§44] Gwehe/ieith³¹ Ros:

Howel Varyf Fehinawg m. Karadawg m. Meiriawn m. Howe³² m. Rufawn³³ <ap Eignion>³⁴ m. <Idgwin>³⁵ m. Katwa³⁶ Krys <Halawc>³⁷ m. Aedan m. Maig³⁸ m. <Kynglas>³⁹ Koch⁴⁰ m. Ewein Danwyn m. Einyon Yrth m. Kune[81]da Wledig.

¹ MS; Asgater P; Swalai E; Ystadwer R. m. <Puter> m. <Stader> EMR; – LC.

² ELCM; Pandwlff R.

³ E; Kynwlff LMPS; Rynwlff C; Kyndwlff R.

⁴ E; Coruulec L; Koriwlic C; Gorvllwg MR; Gorvylwg P; Gornlug S.

⁵ R; – ELCM.

⁶ LCM; – E; Peblych R.

⁷ C; Subich E; Suwych L; Salwych M. m. <Svlbych> ELCM; – R.

⁸ EMR; Pebic L; Pebylic C.

⁹ E; Gwehelith LCMR.

¹⁰ ELCR; Ywain M.

¹¹ LCM; Berochfaelan E; Brochwel R.

¹² LMR; – EC.

¹³ ER; Anvd LC; Evnydd M.

¹⁴ E; Sualdar L; Svelda C; Sualda M; Yswalt R.

¹⁵ ELCM; Gawr R.

¹⁶ E; Gwythno L; Gwyddno CMR.

¹⁷ LM; Klutno E; Kyledyno C. m. <Clytno> ELCM; – R.

¹⁸ ELM; Gwyn C; Kynyr R.

¹⁹ ELCM; Dwrch R.

²⁰ R; Kadwallawn ELC; Cadwadr M.

²¹ EL; Teibiawn CM; Tybiav R.

²² E; Gwehelith LCMR.

²³ EMR; Ioŵanaw L.

²⁴ The archetype omitted Brochfael between Eigion and Peibion.

²⁵ Pen. 131iii; Peibiav PS.

²⁶ Pen. 131iii; Poblen P; Poplien S.

²⁷ Pen. 131iii, PS; – ELCMR.

²⁸ LCRPS; – EM, Pen. 131iii.

²⁹ m. Peybyau E; ab Peibiaw M; – LCR.

³⁰ ELCM; Donod R.

³¹ E; Gwehelith LCMR.

³² m. Howe/ EMR; – LC.

³³ E; Irŵuawn L; Rŵawn CM; Rŵn R.

³⁴ Pen. 131iii; – ELCMRPS.

³⁵ LCM; Idgwnin E; Iddon R.

³⁶ ELCM; Kadvael R.

³⁷ LCMR; Hahawg E.

³⁸ EMR; Eudan LC.

³⁹ R; Kynlas ELCM.

⁴⁰ E; Koc LC; Kot M; Koed R.

[§45]¹ <Gwehelyth Ryvonioc>²:

³Mor m. Morud⁴ m. Aedan m. Mor⁵ m. <Breichiawl>⁶.

[§46.1]⁷ <⁸Euryt⁹ ap Elaeth ap Eulytlas ap Elno¹⁰.>

[§46.2] Gwehe/ieith¹¹ <Dogveiling>¹²:

Kenwrik¹³ mab Elaeth¹⁴ m. Elut¹⁵ <Glas>¹⁶ m. <Elgno>¹⁷ m. Dogfael Dogfe[i]lling m. Kuneda Wledig¹⁸ m. Edyrn¹⁹ m. Padarn²⁰ Beisrud²¹ m. Tagit²² m. Iago m. <Genedawc>²³ m. Kain m. Gorgain m. Do/i m. Gwrdo/i m. Dwfyn m. Gwrdofyn m. Af/oyd m. <Angwerydd>²⁴ m. Onwet²⁵ m. Peryf²⁶ m. Diwng²⁷ m. <Brychwein>²⁸ m. Ewein m. Afallach m. <Afflech>²⁹ m. Beli Maw[r].

[§47] Meibion Kuneda Wledig:

[§47.1] [82] Tibiawn³⁰ mab³¹ <K\nedda>³²: hynaf mab oed y Guneda, ag a vu farw yManaw³³ <Gododun>³⁴, kynn dyfot ei dat a'i vrodyr o'r gogled hyt y Gwyned³⁵.

[§47.1.1] Meiriawn Meirionnyd m. Tibiawn³⁶ m. <K\nedda>³⁷ a rannus³⁸ rwng y ewythred³⁹, ag y dyfu⁴⁰ yn y rann ef ehun y kantref a elwir o'i henw ef, nyt amgen Meirionnyd.

¹ R omits this section.

² PS; – ELC.

³ EC *add* m.. In E, John Jones encloses this section in square brackets, probably because the additional 'm.' gives it the appearance of a false ancestry for Cunedda Wledig at the end of §44.

⁴ Mor m. Morud E; Mor ap Mordud L; Mor\dd\dd C.

⁵ m. Mor E; – LC.

⁶ PS; Berechiawl E; Brochwael L; Broch\ael C.

⁷ ELCR omit this section. The text is supplied by S.

⁸ S *adds* ap.

⁹ S; Evffryth P.

¹⁰ S; Elvo P.

¹¹ E; Gwehelith LCMR.

¹² R; Dogfei/in ECM; Dog\veilnir L.

¹³ ELCM; Kowryd R.

¹⁴ ER; Alaeth LCM.

¹⁵ ELM; E\l\vt C; Elgud R.

¹⁶ R; – E; Las LCM.

¹⁷ M; Elno ELC; Ilon R.

¹⁸ M ends the pedigree here.

¹⁹ ECR; Edernn L.

²⁰ ECR; Padernn L.

²¹ R ends the pedigree here.

²² EL; Tegit C.

²³ L; Gwynnawg E; Gwyddawc C.

²⁴ LC; Anweryd E.

²⁵ EL; Onwydd C.

²⁶ m. Peryf E; – LC; ap Perys PS.

²⁷ EL; Diwc C.

²⁸ L; Brochwein E; Prydain C.

²⁹ S; Afflech P; Aff\lath E; Aflet L; Ffleth C.

³⁰ ELC; Teibiawn M; Meibion F; Peibion T.

³¹ ELCM; – FT.

³² LCM; Kunedaf E; – FT.

³³ yManaw ELC; – M; yMynne\ FT.

³⁴ S; Gogodun EL; – CM; Gwod\vu F; Gododv T.

³⁵ EMFT; kantref L. kynn... Gwyned ELMFT; – C.

³⁶ EL; Teibiawn CM; Tybia\ FT

³⁷ LCMF; Kunada E; Kynedd T.

³⁸ E; ranwyt CL; rannodd MFT; ranws S. LC *add* i dir.

³⁹ EM; ewythrydd LCF. C *adds* ac ef.

⁴⁰ y dyfu EL; i doeth CFT; a ddoeth M; – FT.

- [§47.2] Arwystel mab Kuneda, a elwir o'i henw¹ Arwystli.
 [§47.3] Keredig mab Kuneda², ody³ Keredigiawn.
 [§47.4] Dunawt mab Kuneda a wledychws⁴ y kantref a elwir Dunoding⁵, nyt amgen⁶ Ardudwy ag Eidiony⁷.
 [§47.5] Edern⁸ mab Kuneda, ody⁹ Edernion.
 [§47.6] [83] Mael mab Kuneda, ody¹⁰ Dinmael.
 [§47.7] Koe/ mab Kuneda¹¹, ody¹² Ko/eion¹³.
 [§47.8] Dogfae/ m. Kuneda, ody¹⁴ Dogfeil/ing.
 [§47.9] Rufawn¹⁵ mab Kuneda, ody¹⁶ Ryfonyog.
 [§47.10] Oswael¹⁷ mab Kuneda, ody¹⁸ Maes¹⁹ <Osweiliaun>²⁰.
 [§47.11] ²¹Eynion Yrth mab Kuneda, ody²² Kaereynion ym Powys²³.
 [§47.12]²⁴ <Gwron²⁵ ap Kvnedda, <Abloid>²⁶: brodyr oeddynt, a Dwyei verch Degid²⁷ Voel i <mam>²⁸.>
 [§47.13] Dwy ferchet²⁹ Kuneda: Tegit³⁰ <a>³¹ Gwenn ferch Kuneda, gwreig <Amlawdd>³² Wledig³³, mam Kynwal³⁴ Garnhwch³⁵.
 [§47.14]³⁶ [84] <Kynyr a>³⁷ Meilir ag³⁸ <Yneigr>³⁹, meibion Gwron mab Kuneda, a dyvuant⁴⁰

- ¹ elwir o'i henw ECL; gafas M. C *adds* ef.
² a elwir... Kuneda ELCM; – FT.
³ ELC; a gafas MT; ac afas F.
⁴ a wledychws EL; a wledychawdd C; a gafas M; bioedd FT. LC *add* yn.
⁵ EL; Dvnding C; Dunodic MFT.
⁶ FT *add* kymwd.
⁷ ELC; Eivionydd MFT.
⁸ EC; Edeirn L; Edyrn MFT.
⁹ ELC; a gavas M; bioedd TF.
¹⁰ ELC; a fu eiddo M; bioedd T.
¹¹ ody... mab Kuneda ELCMT; – F.
¹² ELC; a vu eiddo M; bioedd FT. FT *add* kymwd.
¹³ ELCMF; Koliawn T.
¹⁴ EL; ac o'i henw ef C; a gavas M; bioedd FT. FT *add* kymwd.
¹⁵ EL; Rvn C; Rhuawn M; Ryuon FT.
¹⁶ EL; ac o'i henw ef C; a vu eiddaw M; dyno F; bioedd dyno T.
¹⁷ ELF; Oswallt C; Vssa M; Oswald T.
¹⁸ EL; ac o'i henw C; a gafas M; bioedd FT.
¹⁹ ELCM; – FT.
²⁰ LFT; Osswylaw E; Yswallt C; Oswallt M.
²¹ E *adds* Afloed m. Kuneda; L *adds* Abloit ap Kvnedda.
²² EL; ac o'i henw C; oedd eiddaw M; bioedd FT.
²³ ym Powys ELM; – CFT.
²⁴ ELCM omit this section. The text is supplied by T.
²⁵ T; Gwran F.
²⁶ F; a Blaid T.
²⁷ T; Kvnedda F.
²⁸ F; man T.
²⁹ ECM; verch L.
³⁰ ELC; Tegie M.
³¹ LCM; [GAP] E. Dwy... Tegit <a> ELCM; – FT.
³² CMFT; Amlwyd E; Anlan L.
³³ FT *add* yn eigyr.
³⁴ ELFT; Gywal M.
³⁵ ELFT; Caruhwch M. mam Kynwal Garnhwch ELMFT; – C.
³⁶ C omits this section.
³⁷ FT; Ke[GAP] E; Kevyr a L; Kynyr neu Kernyr o henw arall a M; Kernir S.
³⁸ ELMT; – F.
³⁹ LM; Yneigeir E; – FT.
⁴⁰ E; duhuuant L; vuan M; Vvant FT.

eill tri y gyt a Chatwallawn¹ Llawhir eu kefynderw y deol² <y>³ Gwydyl Ffichti⁴ o Ynys Fon, ag odyna y <diuanassant>⁵ yn llwyr y Gwydyl Ffichti o Fon⁶, pan n lladaw <Cadwallon>⁷ Lawhir⁸ Serigi Wydel yn Llam⁹ y Gwydyl¹⁰ yMon.

[§48] Boned llwyth Kelling¹¹, meibion uchelwyr¹²:

[§48.1] Hofa ap Kendelw m. Kwnws m. Kelling¹³ m. Maelawg Da m. Gredyf m. Konws Du¹⁴ m. Kelling¹⁵ Enfyf¹⁶ m. Peredur Teirnoe¹⁷ m. Meilir Eryr Gwyr¹⁸ Gorsed m. <Tydy>¹⁹ m. Tyfoded²⁰ m. <Gwylvyw>²¹ m. <Marchwyn>²² m. <Machwyn>²³ m. <Bran>²⁴ m. Pyll m. <Kernir>²⁵ m. Meilir Mei/irion²⁶ m. Gwron m. Kune[85]da W/edig.

[§48.1.1] <Keinvryd>²⁷ ferch²⁸ Ednywain Bendew m. Neiniat²⁹ m. Gweithfoed m. Gwrydyr³⁰ oed fam Hwfa ap Kyndelw.

[§48.2] ³¹Sandef³² ap Karadawg Hard ap Gwrydyr ap Maelog Da.

[§48.2.1] Angharat ferch Brochfael ap Moe/yn³³ oed fam Sandef fab Karadawg.

[§48.2.2] Arthen ag Idon, brodyr y Sandef ap Karadawg, meibion Karadawg Hard ap <Gwrydyr>³⁴ ap Maelawg Da³⁵.

[§48.3] ³⁶Gronw ap <Morgeneu>³⁷ ap Idgwyn³⁸ ap Einiawn ap Megyr³⁹ ap Breichiawl⁴⁰ ap Maelawg Da.

¹ ELM; Chaswallon R.

² E; dehol LM; gyrv R.

³ MR; – EL.

⁴ EL; Phichtiaid MR.

⁵ LR; difassant E; difaassant M. M adds hwn.

⁶ y Gwydyl... Fon EL; – MR.

⁷ ML; Kaswallawn E; Kyswalldan F.

⁸ ELM; Llawir R.

⁹ ER; Llan LM.

¹⁰ M adds yNghaer Gybi.

¹¹ E; Houa ap Kyddelw L; Hwffa ap Kynddel C; Hwfa ab Kynddelw M; Killin R.

¹² meibion uchelwyr ER; – LCM.

¹³ E; Kellin LC; Killin MR.

¹⁴ EMR; Duy LC.

¹⁵ E; Kellin LC; Killin MR.

¹⁶ ELCR; Hen M.

¹⁷ ELMR; Tymedd C.

¹⁸ M adds y.

¹⁹ LCR; Ty[GAP] E; Tydey M.

²⁰ ELMR; Tyvoddet C.

²¹ LCMR; Gw[GAP] E.

²² LCMR; Ma[GAP] E.

²³ L; Ma[GAP] E; Marchwyn C. m. <Machwyn> ELC; – MR.

²⁴ LCMR; [GAP] E. M ends the pedigree here.

²⁵ LC; K[GAP] E; Ker/vyr R.

²⁶ E; Melerawn L; Melyriawn C; Meleiriawn R.

²⁷ LCM; Keinvryg ER.

²⁸ ELMR; ap L.

²⁹ ELC; Kynon Veiniad R.

³⁰ m. Neiniat... Gwrydyr ELCR; – M. LC add ap Bradawc ap Lles Llawddiawc. L adds the genealogy of Gwrydyr back to Beli Mawr: see §11.1.1.

³¹ R adds Llwyth Killin yMortyn o Vaelawr.

³² R adds Hardd.

³³ R adds o Drwkelyn yMon.

³⁴ R; Gwrydyr E.

³⁵ meibion... Da ER; – LCM.

³⁶ R adds i vam oedd verch Vrochwel ne Moelyn ap.

³⁷ MLR; Morgen[GAP] E; Gwrgenev C.

³⁸ ELMR; Iddgwn C.

³⁹ E; Meigyr L; Meilir C; Yneigr M; Mygyr R.

⁴⁰ ap Breichiawl ELCM; – R.

[§48.4] Meilir ap Hofa ap *Llywarch* Goch ap Idig¹ ap Idawg ap Maelawg Da.

[§48.4.1] [86] Keleinion² ferch Howel ap Karwet³ oed fam Fei/ir ap Hofa.

[§48.5] <Bleddyn>⁴ ap⁵ Efream⁶ ap Ithel ap <Dinhaiairn>⁷ ap Breichiawl⁸ ap Trahayarn ap Maelawg Da.

[§48.5.1] Keinvryt⁹ ferch Ririt¹⁰ Mawr ap Amadanw¹¹ mab uchelwr¹² o Gaer Wedros¹³ oed fam Vreichiawl ap Trahayarn¹⁴. <A'r Riryd hwnnw>¹⁵ a wystlws¹⁶ Keinvryt¹⁷ y ferch y Ruffud ap Llewelyn, <kannyt>¹⁸ oed un mab ydaw ena. Ag yn y gwystleituath¹⁹ honno²⁰ y mynnws²¹ Trahayarn ap Mae/awg hi²².

[§48.5.2]²³ Eurdrih ferch Diwrig²⁴ ap Eynud a vu wreig y Trahayarn ap Maelawg, mam Eurdre²⁵ ferch Trahayarn, y w[r]eig a vu y <Bleddyn>²⁶ Koeg ap <Gwrydyr>²⁷.

[§48.6] Ewein ag Ednyfet, meibion Kadrawt²⁸ ap Ieuaf²⁹ ap Rys ap Mor³⁰ ap Dibyder³¹ ap Kellyn³² ap Mae/awg Da <ap Greddyf>³³ ap Kwnws³⁴ ap Kellyn³⁵ Hen³⁶, y gwr y ge/wir³⁷ llwyth Kellin³⁸ ohonaw³⁹.

[§49] [87] Llwyth Ae/lan⁴⁰:

¹ Goch ap Idig ELMR; – C.

² ER; Kleyven L; Kledwen C; Kleini M.

³ ELR; Kawryt C; Karwedd M. R adds the genealogy of Carwed back to Cadrod Calchfynydd: see §A4.1.

⁴ LCMR; [GAP] E.

⁵ EMR; – LC.

⁶ ELC; Euran M; E/veauc R.

⁷ R; Dinhaed[GAP] E; Trahaiarn LC; Tynhayarn M.

⁸ ELM; Brichtiawl C; Brochwel R.

⁹ ELCM; Keinvric R.

¹⁰ ELCM; R/vn R.

¹¹ E; Madenwy R.

¹² ap Amadanw mab uchelwr ER; – LCM.

¹³ ELCR; Wedrawc M.

¹⁴ oed fam Vreichiawl ap Trahayarn E; oedd i /vam LC; i vam R; oedd vam Bleddynt M.

¹⁵ LCM; – E; Brochwael ap Trehaiarn R.

¹⁶ ER; wystlawdd LCM.

¹⁷ E; – LCM; Keinvric R.

¹⁸ L; Kynyn E; kanad C; can nid M; kanid R.

¹⁹ E; wystledigaeth R.

²⁰ E; hwnnw R. yn... honno ER; yna LC.

²¹ E; mynnawdd LCR.

²² ER; honno yn wraic iddo LC. Ag yn y... hi ELCR; – M.

²³ M omits this section.

²⁴ ELC; Diwug R.

²⁵ E; E/vrver LC; Eurdrid R.

²⁶ L; Bleig ER; Vredyd C.

²⁷ LC; Kurydyr E. ap <Gwrydyr> ELC; – R.

²⁸ EM; Karadawc LCR.

²⁹ ELMR; Hwva C.

³⁰ ap Mor EMR; – LC.

³¹ ER; Dyvydyr LM; Dyvyd C.

³² ELC; Killin MR.

³³ CM; – EL.

³⁴ E adds Du.

³⁵ ELC; Killin M.

³⁶ ELC; – M.

³⁷ y ge/wir EC; ydd heniw L; yr heniw M.

³⁸ ELC; Killin M.

³⁹ <ap Greddyf>... ohonaw ELCM; – R.

⁴⁰ Llwyth Ae/lan ER; Bonedd Gwalchmai gorgaingk L; – C; Bonedd Einion ab Gwalchmai M.

[§49.1]¹ Eyniawn mab Gwalchmei ap Meilir ap Mabon ap <Earddur>² ap Mor ap <Tegerin>³ ap Ae/lan⁴ ap Gredyf ap Kwnws Du⁵ ap Kellin⁶ Enfyt⁷ ap <Peredur>⁸ Tairnoe⁹ ap Meilir Eryr Gwyr¹⁰ Gorsed¹¹ ap <Tydy>¹² ap Tyfoded¹³ ap Gwylvyw¹⁴ ap Marchwyn¹⁵ ap Machwyn¹⁶ ap <Bran>¹⁷ ap Pyll ap Kynyr¹⁸ ap Meilir Meilyriawn¹⁹ ap Gwron ap Kuneda Wledig.

[§49.1.1] Mam Eynion ap Gwalchmei: Genilles²⁰ ferc[h] Wrgeneu ap Ednywain ap Ithael o'r Brynn ym Powys ag o Bennant Me/anghell.

[§49.1.2] Mam Ednywain ap Ithael: Nest ferch Gynfyn ap Gwyrystan.

[§49.1.3] Mam Wrgeneu²¹ ap Ednywain: Generys ferch Rys Sais o Faelor²².

[§49.1.4] [88] Mam Enilles²³ ferch Gorgeneu²⁴: Gw/ledyr²⁵ ferch Seissyll ap <Gwrgi>²⁶ mab²⁷ uchelwr o Gastell yg²⁸ Kaereinion.

[§49.1.5] Gwraig Seissyllt ap Gwrgi²⁹, mam Wledir³⁰: Tagwre³¹ ferch Wynn ap Gruffyd ap Beli ap Selyf ap Brochfael ap Aedan³² ap Elisse³³ ap Gwylawg³⁴ ap Beli ap Mae/Myngan³⁵ ap Selyf Sarff Kadeu ap Kynan Garwyn ap Brochfael Ysgithrog³⁶ ap Kyngen G/lotryd ap Kadell Dyrn/lug³⁷ ap Pasken ap Brydw ap Rudfede³⁸ Vrych ap Kyndeyrn ap Gortheyrn Gortheneu.

¹ In LCM, §49.1 is positioned before §48.

² M; Eaurdur E; Iarddur LCR.

³ R; Tegyr Tegrin E. ap <Tegerin> ER; – LCM.

⁴ ER; Aylaw LCM.

⁵ EMR; Duy L; Duyf C.

⁶ ELC; Killin MR.

⁷ ELCR; Ynad M.

⁸ M; Paredur E; Predyr LCR.

⁹ ELMR; Teyrmedd C.

¹⁰ M adds y.

¹¹ R ends the pedigree here.

¹² LC; Tyde E; Tydry M.

¹³ ELM; Tyvovd C.

¹⁴ ELC; Gwyvyw M.

¹⁵ ECM; Merchwyn L.

¹⁶ ap Machwyn EL; – CM.

¹⁷ LCM; Beran E.

¹⁸ EM; Kynŷyn LC. This was probably an error in the archetype for *Kernir*: see §48.1.

¹⁹ EM; Meleirion L; Melirawn C.

²⁰ EMR; Geinlles LC.

²¹ ELMR; Wrgen C.

²² o Faelor ELCM; – R. R adds the genealogy of Rhys Sais back to Tudur Trefor: see §57.

²³ ELCM; Generis L.

²⁴ ferch Gorgeneu ER; – LCM.

²⁵ ELMR; Gwlydder C.

²⁶ LCMR; Gwrgeu E.

²⁷ ER; – LCM.

²⁸ Gastell yg ER; – LCM.

²⁹ Gwraig... Gwrgi E; – LCMR.

³⁰ ELMR; Wlydder C.

³¹ ELCM; Dygiwr C.

³² ELC add ap Kyngen. M ends the pedigree here.

³³ ELC; Elisaŷ R.

³⁴ ECR; Gwyhawc L.

³⁵ EL; Mingam C; Mynan R.

³⁶ ECR; Scethroc L. R ends the pedigree here.

³⁷ E; Dyrnllud L; Dyhymllŷc C.

³⁸ EC; Rruddeuel L.

- [§49.1.6] Mam Walchmei¹: Tandreg² ferch Rys ap Seissyllt³ ap Se/lyf ap Mor ap Marut⁴ ap Elaeth ap Yfor⁵.
- [§49.2] ⁶Goronw ap Gwiawn ap Rys Goch ap Sandef ap Eardur ap Mor⁷ ap <Tegeryn>⁸ ap Aelan⁹.
- [§49.2.1] Perweur¹⁰ ferch Rotbert ap¹¹ Ednywain Bendew y fam¹².
- [§49.3] [89] Pedwar meib Rys Goch: Gwiawn ap Rys, ag Elidir ap Rys, <a>¹³ Gwilim ap Rys, a <Gweyrydd ap Rys>¹⁴.
- [§49.4] Pedwar maib¹⁵ a vu y Eardur ap Mor ap Tegerin¹⁶ ap Aelan; Yweryd¹⁷ ferch Kyndelig¹⁸ Bennawg¹⁹ oed eu mam.
- [§49.4.1] Hyar ferch <Earddur>²⁰ ap Dyffnaint²¹ oed <wraic>²² <Ne(vter)>²³ ap Hed²⁴.
- [§49.4.2]²⁵ Mabon ap Iardur, tat Mei/ir Prydyd.
- [§49.4.3] Sandef ap Eardur, tat Rys Goch.
- [§49.4.4] Morud ap Eardur, tat Morwydel.
- [§49.4.5] Kadwa²⁶ ap Eardur, tat <Idgwyn Wyndawd>²⁷.
- [§49.5] Bledrus²⁸ ap <Griffri>²⁹ oed henw Moelyn yn yawn.³⁰ Moelyn ap Aelan³¹ ap Greddyf³² ap [90] Konws Du ap Kellin Ynfyd, y gwr³³ y ge/wir³⁴ llwyth Kelling³⁵ ohonaw.
- [§49.5.1] Hunyd ferch Bran ap <Dinawal>³⁶ oed fam³⁷ Vledrus³⁸ ap <Griffri>³⁹.

¹ LCMR *add* ap Meilir oedd.

² ELM; Dawddrec C; Dendric R.

³ ELCM; Gruffudd R.

⁴ E; Marec L; Meric C; Maret M; Maeyc R.

⁵ E; Ineriw M; Ynyr R. ap Elaeth ap Yfor EMR; – LC. R *adds* ap.

⁶ L *adds* Bonedd llwyth Kellin ohonaw ef i daw; C *adds* Bonedd llwyth Kellin ohonno y daw.

⁷ ap Mor ECMR; – L.

⁸ LM; Degeyrn ER; Tygryn C.

⁹ ER; Aelaw LCM.

¹⁰ ER; Perwa(vr LC; Perwefr M.

¹¹ Rotbert ap ER; – LCM.

¹² y fam E; oedd vam Rys L; oed vam Rrys Goch C; oedd i vam M; oedd vam R. R merges this item with the next: see LIIG (GO) G60.2.

¹³ LCM; – ER.

¹⁴ R; [GAP] E; – LC; Gwerydd M. M reverses the order of Gwilym and Gweirydd.

¹⁵ ELCM; mab R.

¹⁶ ELM; Tegryn C.

¹⁷ EL; Ewerydd CR; Gwerydd M.

¹⁸ ELC; Gyndilic M; Kynddelw R.

¹⁹ ELCM; ap Karadawc R.

²⁰ M; Reardur E; Iarddur LCR.

²¹ ap Dyffnaint ELC; – M; ap Diwric R.

²² MR; [GAP] E; – L; vam C.

²³ LMR; Reuder EC. This may have been an error in the archetype for *Meuter*: see §60.1.1.

²⁴ E *adds* ap. R *adds* ap Mael ap Karadoc ap Moelyn ap Sandef ap Iarddur ap Mor.

²⁵ R omits §§49.4.2–5.

²⁶ ELC; Catawl M.

²⁷ M; Ogwyn Gwynda E; Iddgwyn Wyndawc LC.

²⁸ ELR; Bledrws CM.

²⁹ LCM; Gruffyd ER.

³⁰ C omits the following pedigree.

³¹ ER; Aelaw LM.

³² LM end the pedigree here.

³³ ap Kellin... gwr E; – R.

³⁴ E; gelwid R.

³⁵ E; Killin R.

³⁶ LR; Dyniaw/ E; Dinawal C; Dynyawal M.

³⁷ ECR; – L.

³⁸ ELR; Bledrws C.

³⁹ LC; Gruffud ER.

[§49.5.2] Gwraig Vledrus¹ ap <Griffri>² oed Brawst ferch Kynde/w ap Gwgawn³ o Leyn.

[§49.5.3]⁴ Mam Brawst⁵ oed Sannant ferch Kynfyn Hirdref.

[§49.5.4] Mam Sannant oed Hyar ferch⁶ y Bleid Rud o'r Gest yn Eidionyd, a'r Hyar⁷ honno oed fam Faredud ap Bledyn.

[§49.6]⁸ Teir merchet Kynfyn Hirdref⁹:

[§49.6.1] Sannant oed fam Kynde/w ap Gwgawn.

[§49.6.2] <Perweir>¹⁰ oed wreig Diwrik¹¹, <mam Iarddur ap Diwric>¹².

[§49.6.3] Y dryded ferch y Gynfyn Hirdref oed Hyar¹³ a vu wreig y Wrgeneu [91] m. Kollwyn mab uchelwr o Fochnant. Mab y'r Gwrgeneu hwnnw o ferch Gynfyn Hirdref o¹⁴ ferch y Bleid Rud oed Ririt Vleid, ag am y hanfot o¹⁵ etifed¹⁶ y Bleid Rud y dodet¹⁷ Ririt Vleid arnaw.

[§49.6.4] Tri chefynderw¹⁸ oedyn¹⁹: Ririt Vleid a Chyndelw ap Gwgawn ag Eardur ap Diwrik²⁰; teir merchet Kynfyn Hirdref eu teir mameu²¹.

[§50.1]²² Kadwgon a Iorwerth²³, meibion Llywarch ap Bran ap <Dynawal>²⁴ ap Eynyd²⁵ m. Aelan²⁶ m. Alker²⁷ m. Tudawa²⁸ m. Rodri Maur.

[§50.1.1] Rael²⁹ ferch Oronw ap Ewein ap Edwin³⁰ oed fam Kadwgon a Iorwerth, meibyon Llywarch ap Brann.

[§50.2] [92] Gwreig Kadwgon ap Llowarch: Gwenlliant ferch Kynan <ap>³¹ Ewein Gwyned.

[§50.2.1] Mam Wenlliant ferch Kynan: Angharat³² ferch Eni//in³³ m. Meiriawn Goch o Leyn.

[§50.3] Gwraig Iorwerth ap Llowarch oed Wenlliant ferch Howe/ ap Ieuaf³⁴ ap Ewein³⁵ ap Trahayarn ap Karadawg ap Gwynn ap Gollwyn.

¹ ELR; Bledyrws CM.

² Pen. 131iii; Gruffud ER. ap <Griffri> ER, Pen131iii; – LCM.

³ ap Gwgawn ECMR; – L.

⁴ LC omit this section.

⁵ *Mam Brawst* seems to have been an error in the archetype for either *Nain Brawst* or *Mam Kyndelw ap Gwgawn*; cf. §§49.6.1 and 49.6.4.

⁶ MR *add* Gillin ab.

⁷ o'r Gest... Hyar ER; – LCM.

⁸ LCM omit §§49.6–49.6.3.

⁹ R *adds* o'r Haer honno.

¹⁰ R; Perwyr E.

¹¹ E; – R. R *adds* ap Blettrus.

¹² R; – E.

¹³ E; [GAP] R.

¹⁴ R *adds* Haer.

¹⁵ hanfot o E; vod yn wyr i R.

¹⁶ E; Haer *verch* R.

¹⁷ E; roed R.

¹⁸ ELMR; cheffynder C.

¹⁹ ELCM; oedd R. L *adds* i.

²⁰ R reverses the order of Cynddelw ap Gwgon and Iarddur ap Diwric.

²¹ teir mameu E; mamme/ LCM; tair mam R.

²² LC *add* Bonedd llwyth Bran; M *adds* Bonedd Bran.

²³ Kadwgon a Iorwerth EMR; – LC.

²⁴ R; Dynawl E; Dynyawl L; Dinewal C; Dynyawl M.

²⁵ EMR; Be/vnudd L; Benydd C.

²⁶ ER; Aelaw LCM.

²⁷ EMR; Alser LC.

²⁸ EL; Tudwal CMR. LC *add* ap Madoc ap Llywarch.

²⁹ ELM; Roil C; Ruel R.

³⁰ ap Edwin EMR; – LC.

³¹ LCMR; mam E.

³² ELCM; – R.

³³ EMR; Geinllin LC.

³⁴ ap Ieuaf ELMR; – C.

³⁵ EMR; Edynywain LC.

[§51] Rys ag Arthen¹ a Thegwaret, meibion Kadwggon ap Bledrys² ap Gwrydyr ap Ednywain ap Llywe/yn³ Eurdorchog m. Kynwrig m. Kynde/w Gam⁴ mab E/gudy⁵ m. Grwysnat⁶ a[p] Dwywg⁷ Lyth⁸ m. Tegawg m. Dwyf[93]nerth⁹ <ap Madog Madogion ap Sanddef Bryd Angel ap Llywarch Hen ap Elidir Lydanwyn>¹⁰ m. <Meirchiawn>¹¹ Gul m. Gwrwst Llet/wm m. Keneu m. Koe/.

[§52] ¹²Gwyr Pentraeth¹³:

[§52.1] Geraint mab Tegwaret¹⁴ m. Kynfawr m. Madawg m. Nynyaw¹⁵ m. Idnerth mab Kadwr¹⁶ m. Kadawg¹⁷ mab Dissaeth¹⁸ m. Kathus mab Rufawn¹⁹ m. Enedwy²⁰.

[§52.2] Rotpert m. Rufawn²¹ m. Mei/ir m. Aere²² m. <Idnerth>²³ mab Katwr m. Kadawg²⁴.

[§53] <Daudy>²⁵ ap Tegwaret m. Hoedlyw ap Hefeid²⁶ ap Moryen²⁷ ap <Keredic>²⁸ ap Ewein²⁹ ap Marchud ap Kynan ap Elfyl³⁰ mab Mor m. Mynan³¹ m. Yspwys³² <Mwyntyrych>³³ m. [94] Yspwys m. Kadrawt³⁴ Kalchfynydd.

[§54]³⁵ Gwyr Ros Nerfynyawn³⁶. Pedwar gwely³⁷ llwyth Edryt³⁸:

[§54.1] Ednyfet Vychan m. Kenwrik m. Ierwerth m. Gwgawn m. Idnerth mab Edryt m. Inethan³⁹.

[§54.2] Gruffud ap Riwallawn ap Gwynn ap B/edyn ap Edryt.

[§54.3] Iorwerth ap Idon ap It[h]el/ ap Edryt.

¹ ELCM; Meilir R.

² E; Bleiddic LCM; Bledwyn R.

³ ELCR; Howel M.

⁴ M ends the pedigree here.

⁵ ELC; Elgud R.

⁶ E; Grissniad L; Griffiniad C; Grwysnadd R.

⁷ ELR; Diwc C.

⁸ R *adds* ap Llowarch Hen. R ends the pedigree here.

⁹ E; Dyfnvarch LC.

¹⁰ Pen. 127i; – ELC.

¹¹ C²; Dwyfnerthiawn m. [GAP] E; Dyfnveirchiawn LC.

¹² L *adds* Bonedd Eignion ap Geraint; C *adds* Bonedd Einiawn ap Gerain.

¹³ ELCM; Llwyth yr henyw gwyr Pentraeth ohonaw R. L *adds* gorgaint.

¹⁴ mab Tegwaret ELMR; – C.

¹⁵ ELMR; Neiniaw C.

¹⁶ mab Kadwr E; ab Eardur ML; – C; ap Edryd R.

¹⁷ Kadawg EM; Kadwgawn LC; Nethan R. R *adds* ne/ Iarddur ap Kadwggon.

¹⁸ ELCM; Diseth R.

¹⁹ ELCM; R/vn R.

²⁰ ER; Mynedwy LCM.

²¹ E; Madawc CLM; R/vn R.

²² ER; Adre LC; Ayre M.

²³ LCMR; Idynerth E.

²⁴ Katwr m. Kadawg ELCM; Edryd R. M *adds* ab Dissaeth ab.

²⁵ LCMR; Dafud E.

²⁶ EM; Hyweidd LC; Ririd R.

²⁷ ELCM; Meirion R.

²⁸ LCMR; Morudig E.

²⁹ ap Ewein EMR; – LC.

³⁰ E; El/vyw LMR; Eilvyw C.

³¹ ECR; Nynyaw LM. E *adds* m. Yspwys.

³² EC *add* m..

³³ LCMR; Mwynthrych E. R ends the pedigree here.

³⁴ ECM; Karadawc L.

³⁵ In LC, §A4 is positioned after §53.

³⁶ Gwyr Ros Nerfynyawn E; – C; Gwehelyth gwyr Ros R.

³⁷ EC; – R.

³⁸ Gwyr... Edryt ECR; – M.

³⁹ ECR; Nethan M. R *adds* the genealogy of Inethan back to Coel Godebog: see §A4.1.

[§54.4] <Bledodyn>¹ ap Meurig ap <Rhahawt>² ap Dwywg³ ap E/idir⁴ ap E/fyw ap Inethan⁵.

[§55] Gwyr Arfon⁶:

[§55.1] [95] Kyfnerth Vychan ap Kyfnerth⁷ ap Morgenau ap Gwrydyr⁸ ap Dyfneint ap Meurik⁹ ap Idig ap Llywarch ap Llofan¹⁰ ap Ke/min¹¹.

[§55.2] Ierwerth a Thrygr¹² a Thudwal¹³, meibyon Riwallawn ap Gwrydyr.

[§55.2.1] Lleuku ferch Urgeneu ap Seissyllt ap Ithel ap Gwerystan ap Gweit[h]foet¹⁴ oed fam Iorwerth a Thrygr¹⁵.

[§55.2.2] ¹⁶Ferch Dutwvlch ap Tegwaret o'r Do/ yn Edeymion oed fam Dutwal Gam.

[§55.3] Kadwgan a Madawg Koch Ygnat¹⁷ ag Iorwerth Wisgi, meibion Riwallawn ap Kyn[96]delw ap <Gwrydyr>¹⁸.

[§55.4] ¹⁹Madawg m. Rahawt²⁰ m. Ednywain m. <Gwrydyr>²¹.

[§55.5] <Ystrwyth>²² ap Ednywein ap <Gwrydyr>²³.

[§56] Llwyth Kollwyn²⁴:

[§56.1] Merwyd ag Eginir²⁵ ag Ednyfet, meibion Kollwyn²⁶ ap <Tango>²⁷ ap Kadafael²⁸ ap <Llŵdd>²⁹, a Med/an Penllydan ferch <Neiniad>³⁰ eu mam.

[§56.2] Kynon³¹ ap Kollwyn³², a merch Ednyfet³³ ap³⁴ Engar³⁵ o Foc[h]nant y fam³⁶.

¹ MCR; Be/edyn E.

² M; Ra[GAP] E; Raawd C; Riwallon R.

³ EMR; Diwyw C.

⁴ ap E/idir EMR; – C.

⁵ EC; Nethan M; Mor R.

⁶ Gwyr Arfon E; Bonedd gwyr Arvon M; Gwehelyth Arvon R; – C.

⁷ EMR; Kyfnerth C.

⁸ ER; Gwydr C; Gwrydyr M.

⁹ ECM; Iddon R.

¹⁰ EC; Llonan M; Llonian R.

¹¹ EM; Kolnir C; Kilmin R. M *adds* Droetu; R *adds* Tredtŵ.

¹² ECM; Chynwic R.

¹³ EMR; Chudawel C.

¹⁴ ap Gwerystan ap Gweit[h]foet ECR; – M.

¹⁵ a Thrygr ECM; – R.

¹⁶ R *adds* Ac Yneigr.

¹⁷ ER; Ynad CM. Madawg Koch Ygnat ECM; Madoc a Ierwerth Goch Ygnat R.

¹⁸ R; Gwryar ECM.

¹⁹ M omits this section.

²⁰ ER; Rrawd C.

²¹ R; Gwryar EC.

²² CM; Ystywyth E; Ystywyth R.

²³ R; Gwryar ECM. R *adds* the genealogy of Gwrydyr back to Cilmin Droed-ddu: see §55.1.

²⁴ Llwyth Kollwyn EF; – C; Llwyth Gollwyn MT.

²⁵ EMFT; Einiawir C.

²⁶ EF; Gollwyn CMT.

²⁷ CMFT; Tango E.

²⁸ EC; Cadanael M; Kadŵael FT.

²⁹ F; Llug ECM; Llŵdd T.

³⁰ CM; Neiniat E; Gnon Veniad F; Gynon Veniad T. F *adds* ap Gwrydyr Goch o chwaer Ednywain Bendew; T *adds* ap Gwrydyr Goch chwaer Ednywain Bendew.

³¹ ECM; Rynon F; Kynan T.

³² EF; Gollwyn CMT.

³³ E; Einion MC.

³⁴ Ednyfet ap ECM; – FT.

³⁵ ECFT; Eurgar M.

³⁶ y fam ECM; – FT.

[§56.3] Asser a Gwgawn a <Meiriawn>¹, meibion Meurig² ap Tangno.

[§56.4] Tegwaret ap Rotbert ap Asser ap Merwyd³.

[§56.5] [97] Dafyd ap Kadwgon⁴ ap Genillin ap Meiriawn ap Merwyd⁵.

[§56.6] Iardur ap Diwrik⁶ ap <Blettrus>⁷ ap Merwyd ap Kollwyn⁸ ap Tangno⁹.

[§56.7]¹⁰ <Gwynn, yr hwn a ʋv ddistain, ap Eginir¹¹ ap Kollwyn¹² ap Tangno.

[§56.7.1] A merch y'r <Gwynn>¹³ hwnw oedd wraic Rikart ap Kydwaladyr ap Gruffudd ap Kynan.

[§56.7.2] Gwyr plwy Bedd Kelert a ddon yr ʋn Gwynn ap Eginir hwnw, ac i lwyth Gollwyn.>

[§A4]¹⁴ Llwyth Marchud¹⁵:

[§A4.1] Ednyfet Vychan ap Kynwrik ap Iorwerth ap Gwgawn ap Idnerth ap Edrit¹⁶ ap Inethan¹⁷ ap lassed¹⁸ ap Karwet¹⁹ ap Marchud ap Kynan ap <Elvyw>²⁰ ap Mor ap Mynan²¹ ap Yspwys ap²² Mwyntyrch ap Yspwys ap Kadrawt Kalchfynydd²³ ap Kynwyt Kynwydiawn ap Kynfe/yn²⁴ ap Mar²⁵ ap Keneu ap Koel Godebawg²⁶.

[§A4.1.1] Mam Ednyfet Vychan: Angharat ferch Hofa ap Kenwrik ap Riwallawn ap Dingat ap Tudyr ap Ymyr²⁷ ap Katfarch ap [98] Gwernen ap Gwaedgar ap Bywyn ap Byorderch²⁸ ap Gwynar²⁹ ap <Gwynan>³⁰ ap Kadell Deyrnllug³¹ ap Pasken ap Brydw ap Rudfedel³² Vrych ap <Kadeyrn>³³ ap Gortheyrn Gortheneu ap Rydeyrn³⁴ ap

¹ CFT; Meurawn E; Merchion M.

² This was probably an error in the archetype. The correct reading, 'Merwydd ap Gollwyn', is given in additions made to the texts in P and Card. 4.265.

³ M adds ab Tangno ab Cadanael; F adds ap Kollwyn ap Tangno; T adds ap Gollwyn ap Tangno.

⁴ EMT; Gwgawn C.

⁵ M adds ab Tangno; T adds ap Gollwyn ap Tangno.

⁶ ECM; Diwngk T.

⁷ T; Be/edrus E; Bledrws MC.

⁸ E; Gollwyn T.

⁹ ap Kollwyn ap Tangno ET; – C; ab Tangno M. Dafyd... Tangno ECMT; – F.

¹⁰ EC omit §59. The text is supplied by F.

¹¹ The archetype omitted Gwyn's father and Eginir's son, Ednywain.

¹² F; Gollwyn T.

¹³ T; Kwyn F.

¹⁴ In LC, this section is positioned after §53.

¹⁵ Llwyth Marchud EA; Boned Llwyth Marchudd LC; Llyma ach Ednyfet Vychan B. L adds yr hwn i daw i Ednyfed Vychan ohonaw; C adds lle daw Eydnyvet Vychan.

¹⁶ EBAL; Edrydd C.

¹⁷ EBC; Methan AL.

¹⁸ EBA; Siareth C.

¹⁹ ap lassed ap Karwet EBAC; – L.

²⁰ C; Elyvyw EB; Eiluyw A.

²¹ ap Kynan... Mynan EBAC; – L.

²² This erroneous addition was probably present in the archetype.

²³ L adds sef oed hwnnw iarll Dwnstabyl ac arglwydd Norhamton.

²⁴ C adds ap Athyrwysgyl.

²⁵ EBAL; Morvdd C.

²⁶ C adds the genealogy of Coel back to Beli Mawr: see §11.1.4.

²⁷ ap Ymyr EBA; – C.

²⁸ EBA; Byworderch C.

²⁹ E; Gwylawr AB; Gwrawl C. The true reading would appear to be *Gwriawn*, but no correct witnesses are available at this point: see §57 and LIIG (GO) G73.

³⁰ AC; Gwynyan E; Gwynyw B.

³¹ EBC; Dyrnllug A.

³² EBC; Ruddnedel A.

³³ BA; Kyndeyrn E; Kyndern C.

³⁴ EBA; Erbyn C.

<Deheweint>¹ ap Endigant ap Endeyrn ap Eneid² ap Endos³ ap Endoleu ap
<Avallach>⁴ ap <Aflech>⁵ ap Beli Mawr.

[§57]⁶ Rys Sais o Faelor mab Edenyfet ap Llywarch Gam ap Lludika ap Tudur Trefawr ap Ymyr⁷
ap Katfarch ap Gwernen ap Gwaedgar ap Bywyn ap Byorderch⁸ ap Gwryawn⁹ ap Gwynuau¹⁰ ap
Kadell Dyrnllug¹¹, y gwr y ge/wir Kadelling¹² o'e henw.

[§58]¹³ <Llwyth Penllyn:

[§58.1] Ririd vlaidd ap Gwrgenav ap Kollwyn¹⁴ ap Moriddic ap Rrys ap Gwerystan ap Llowarch
ap Rriwallon ap Aradry.

[§58.1.1] Merch Kynvyn Hirdref oedd v(m Ririd vlaidd o Haer merch y Blaidd¹⁵ Rudd o'r
Gest.

[§58.2] Madoc ap Ririd vlaidd: i v(m oedd Wenllian v(erch Edynyv(ed ap Kynwric ap Rriwallon o
vaelor.

[§58.2.1] Mam Wenllian oedd Wladv(s v(erch Aldud ap Ywain ap Edwin v(renin.>

[§59]¹⁶ Rys ap Edryt ap Inethan¹⁷ ap Karwet¹⁸ ap Marchud ap Kynan ap Elvyw ap Mor ap Mynan ap
Yspwys <Mwyndrych ap Ysbwys>¹⁹ mab Kadrawt Kalchfynydd²⁰.

[§60.1]²¹ Tri meib Hed ap Alunawg²²: [99] Meudyr²³ a Gwillofon²⁴ a Gwrgi²⁵.

[§60.1.1] P/ant Meuter²⁶ ap Hed: gwyr Llanfair Da/hayarn²⁷.

[§60.1.2]²⁸ P/ant Gwillofon²⁹ ap Hed: gwyr Dyffryn E/wy³⁰.

[§60.1.3] P/ant Gwrgi ap Hed: gwyr Nantha/ed³¹.

¹ B; Dehewein E; Deheuwait A.

² ap <Deheweint>... Eneid EBA; – C.

³ EBA; Enos C.

⁴ A; Afflach E; Afallath B. ap <Avallach> EBA; – C.

⁵ BA; Aflech EC.

⁶ FT omit this section: see LIIG (GO) G73 and G76.

⁷ E; Mymbyr C.

⁸ E; Bywordderch C.

⁹ E; Gwriawr C.

¹⁰ E; Gwynawc C. The correct reading is *Gwynan*, but no other witnesses are available at this point: see §A4.1.1 and LIIG (GO) G73.

¹¹ E; Dyhymllvc C.

¹² E; Kadellin C.

¹³ EC omit this section. The text is supplied by F.

¹⁴ F; Gollwyn T.

¹⁵ o Haer... Blaidd F; – T.

¹⁶ C omits this section.

¹⁷ The archetype omitted Inethan's father Iasedd: cf. §12.2.1 and §A4.1.

¹⁸ EF; Karwedd T.

¹⁹ FT; ap Yspwyr ap Mwyndrych E.

²⁰ FT add the genealogy of Cadrod Kalchfynydd back to Coel: see §A4.1 and LIIG (GO) G9.6 and G65.1.

²¹ C omits this section.

²² EM; Olunawc F; Olwynawg T.

²³ EFT; Neuter M.

²⁴ E; Gwyllono M; Gwillouon F; Gwillonon T.

²⁵ FT reverse the order of Gwillofon and Gwrgi.

²⁶ E; Neuter M; Heuter F; Henter T.

²⁷ gwyr Llanfair Da/hayarn E; gwyr Lanvair Dolhayarn M; yr henyw gwyr Llann Dalhaiarn ohonynt FT.

²⁸ E reverses the order of §60.1.2 and §60.1.3.

²⁹ E; Gwyllonon M; Gwillouon F; Gwillmon T.

³⁰ gwyr Dyffryn E/wy EM; yr henyw gwyr Dyffryn Elwy ohonvnt FT.

³¹ gwyr Nantha/ed EM; yr heinyw gwyr Nanhled ohonvnt FT.

[§60.2] Idnerth ap Rahawt¹ ap Asser ap Gwrgi ap Hed ap Alunawg² ap Gredyf ap Tymyr³ ap Llawr ap Llawvrodded⁴ Varyfawg.

[§61] Llwyth Braint Hir⁵:

[100] Rissart ap Llywarch ap <Kynddelic>⁶ ap Nynyaw⁷ ap <Cunet>⁸ ap Enfael ap <Llychwael>⁹ ap Bran ap Brydw ap Braint Hir ap Nefyt ap <Gerenic>¹⁰ ap Garanawg¹¹ <Glewddigar>¹² ap Kynwas ap Rychwyn Varfawg o Votrychwyn¹³ yn Ros.

¹ EM; Rawt C; Ralant F; Rolant T.

² EMFT; Elwynawc C.

³ ECFT; Ymhyr M.

⁴ E; Llawiroddet C; Llawvrodded M; Llawvrodded FT.

⁵ Llwyth Braint Hir E; – CFT.

⁶ CT; Kynedi/ig E; Kynddilig F.

⁷ ECF; Miniaw T.

⁸ T; Kufet E; Kvnedd C; Gunet F.

⁹ FT; Llythfael EC.

¹⁰ FT; Gorenig E; Geraint C.

¹¹ EFT; Garanawd C.

¹² C; G/eugar E; Gloewddigar FT.

¹³ EC; /vedolwyn F; Vod olwyn T.

*Appendix B.5: The Gutun Owain Recension of the
Llywelyn ab Iorwerth Genealogies*

The following is a critical edition of Gutun Owain's reworking and expansion of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, as found in his 1497 manuscript, Rylands Welsh 1 (R). Unfortunately, the manuscript is now damaged and is lacking a number of folios, particularly at the beginning. In order to make up the deficiency, Harley 1970ii (T), a derivative of Rylands Welsh 1, has been used as the base text for §§G1–G21 and §§G67–G76.2. A further five manuscripts deriving from Rylands Welsh 1 have been used to complement Harley 1970ii, the relationships between which are fully discussed in Chapter 4. The sigla employed for all the regular witnesses used in this edition are as follows:

F: Peniarth 129, pp. 4–47 (1500 × 1536).

H: Peniarth 128, pp. 38–50, 55–60, 62–6 and 69 (Edward ap Roger, c. 1560–85).

J: Peniarth 75, pp. 27–57 and 61–78 (John Wynn of Y Tŵr, s. xvi²).

K: Peniarth 181, pp. 21–36, 109–113, 283–330 and 339–44 (Ieuan ap Madog ap Rhys, 1509 × 1536).

R: Rylands Welsh 1, ff. 1r–10v (Gutun Owain, 1497).

T: Harley 1970, part ii, ff. 35r–46r (Thomas Chaloner, s. xvi^{ex}).

V: Cardiff 4.265, ff. 2r–15v (Simwnt Fychan, c. 1567–1600).

F and T are both relatively straightforward copies of the text in R. K is a direct copy of F and is only employed when F is lacunose. In J, the text has been rearranged and contaminated a little by readings taken from elsewhere. H and V have likewise been contaminated, and, while V preserves the original order, H has been rearranged.

In the sections for which R provides the base text, any portions of text that are no longer visible in R have been taken from the other witnesses, generally quoted in the following order: F(K)TJHV. The order may be altered if a witness of lower priority has a better reading than one of higher priority. In any footnote, the reading of every available witness is indicated.

Sometimes, recent repair work to R has slightly obscured some of its surviving text. Some of this text can be recovered by consulting NLW 11114B, the negative photostat facsimile of R acquired by the National Library of Wales in 1959.¹ Readings taken from NLW 11114B, which are now obscured in Rylands Welsh 1, are reported in the footnotes as belonging to R.

F and T are the best candidates for providing the base text for those sections which are lacunose in R. Although, on average, F probably preserves the exact readings of R slightly more often than T, T has been used as the secondary base text because it is complete, whereas the first few pages of F have had their bottom corners torn away. T is essentially an accurate copy of R, although its spellings have occasionally been subjected to slight Anglicisation (*e* for /ei/ and /ə/, *i* for *y*, *th* for /ð/, and the superfluous addition of final *-e*). On occasions where other witnesses preserve a reading more likely to derive from R than the reading given in T, T's readings are substituted for the readings in the other witnesses, which are generally quoted in the order F(K)JHV. Any readings of T which differ from the putative reading of R only inasmuch as their spellings have been slightly Anglicised in the manner indicated have not been replaced. On one occasion a reading is quoted from CUL Mm.1.3, which happens to be the only surviving witness likely to replicate the reading of R at that point.

For a detailed explication of the system of editing followed here, see the introduction to the edition of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies in Appendix B.4. The chief difference between that edition and the present edition is that the intention here is to present the text

¹ Cf. *MMBL* III, 469, n. 2.

of a manuscript that has, for the most part, survived, rather than to reconstruct a lost and distant archetype. For that reason, the apparatus is far less extensive. Variants from the other witnesses are only reported either when R is lacunose (in the sections for which R provides the base text) or when T has erred (in the sections for which T provides the base text). In the sections that use T as the base text, there are a few instances in which either the original reading of R is uncertain, or no surviving witness appears to preserve the original reading; in these cases, the reading of T has been allowed to stand, and variants from the other witnesses have been reported in the footnotes. As in the edition of the original Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, I have silently overlooked a handful of instances where T accidentally repeats a word by dittography; on the other hand, such instances in R have been incorporated into the main text, since the chief aim of this edition is to present an accurate text of R.

In the sections for which R provides the base text, the footnotes have also been used to indicate any interventions into the text made by Gutun Owain himself, R's chief scribe. These include erasures and interlinear or marginal insertions. Simpler scribal mistakes that were quickly rectified, such as the accidental omission of a letter that was later inserted above the word, have been incorporated into the main text silently. For the purposes of this edition, all marginalia by subsequent hands have been ignored.

The text has been divided into sections following the same principles as the original Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. Each section number begins with 'G' for 'Gutun'. Those sections which have a direct counterpart in the original Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies are given a double section number: first their 'G' number, and then the corresponding number in the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, divided by a forward slash. Some section numbers begin with 'GA' rather than 'G', where the A signifies 'Additional'. All but the last of these sections occur among the miscellaneous material gathered into §§G13–16. These 'GA' sections have been designated as such either because their positioning in the manuscripts descending from Rylands Welsh 1 is so variable as to suggest that they were originally marginal or interlinear additions to Rylands Welsh 1, or because their content is so obviously intrusive to the surrounding sections, suggesting the same thing. Just such an addition is exemplified by the final 'GA' section, §GA6, which occurs in Rylands Welsh 1 but was probably a later addition by Gutun Owain himself.

[Harley 1970, f. 35r]

[§G1.1] Arthur ap Vthur ap Kustenin ap Kadvor ap Tvdwal ap Morvawr ap Evdaf ap Kadien ap Kynan ap Karadawg ap <Bran>¹ ap Llyr Llediaith.

[§G1.1.1] Mam Arthur oedd Eigr verch Amlawd Wledig ap Kynwal ap Ffrwdwr ap Gwrvawr ap Kadien ap Kynan ap Edaf² ap Kradog ap Bran ap Llyr, a Gwen verch Gvnedda Wledig oedd i mam hithav.

[§G1.2] Koel Godebog ap Tegvan ap Dehevrant ap Tvdbwyll ap Vrban ap Gradd ap <Rimedel>³ Vrych ap Rydeyr[n] <ap Dehevrant>⁴ ap Enndigant ap Endeyrn ap Enid ap Endog ap Enddolev ap Avallach ap Aflech ap Beli Mawr ap <Mynogan>⁵ ap Kapoyr ap Pyr ap Sawl Benisel <ap Rydderch ap Rydion ap Eidol ap Arthavael ap Seisyll ap Ywain ap Kapho ap Bleiddud ap Meirion ap Grwst ap Klydno ap Klydawc ap Ithel ap Vrien ap Andryw ap Kerryn ap Porex ap Koel ap Kadell ap Gereint ap Elidir War ap Morudd ap Dan ap Seisill ap <Kyhelyn>⁶ ap Gwrgan Varyfdwrch ap Beli ap Dyfnwal Moelmud ap Klydno iarll Kernyw ap Enid ap Kyrwyd ap Kyrdon ap Dyfnvarch ap Prydain ap Aedd Mawr ap Antonivs ap Seisill ap Grwst ap Riwallon, y gwr y bu y glaw gwaed yn i amser, ap Kvnedda ap Regav verch Lyr Rudd ap <Bleddvd>⁷ ap Rvn Baladr Bras ap Lleon ap Brutus Darian Las ap Efroc Kadarn ap Membyr ap Madoc ap Lokrinvs ap Brutus dywysoc <Rrvvain>⁸, y brenin kyntaf a ddoeth y'r ynys honn, ap Silivus⁹ ap Asganivs ap Enias Ysgwyddwyn ap Ensises¹⁰ ap Kapivs ap Assarakus ap Tros ap Erikonvs ap Dardan ap Iubiter ap Satvrn ap Kritus¹¹ ap Silivus¹² ap Erikonvs ap Siprivs ap Settem ap Sianan ap Siaffeth ap Noe Hen ap Lameth ap Musalem <ap Ennoc ap Iaredd ap Malalel ap Kaynan>¹³ ap Enos ap Seth ap Addaf, y dyn kyntaf a wniodd Duw>¹⁴.

[§G1.3] <Kustenin>¹⁵ ap Konstans ymerodr Rvfain, ag Elen verch Koel Godebog i vam.

[§G1.4] Maxen Wledig ap Llewelyn ewythr Elen verch Koel, ag Elen verch Evdaf Hen i wraig.

[§G1.5] Gorthevnr Gwrthenav ap Rydeyrn ap <Dehevrant>¹⁶ ap Endigant ap Endeyrn ap Enid ap Endos ap Enddolav ap Avallach ap Aflech ap Beli Mawr¹⁷.

[§G1.6] Kwstenin ap Kadwr ap Gwrlais iarll Kerniw, nai ap brawd vnvam ag Arthur.

[§G1.7] Maelgwn Gwynedd vab Kaswallon Llawyr ap <Enion>¹⁸ Yrth ap Kvnedda Wledig <ap Edyrn ap Padarn Peisrudd ap Tegid ap Iago ap Genedawc ap Kain ap Gwrgain ap Doli ap Gwrdoli ap Dwvyn ap Gwrdwfn ap Amwerid ap Onnwedd ap Diwc ap Brychwain ap Ywain ap Avallach ap Aflech ap Beli Mawr>¹⁹.

[§G1.8] Kydwaladr Vendigaid ap Kaswallon ap Kadvan ap Iago ap Beli ap Rvn ap Maelgwn Gwynedd <ap Kaswallon Llawir ap Eignion Yrth ap Kvnedda Wledic>²⁰.

[§G1.8.1] I vam oedd verch Wiba ap Krida ap Pyd, chwaer Pienda vrenin Mers.

¹ FJH; Ioran T.

² TF; Evdaf JH.

³ FJ; Kymedel T; Rvddvedel V.

⁴ FJV; – T.

⁵ J; Mynogen T.

⁶ F; Kvhehyn J.

⁷ F; Bleiddud J.

⁸ F; – J. This reading was once present in J but has now been erased.

⁹ J; Silwys F. *Recte* Silvius.

¹⁰ J; Encheses F.

¹¹ J; Kretws F.

¹² J; Selvifws K. *Recte* Silvius.

¹³ ap Ennoc... Kaynan K; – J. This passage is present in F but is partially damaged.

¹⁴ ap Rydderch... Duw J; val o'r blaen yn yach Ddewi T. This portion of text was once present in F but is now partially lost due to the bottom corners of pages 4 and 5 having been torn away. See above, p. 390.

¹⁵ JFV; Gustenin T.

¹⁶ FV; Dehevraing T; Dehevbrait J.

¹⁷ T adds val vchod; FV add ap Manogan.

¹⁸ FH; Eminon T; Einion JV.

¹⁹ JFHV; val vchod T.

²⁰ JKHV; val vchod T.

[§G2/11] Bellach ir ysbyswn o vonedd tywyssogion Kymrv:

[§G2.1/11.1] Llywelyn ap Ierwerth Drwyndwn ap Ywain Gwynedd ap Gruffuth ap Kynan ap Iago ap Idwal ap Meurig ap Idwal Voel ap Anarawd ap Rodri Mawr ap Essyllt verch Gynan Tyndaythwy ap Rodri Molwynawg ap Idwal Iwrch ap Kadwaladr Vendigaid ap Kaswallon ap Kadvan ap Iago¹.

[§G2.1.1/11.1.1] Mam Llywelyn oedd Varvred verch Madog ap Mredudd ap Bleddyn ap Kynvyn.

[§G2.2] Madog ap Gruffudd Maelawr ap Madog ap Mredudd ap Bleddyn ap Kynvyn ap Gwerystan ap Gwaithvoed ap Gwrydr ap Karadawg ap Lles Llawdeawg ap Ednyved ap Gwynan ap <Gwynawc>² Varifsych ap Keidio ap <Koryf>³ ap Kainawg ap Tegonwy ap Teon ap Gwynav Deav⁴ Vreyddwyd ap Pywyr Llew ap Bywdeg ap Rvn Rvddbaladr ap Gloyw Gwlad Lydan ap Llarif ap Kasnar Wledig ap Lludd ap Beli Mavr⁵.

[§G2.2.1] [35v] Mam Madog oedd Yngharad verch Ywain Gwynedd ap Gruffudd ap Kynan.

[§G2.2.2] Mam Gruffudd Maelawr oedd Susanna verch Gruffudd ap Kynan ap Iago ap Idwal ap Meurig.

[§G2.2.3/11.1.2] Mam Madog ap Mredudd ap Bledyn ap Kynvyn o[edd]⁶ Hvnvdd verch Evnydd verch Gwenllian verch Rys ap Marchan ap Kynvrig ap Kynddelw Gam ap Elgud ap Grisnadd ap Dwywg <Lyth>⁷ ap Tegawg ap Kyfnerth ap Madog Madogion ap Sanddef Brikeingl ap Llowarch Hen ap <Elidir>⁸ Lydanwyn ap Meirchion Gul ap Grwst Ledlwm ap Kenav ap Koel Godebawg.

[§G2.2.4/11.1.3] Mam Vredudd ap Bleddyn ap Kynvyn oedd Haer verch Gillin ap Blaidd Rudd o'r Gest yn Eddionydd.

[§G2.2.5/11.1.4] Mam Bleddyn ap Kynvyn oedd Yngharad verch Vredudd ap Ywain ap Howel Dda ap Kadell ap Rodri Mavr ap Mervryn Vrych ap Gwriad ap Elydyr ap Sanddef ap Alkwn ap Tegid ap Gweir ap Dwywg ap Llowarch Hen ap Elidyr Lydanwyn <ap Meirchion Gul ap Grwst Ledlwm ap Kenav ap Koel Godeboc>⁹.

[§G3/1] Plant Brychan:

[§G3.1/1.1] Brychan Brycheiniawg ap Korvinawg vrenin Ywerddon, a Marchell verch Dendrig ap <Teithffalt>¹⁰ ap Teithrin ap Tathal ap Annvn Dv vrenin <Groec>¹¹ i vam.

[§G3.2/1.2] Plant Brychan:

[§G3.2.1/1.2.1] Kynawg ap Brychan, merthyr oedd ag yMrycheniog y mae, a Banhadlweth verch Banadle o Vanhatla yMhowys i vam.

[§G3.2.2/1.2.2] Kledewyn ap Brychan a oresgynws Deheubarth.

[§G3.2.3/1.2.3] Arthen ap Brychan, yManaw y mae.

[§G3.2.4/1.2.5] <Kyflevyr>¹² ap Brychan yMerthyr Kyflevyr.

[§G3.2.5/1.2.6] Kain ap Brychan, yManaw y mae.

[§G3.2.6/1.2.7] Dyfnan ap Brychan, yMon y mae.

[§G3.2.7/1.2.8] Berwynn ap Brychan yNghernyw.

[§G3.2.8/1.2.9] Kadawg ap Brychan yn Ffraingk.

[§G3.2.9/1.2.11] Pasgen ap Brychan.

[§G3.2.10/1.2.12] Maethhaiarn ap Brychan yNgheredigion.

[§G3.2.11/1.2.13] Avallach ap Brychan.

¹ T adds val vchod.

² FHV; Gwynaw y T.

³ F; Karyf T; Korf HV.

⁴ THV; Dav F.

⁵ T adds val vchod.

⁶ o TF; oedd V.

⁷ FV; Lych T.

⁸ VF; Elidr T.

⁹ VF; val vchod T.

¹⁰ J; Taithffalt T; Tithffalt F.

¹¹ J; Grog T; Groe[...] F.

¹² JV; Ryflevyr T; Kyflyuyr F.

[§G3.2.12/1.2.10] Pabal ap Brychan.

[§G3.3/1.3]¹

[§G3.3.1/1.3.1] Gwladus verch Brychan, mam Gadawg sant ap gwraig Kynllug ap Glewys Kernyw.

[§G3.3.2/1.3.2] Arianwenn verch Vrychan, gwraig Ierwerth Hirvlawdd ap Tegonwy ap Teon.

[§G3.3.3/1.3.3] Tudwystl verch Vrychan, gwraig Kyngen ap Kadell Deyrnllug, mam Brochwel Ysgithrog a Maig a Ievaf.

[§G3.3.4/1.3.4] [36r] Mechill verch Vrychan, gwraig Gynyr Varyfdrwch.

[§G3.3.5/1.3.5] Nevyn verch Vrychan, gwraig Gynfarch ap Meirchion, mam Vrien ap Kynvarch, a mam Eurddyl, y wraig a vv i Oliver Gosgorddvavr.

[§G3.3.6/1.3.6] Gwawr verch Vrychan, gwraig Elidir Lydanwyn, mam Llowarch Hen.

[§G3.3.7/1.3.7] Gwrgon verch Vrychan, gwraig Gadrod Kalchvynydd, a dreisiodd Tynawedd Vaglog ar Rydav Tynwedd.

[§G3.3.8/1.3.8] Eleri verch Vrychan, gwraig Garedig ap Kvnedda Wledig, mam Sant tad Dewi.

[§G3.3.9/1.3.9] Lleian verch Vrychan, gwraig Gawran, mam Aeddan Vradog.

[§G3.3.10/1.3.10] Nevydd verch Vrychan, gwraig <Tudwal>² Befr.

[§G3.3.11/1.3.11] Rieingar verch <Vrychan>³, mam Gynydr sant.

[§G3.3.12/1.3.12] Golev verch Vrychan yn Llannesgyn yNgwent.

[§G3.3.13/1.3.13] Gwenddydd verch Vrychan yn Llann <y Towyn>⁴ yMerionydd.

[§G3.3.14/1.3.14] Tydiev verch Vrichan yn <Trigabelogwar>⁵.

[§G3.3.15/1.3.15] Elined verch Vrichan yNghorsabawl.

[§G3.3.16/1.3.16] Keindreg verch Vrychan yNghaergodolawr.

[§G3.3.17/1.3.17] Gwenn verch Vrychan yNhalgarth.

[§G3.3.18/1.3.18] Kynedlon verch Vrychan yn y Mynydd Kymorth.

[§G3.3.19/1.3.19] Elydai⁶ verch Vrychan yn Emlyn.

[§G3.3.20/1.3.20] Keinwen verch Vrychan a Dwynwen verch Vrychan yMon.

[§G3.3.21/1.3.21] <Tudwystl>⁷ verch Vrychan yn Ron yn Ffraingk.

[§G3.4/1.4] Tair gwragedd a vv i Vrychan: Eurbrawst, Rybrawst a Pheresgri.

[§G3.5/1.5] Tair gwelygordd saint: plant Brychan a phylant Kvnedda Wledig a <phlant>⁸ Kaw o Brydain.

[§G4/2] Plant Kyndrwyn: Elvan <Powys>⁹ ap Kyndrwyn, Gwion ap Kyndrwyn, Kynon ap Kyndrwyn, Riadaf ap Kyndrwyn, Haiarnllen ap Kyndrwyn, Pasgen ap Kyndrwyn, Kwna ap Kyndrwyn, Kynvarch ap Kyndrwyn, Ehedyd ap Kyndrwyn, Kynan ap Kyndrwyn, Morvael ap Kyndrwyn, Gwennalogid verch Kyndrwyn, Ffever verch Kyndrwyn, <Medduyl>¹⁰ verch Kyndrwyn, Medlan verch Kyndrwyn, Gwledyr verch Kyndrwyn, <Meishir>¹¹ verch Kyndrwyn, Kenfrig verch Kyndrwyn, Heledd verch Kyndrwyn, Gwladus verch Kyndrwyn, Gwenddwyn verch Kyndrwyn.

[§G5/3] [36v] Plant Ywain: Dirmig Korneu ap Ywain, Gwion ap Ywain, Sidin ap Ywain, Karadog ap Ywain, Llychlyn ap Ywain, Ieuf ap Ywain, Eberth verch Ywain, mam Gadvan ap Arthur.

[§G6/4] Plant Kaw o Dwrkelyn: Dirmig ap Kaw, Kilid ap Kaw, Bangaw ap Kaw, Vstig ap Kaw,

¹ T adds Merched Brychan.

² FJV; Todwl T.

³ JV; Vrycham T; Brychan K.

⁴ F; Gywyn T; y Tywyn JV.

⁵ FJV; Crigabelogwar T.

⁶ TFJ; Clydai V.

⁷ JV; Twdwystl T; Tudwyst F.

⁸ FV; phalant T; phylant J.

⁹ F; – TH; Pywys JV.

¹⁰ FJHV; Meddnyd T.

¹¹ FJV; Meisher T; Meissir H.

Kynwrig ap Kaw, Kof ap Kaw, Gwydrion ap Kav, <Samsson>¹ ap Kav, Kyngar ap Kav, Hueil ap Kaw, Gildas ap Kaw, Kvhelyn ap Kaw, Gallgof ap Kaw, Gwrddelw ap Kaw, <Eirigawn>² ap Kaw. Merched Kaw bellach: Kywyllog verch Kaw, Peithien verch Kaw, yMonn y maent yll dwy, a Gwenawy hevyd yno mae.

[§G7/5] Plant Egri o Dalebolion yMon a vwant yn oes Vaelgwn Gwynedd: Nvdd ap Egri, Ronyn ap Egri, Iarddur ap Egri, Geiraiad ap Egri, Tristan ap Egri, Meirchion ap Egri, Vchno ap Egri, Alan ap Egri, Camo ap Egri, Kvhelyn ap Egri, Elinwy ap Egri, Llurig Rros ap Egri, Tyrnog ap Egri, Nwy ap Egri (y gwr y gelwid Kownwy o'i henw), Llenwedd verch Egri.

[§G8.1/6] Plant Llowarch Hen: Gwen ap Llowarch, Morudd <ap>³ Llowarch, Pill ap Llowarch, Llawr ap Llowarch, Maen ap Llowarch, Mechydd ap Llowarch, Dwywg ap Llowarch, Nevydd ap Llowarch, Sanddef ap Llowarch, Selyf ap Llowarch, Dilig ap Llowarch, Llvner ap Llowarch, Deigr ap Llowarch, Rudd ap Llowarch, Madog ap Llowarch, Medel ap Llowarch, Heilin ap Llowarch, Genell Sawl ap Llowarch, Llorien ap Llowarch, Kain ap Llowarch, Llynghedwy ap Llowarch, Ky[n]llug ap Llowarch, Llywenydd ap Llowarch, <Kenev>⁴ ap Llowarch, Gorwynion ap Llowarch, Kynddylan ap Llowarch, Talan ap Llowarch, Kynvarch ap Llowarch, Rreged ap Llowarch, Gridwal ap Llywarch, Gwawr Mab Klaf ap Llowarch, Ruel verch Llywarch.

[§G8.2] Ym i by kyd baen haelion,
<Avar>⁵ y'r byd bod hebddvn,
Llawer o blant teg llawen,
A heno rwyf vy hvan.
Llowarch Hen a'i kant.

[§G9.1/7.3] Plant Kenav ap Koel Godebog: Padarn ap Kenav, Grwst ap Kenav, Garmoniawn ap Kenav, Maesgwig Klof ap Kenav.

[§G9.1.1/7.3.1] Edyrn ap Padarn ap Kenav ap Koel Godebog.

[§G9.1.2] Mar ap Kenav ap Koel.

[§G9.2/7.4] Plant Grwst ap Kenav ap Koel: Meirchion ap Grwst, Olyver Gosgorddvawr ap Grwst.

[§G9.3/7.5] Plant Meirchion ap Grwst: Kynvarch ap Meirchion, Elidir Lydanwyn ap Meirchion ap Grwst ap Kenav ap Koel Godebog.

[§G9.4/7.6] Plant Idno ap Meirchion: Mevrig ap Idno⁶, Mabon ap Idno ap Meirchion ap Grwst ap Kenav ap Koel Godebog.

[§G9.5] Plant Mar ap Kenav ap Koel Godebog: <Athrwys>⁷ ap Mar.

[§G9.6] [37r] Plant Kynwyd Kynwydion ap Kynvelyn ap <Athrwys>⁸ ap Mar ap Kenav ap Koel: Klydno Eiddvn ap Kynwyd Kynwydion, Kadrod Kalchvynydd ap Kynwid Kynwydion, Kynan Genhir ap Kynwyd Kynwydion, Kynvelyn <Drwsgwl>⁹ ap Kynwyd Kynwydion, <Kynvawr>¹⁰ Kadgaddug ap Kynwyd Ky[n]wydion ap Ke[n]velyn¹¹ ap <Athrwys>¹² ap Mar ap Kenav ap Koel Godebog.

[§G9.7] Plant Athrwys ap Mar ap Kenav: Kynvelyn ap Athrwys, Pabo Post Prydain ap Athrwys ap Mar ap Kenav ap Koel, Oliver Gosgorddvawr ap Athrwys ap Mar ap Kenav ap K[o]el, Keidio ap Athrwys ap Mar ap Kenav.

¹ FJHV; Sampson T.

² FJHV; Eirigan T.

³ FJV; – T.

⁴ FJHV; Kyenev T.

⁵ FJV; Abar T; O'var H.

⁶ T adds ap Meirchion.

⁷ FJHV; Athrowys T.

⁸ FJHV; Arthrowis T.

⁹ FH; Drwsglw T; Drwsgl JV.

¹⁰ FJHV; Kynvarch T.

¹¹ Kevelyn TF; Kynvelyn JV.

¹² FJV; Arthrowis T.

[§G9.7.1] Dvnod a Sawl Benvchel, meibion Pabo Post <Prydain>¹ ap Athrwy[s] ap Mar ap Kenav ap Koel Godebog.

[§G9.7.2] Gwrgi a Fferedur, meibion Olyver Gosgorddwawr <ap Athrwy[s] ap Mar ap Kenav ap Koel>².

[§G9.7.3] Gwenddole ap Keidio ap Athrwy[s] ap Mar <ap Kenev ap Koel>³ <Godeboc>⁴.

[§G9.8] Morgan ap <Klydawc>⁵ ap Morgan Vwlch ap <Kyngar>⁶ ap Garbwyniawn ap Kenav ap Koel.

[§G10.1] Rytherch Hael ap Tudwal ap Keidio ap <Dyfnwal>⁷ Hen.

[§G10.2] Mordaf Hael ap Se[r]nan ap Keidio ap Dyfnwal Hen.

[§G10.3] Elffin ap Gwyddno ap Kaordaf ap Gorbwyniawn ap Dyfnwall Hen ap Ednyved ap Maxen Wledig ap Llywelyn, ewythr Elen Loyddog.

[§G10.4] Nvdd Hael ap Serwan.

[§G11.1] Gwraig Noe Hen oedd Beresma⁸.

[§G11.2] Gwraig Sem vab Noe oedd Barssia⁹.

[§G11.3] Gwraig Kein ap Noe oedd Kataffluwa.

[§G11.4] Gwraig Siaffeth ap Noe oedd Fflwn.

[§G12.1] Iach brenhinoedd Lloegr yn ¹⁰ y Kymrv: Saint Edwart Gonffessor ap <Egelridus>¹¹ ap Edgar ap Edmund ap Edwart ap Alvryd ap <Etheldridus>¹² ap <Ethelwlffus>¹³ ap Egbert ap Alchmwnd ap Offa ap Eopa ap Kynwlffus ap Kinridus ap <Kolwaldus>¹⁴ ap Kutha ap Kuthwinvs ap Sawlinvs ap <Kenrikus>¹⁵ <ap Seredikus>¹⁶, y kyntaf o vrenhinedd West Sex, ap Elisi ap <Esili>¹⁷ ap <Geweï>¹⁸ ap <Widsiys>¹⁹ ap Ffryawyn ap Fridigar ap Brondys ap Dieldeg ap Wden ap [37v] <Ffridwlff>²⁰ ap Finni ap Ffoldwalt ap Geati ap Kaff ap Oppi ap Insily ap Kinard ap <Gewalt>²¹ ap Kuda ap Sawlini ap <Serdys>²² ap Elasi ap Lisi ap Gweisi ap <Winigi>²³ ap Frigwyn ap Ffiredigar ap Beymwnt ap Beldigus ap Godwin ap Fridwald ap Ffrilaffi ap Ffinni ap Godwalff ap Getri ap Beorni ap Isteldus ap Ysgeaff ap Ermwndus ap Hadra ap <Gwali>²⁴ ap Bedegi ap Teiras ap Saffeth ap²⁵ Noe Hen ap Lameth ap Matusalem ap Enog ap Iarethe ap Malaleel ap Kaynan ap <Enos>²⁶ ap Sethe ap Addaf, ag ni bu mwy kyn <y kwngwest>²⁷.

¹ FJHV; Pridian T.

² JFV; – T; ap Athrwy[s] ap Mar ap Kenav H.

³ FJV; – T.

⁴ VF; – TJ.

⁵ JHV; Kildawg T; Kledawc F.

⁶ FJHV; Kingor T.

⁷ FHV; Difvnal T.

⁸ T; Beresina F; Bersina H.

⁹ T; Barassia F; Bassia H.

¹⁰ F; al T.

¹¹ FV; Egeldrvdus T; Egelridwvs H.

¹² CUL Mm.1.3; Echeldridus TV; Ethelddidus F; Etheldridws H.

¹³ F; Echelwlffus T; Ethewlffws H; Ethewlffus V.

¹⁴ FHV; Bolwaldus T.

¹⁵ FHV; Kerrikus T.

¹⁶ K; – T; ap Sededredikws H; ap Serededdikws V.

¹⁷ F; Esilie T; – HV.

¹⁸ F; Gewen T; Goweï VH.

¹⁹ FHV; Wiesiys T.

²⁰ F; Ffädwlff T; Ffridwlp HV.

²¹ FV; Gaw[...] T; – H.

²² FV; Ferdys T; – H.

²³ F; Vinigi T; Wnigi H; Winogi V.

²⁴ FHV; Gwa[...] T.

²⁵ T adds N.

²⁶ FHV; Enog T.

²⁷ FH; kwmgwest T.

- [§G12.1.1] Mam Sant Edward oedd Ema verch dug Normandy.
- [§G12.2] Yn ol y kwnghwest: Harri yr Ail ap Sieffre Plantagened ap Ffwc Vychan ap Ffwc Ruthyn ap Ieffre Marsial ap Ffwc Varia ap Garikus ap Ieffre ap Ffwc Dda, yr iarll kyntaf a vv yn Aensiu.
- [§G12.2.1] Mam Harri yr Ail brenin Lloegr oedd <vatilda>¹ ymerodres verch Harri Gyntaf ap Wiliam Bastart ap Robert ap Richa[r]t Drydidd ap Richart yr Ail ap Richart Ddiofn ap Wiliam ap Rolo, gwr o Ddenmarke a doethe i Normandi a lv gantho, ag yno y byddiwyd, ag i gelwid ef o hyny allan yn Robert, ag ef a briodes Gila merche Iarlys Dew brenin Ffrangke, a chida hi y kavas ddvgiethe Normandi; a hynny oedd yn amser <Alvryd>² brenin Lloegr.
- [§G12.3] Harri Chweched vab Harri Bumed ap Harri Bedwerydd ap Iohn o Gawnt ap Edward Dridythe ap Edward Kaer yn Arvon ap Edward Gentaf ap Harri drydidd a[p] Iohn ap Harri yr Ail mab yr ymerodres.
- [§G12.4] Edward Bedwerydd brenin Lloegr ap Richart Dvk o Iork ap Rychart iarll Kambrich ap Edmw[n]t Langle dvk o Iork ap Edward Drididd brenin Lloegr ap Edward Kaer yn Arvon, <ac yr yn lle>³.
- [§G12.4.1] Mam Edward Bedwerydd brenin Loegr oedd Sisli verch Iohn iarll Westmorland ap Iohn⁴ Westmorlant <arall>⁵ ap Iohn o Gawnt dug o Longkastle ap Edward Drididd brenin Loegr.
- [§G12.4.2] Mam Richart dvk o Iork oedd Anna verch Rocher Mortimer ap <Edmwnt>⁶ ap Rocher ap Edmwnt ap Roger ap Edmund ap Rocher ap Randulff ap Rocher ap Hvw arglwydd Wigmor, y kintaf or <Mortmeriaid>⁷, yr hwn a ddoeth gida William Bastard y'r ynys <hon>⁸ o Normandy.
- [§G12.4.3] <Mam>⁹ Anna oedd verch iarll Kent.
- [§G12.4.4] Mam Rocher Mortimer y Pymed oedd Ffelip verch Syr Lyonell duke o Klarens ap Edward Drydith brenin Lloegr.
- [§G12.4.5] Mam Edmwnt Drydithe iarll y Mars a <Mortimer>¹⁰ oedd verch iarll Salysburi.
- [§G12.4.6] Mam Rocher Bedwerydd oedd verch arglwydd Bladmer giwaethog.
- [§G12.4.7] Mam Edmwnt yr Ail iarll y Mars oedd verch arglwydd <lenivil>¹¹ ag arglwydd Mydd yn Everddon.
- [§G12.4.8] Mam y trydidd Rocher iarll y Mars oedd.
- [§G12.4.9] Mam Edmunt gyntaf o'r Mortmeriaid oedd verch arglwydd B[r]ewys o Siertlai.
- [§G12.4.10] Mam yr ail Rocher oedd Wladus Dv verch Llywelyn ap Ierwerth Drwyndwn tywysog Gwynedd ap Ywain Gwynedd ap Gruffudd ap Kynan ap Iago ap Idwal ap Meurig ap Idwal <Voel>¹² ap Anarawd ap Rodri Mawr ap Epyllt verch Gynan Dindaethwy ap Rodri Molwynog ap <Idwal>¹³ Iwrch ap Kadwaladr Vendigaid, y brenin diwaythaf o'r Britaniayd.
- [§G12.4.11] Mam Gwladus Dv oedd Dangwystl verch Lowarch Goch o Ros.
- [§G12.4.12] [38r] Mam <Randwlff>¹⁴ Mortimer oedd [GAP] verch arglwydd <Fferis>¹⁵ a Siartlai.
- [§G12.4.13] Mam Ffelip verch Leonell oedd Elisabethe verch Wiliam Bwrch iarll Wlyster.
- [§G12.4.14] Mam Elisabethe oedd Elisabethe verch iarll <Laesedr>¹⁶.
- [§G12.4.15] Mam honno: Iann verch Edward¹⁷ Gyntaf brenin Lloegr.

¹ FHV; Vacilda T.

² FH; Aliryd T; Aelvryd V.

³ F, CUL Mm.1.3; val vchod T; – HV.

⁴ T adds arallt.

⁵ FH; – T; yr ail V.

⁶ FHV; Edmrwnt T.

⁷ HV; Mortineriaid T; Mortmeriad F.

⁸ FHV; hun[...] T.

⁹ FHV; Man T.

¹⁰ H; Mor[...]mer T; Mortmert F; – V.

¹¹ V; Ienitil T; Iemvil F. In V, dots have been added under this reading and *Geniffil* has been written above it.

¹² K; Vo[...] T.

¹³ K; Id[...]al T.

¹⁴ VH; Dangwystl T; Randwl K.

¹⁵ KHV; Fferais T.

¹⁶ KV; Laosedr T; Lesader H.

¹⁷ KH add y.

[§G12.4.16] Mam Richart iarll Kambrige oedd Isabel verch Birs, brenin Kastell y Llew yn yr Ysbaen.

[§G12.4.17] Mam Syr Leionel oedd Ffelipa verch iarll <Provius>¹.

[§G12.4.18] Mam Edwart Drydidd brenin Lloegr oedd <Isabel>² verch Ffilyb brenin Ffraingk, a'i vn <etivedd>³ oedd⁴.

[§G12.4.19] Gwraig Iohn o Gawnt, y ddiwaethaf o'r dwy a <mam>⁵ Harri Bedwerydd, oedd Blains verch Harri duk o <Longkastyl>⁶ ap Harri iarll Longkastl ap Edmund Krwchbak iarll <Longkastyl>⁷ y Kintaf ap Harri Drydydd brenin Lloegr.

[§G12.5] Wiliam Bastart y Kwngkwerwr diwaeythaf ar Loegr ap Robert ap Richart Gyntaf ap Richart yr Ail ap Richart Ddiofn ap William ap Rolo, gwr o Ddenmark a ddoeth i Normandi a lv gantho, ag yno i bydyddiwyd, ag y gelwid yn Robert, ag ef a bryodes Gila verch Iarlis Dew brenin Ffrangk, a chi[d]a hi y kavas yn gynisgedd dvgieth Normandi. Ag o hil yr Rrollo hwnnw y bu <ddugiaid>⁸ Normandi hid ar Wiliam Bastart, yr hwn a vv vrenin yn Lloegr gwedi hynny, yn ol Haralt ap Godwin.

[§G12.5.1] Mam Wiliam Bastart oedd Arled merch i bannwr o dref Ffalais <yn>⁹ Normandy.¹⁰

[§G13.1] [38v] Plant Kynvyn: Bleddyn, Riwallo[n], Ewerydd gwraig briod Edwin ap Gronw: yw mam oedd Yngharad verch Mredydd ap Owain ap Howel Dd[a] ap Kadell.

[§G13.2] Plant Bleddyn ap <Kynvyn>¹¹: Mredydd, Ierwerth, Madog, Ririd, Kadwgon, Hvnvdd gwraig Owain ap Rytherch <ap>¹² Tewdwr Mawr, a Gwenllian verch Bleddyn, mam Owain <ap>¹³ Karadawg.

[§G13.3] Plant Riwallon ap <Kynvyn>¹⁴: Karadog, Gruffudd a Meilir, a Gwladus gwraig Rys ap <Tewdwr>¹⁵.

[§G13.4] Plant Ryrid ap Bleddyn: Madog ag Ithel, a mab yr Ithel hwnnw oedd Howel arglwydd Rros a Rryvoniog.

[§GA1] Plant Rys ap Tewdwr: Gruffudd a Howel a <Rrydderch>¹⁶.

[§G13.5] Plant Meredudd ap Bleddyn ap Kynvyn: Madog, <Gruffudd>¹⁷ a Dyddgv gwraig Ky[d]waladr ap <Gruffudd>¹⁸ ap Kynan: yw <mam>¹⁹ oedd <Hvnvdd>²⁰ verch <Einvdd>²¹.

[§G13.6] Plant Kadwgon ap Bleddyn ap Kynvyn:

[§G13.6.1] <Madoc>²²: i vam oedd Wenllian verch <Gruffudd>²³ ap Kynan.

[§G13.6.2] Einion ap Kadwgon: i vam oedd Sanan verch Dyfnwal.

[§G13.6.3] Morgan ap Kadwgon, a gad o Elliw verch Kedifor ap Gollwyn, twysoc Dyved.

¹ KHV; Henallt T.

² HKV; Isalel T.

³ V; attivedd T; ytivedd KH.

⁴ T adds gwedy marow y iii brodyr.

⁵ KH; man T.

⁶ KH; Langkastle T.

⁷ H; Lanckastl T; – K.

⁸ V; ddugiad T; ddvgieth K; ddvkiaith H.

⁹ KHV; y T.

¹⁰ Following this section, genealogies of Sir Henry ap Rhys ap Thomas and his family appear in T.

¹¹ KJHV; Kynwyn T.

¹² KJHV; – T.

¹³ FJHV; – T.

¹⁴ FHV; Kynwyn T; Kyvyn J.

¹⁵ FJHV; Tewd[...] T.

¹⁶ F; Rytcherch T.

¹⁷ FJHV; Grum T.

¹⁸ FJHV; G[...] T.

¹⁹ FJHV; mane T.

²⁰ FJHV; Hunved T.

²¹ FJHV; Einved T.

²² FJHV; Modoc T.

²³ FJHV; Gr[...] T.

[§G13.6.4] <Henri>¹ a Gruffudd meibion Kadwgon, a gad o'r wraig briod, merch Bigod de <Say>², tywysoc o Ffrainck.

[§G13.6.5] Meredudd ap Kadwgon, a gad o Evron verch Hoedliw <ap>³ Kadwgon ap <Elystan Glodrydd>⁴.

[§G13.6.6] Owain, a gad o Ewerydd verch Edwin o <Degaingl>⁵.

[§G14.1] Plant Edwin ap Gronw: <Owain>⁶ ac Vchdrvd ac Ewerydd verch Edwin.

[§GA2] Ierwerth ap Owain ap Karadog ap Gruffudd o Gaerllion ar Wysc.

[§GA3] Seisill ap Dyfnwall o Went Vchaf.

[§G14.2] [39r] Plant Owain ap Edwin: Gronw, Ririd a Meilir, ac Yn[g]harad gwraik Gruffudd ap Kynan.

[§G15.1] Plant Madog ap Meredudd ap Bleddyn ap Kynvyn: Gruffudd Maelor, Owain ac Elisav, a Mared gwraic <Ierwerth>⁷ Drwyndwn: Susanna verch Gruffudd ap Kynan oedd ev mam oll.

[§G15.2] Plant Gruffudd ap Meredudd ap Bleddyn ap Kynvyn oedd Owain Kyveilog a Mevrig.

[§G16.1] Plant Gruffudd ap Rys ap Tewdwr: yr arglwydd Rys, Anarawd, Kadell, Meredudd. O verched: Gwladus gwraig Garadog ap Iestin, Nest mam Gruffudd ap Mevrig o Sainhenydd. Gwenllian verch Gruffudd ap Kynan oedd ev mam.

[§G16.2] Plant yr arglwydd Ris ap Gruffudd⁸ ap Ris ap Tewdwr: Gruffudd a Maelgwn a Ris Grig a Meredudd Gethin a Howel <a>⁹ Mevrig a Gwenllian gwraig Ednyved Vychan a Morgant¹⁰ a gwraig Gwenwynwyn ap Owain Keveiliog.

[§G16.3] Plant Gruffudd ap yr arglwydd Rys: Owain, a Rys Ievangk, Kedivor, Owain: yw mam oedd Vallt verch arglwydd <Brewys>¹¹.

[§G16.3.1] Merch Llywelyn ap Ierwerth oedd wraig Reinalt arglwydd <Brewys>¹².

[§G16.3.2] Margared verch Llywelyn ap Ierwerth a briodes Iohn <Brewys>¹³.

[§GA4] Plant Gruffudd ap Kynan o verch Lychwyn o Lan Bevlan.

[§GA4.1] Vn oedd Iago ap Gruffudd.

[§GA4.2] Ag Ilani verch Gruffudd, gwraig Hwva ap Ithell Velyn o Ial.

[§GA4.3] Idwall ap Gruffudd, a vv abad yMhen Mon.

[§GA4.4] A Dwlling i vrawd, offeiriad oedd.

[§GA5.1] Plant Gruffudd Maelor: nid amgen Madog <a Meredvdd ac>¹⁴ Owain¹⁵: yw mam oedd Yngharad verch Owain Gwynedd ap Gruffudd ap Kynan.

[§GA5.1.1] Mam Yngharad oedd Gristin verch Rono ap Owain ap Edwin.

[§G16.4] Plant Rys Grig: Rys Mechill a Howell.

¹ FJHV; Gr[...] T.

² FJHV; S[...] T.

³ FJHV; [...] T.

⁴ JFHV; Lllystam Glorudd T.

⁵ FJHV; Degain[...] T.

⁶ JFHV; Edwyn T.

⁷ FJHV; Ierwerth T.

⁸ T adds ap Gruffudd.

⁹ FH; – T.

¹⁰ T adds a Ririd.

¹¹ FJ; Brws T.

¹² F; Brws T.

¹³ F; Brws T.

¹⁴ FV; – T; Meredudd ap Gruffudd Maelawr ac J.

¹⁵ T adds ag Elisse.

[§G16.5] Plant Rys Ivangk ap Rys Mechill ap Rys Grig: Ris Wyndawd a Llywelyn a Marg[r]ett gwraig Mredudd <Krvbvl>¹. Gwladus verch Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ap Ierwerth Drwyndwn oedd ev mam.

[§G16.5.1] Ma[m]² Gwladus oedd <Rainallt>³ verch Rinalt brenin Mannaw.

[§G16.6] Plant Mredudd ap Owain ap Gruffudd ap yr arglwydd Rys: Gruffudd ag Owain a <Chynan>⁴ a Rys.

[§G17.1/7.2] Plant Kynvarch ap Meirchion: Llew ap Kynvarch, Aron ap Kynvarch, Vrien ap Kynvarch, Anarawn ap Kynvarch, archesgob Llydaw.

[§G17.2/7.1] Plant <vrien>⁵ ap Kynvarch ap Meirchion: Ywain ap Vrien, Rvn ap Vrien, Sariell ap Vrien, Elffyn ap Vrien, Pasgen ap Vrien, Riwallon ap Vrien, Kadvael ap Vrien.

[§G17.2.1/7.1.1] Kyndeyrn Garthwys ap Ywain ap Vrien ap Kynvarch.

[§G17.3] Plant Llew ap Kynvarch: Medrod ap Llew, Gwalchmai ap Llew ap Ky[n]varch ap Meirchion ap Grwst ap Kenav ap Koell Godebog.

[§G18/8] <Helygi>⁶ ag Elvedan, meibion <llon>⁷ Hwylvawr o'r gogledd.

[§G19.1/9.1] Elidir Mwy[n]vawr ap Grwst Priodawr ap Gwydawl ap Dyfnwal Hen ap Edynyved ap Maxen Wledig ap Llywelyn ewyrth Elen Lvyddawg.

[§G19.2/9.2] Rydderch Hael glaer ag ardderchdrud a Morgan Mwynvavr, brodorion oeddyn, meibion Tudwal Tutklud ap Keidio ap Dyfnwal Hen.

[§G19.3/9.3] Gwdion Astrus ag <Enuaelados>⁸, brodorion, [39v] meibion Deidyr⁹ ap Dyfnwal Hen ap Ednyved ap Maxen Wledig.

[§G19.3.1/9.3.1] Ievaf a Chenav, meibion Brwydr Ddiriaid ap <Gwydien>¹⁰ Astrus ap Deigyr ap Dyfnwal Hen: i mam oedd Wladus verch Rytherch Hael.

[§G19.3.2/9.3.2] Gwythyr ap Greidiol Galonhidd ap Kadvael ap Aeddan ap <Deigyr>¹¹ ap Dyfnwall Hen ap Ednyved ap Maxen Wledig ap Llywelyn <ewyrth>¹² Elen Lvyddawg; merch Goel oed hono.

[§G20.1/10.1] Plant Don o Arvon: Gwdion ap Don, Samson ap Don, <a Maethon>¹³ ap Don, Idwal ap Don, Hvnawg ap Don, Gelvaethwy ap Don, Idwal ap Don, Evnydd ap Don, Elystan ap Don, <Kynan>¹⁴ ap Don, Heddd ap Don, Adien ap Don, Elawg ap Don, <Ariandrod>¹⁵ verch Don.

[§G20.2/10.2] Plant Maeth ap Mathonwy: Llen Llawgiffes, Dylan Ail Ton, a Blodev wedd ev chwaer: Arianrod verch Don ev <mam>¹⁶.

[§G21/47] Plant Kvnedda Wledig:

[§G21.1/47.1] Peibion¹⁷, hyna mab oedd, a marw vv kynn dyfod i dad a'i vrodryr o'r gogledd i Wynedd; yMynnev <Gododvn>¹⁸ y bv varw.

¹ F; Kwpl T.

² Man T; – F.

³ F; Rannwllg T.

⁴ F; Hynan T.

⁵ FJV; Brien T.

⁶ JV; Helegi T; Helgi F.

⁷ FJV; Ivon T.

⁸ V; Ennaeladus T; Emael ados F; Enuael Ados J; Euaelados H.

⁹ TFJV; Deigr H. *Recte* Deigyr.

¹⁰ FJV; Gwydied T; Gwdion H.

¹¹ FJHV; Leigyr T.

¹² F; ewthyr T; ewythr JV.

¹³ FJV; Amdethon T; Mevthon H.

¹⁴ FJHV; Kynam T.

¹⁵ F; Ddriandrod T; Arianrod JV; Arianrodd H.

¹⁶ FJHV; man T.

¹⁷ TJHV; Meibion F. In HV, *Peibion* has been corrected to *Teibion*.

¹⁸ JHV; Gododv T; Gwodvn F.

- [§G21.1.1/47.1.1] Meirion Meirionydd ap Tybiav ap <K(v)nedda>¹ a ranodd ryngtho a'i ewythydd, ag yn i ran y doeth kantref Meirionydd.
 [§G21.2–3/47.2–3] Arwystl ap Kynedda a gavas Garadigon².
 [§G21.4/47.4] Dvnod ap Kvnedda bioedd kantreff Dvnodig, nyd amgen kymwd Ardvdyw ag Evionvdd.
 [§G21.5/47.5] Edyrn ap Kvnedda bioedd Edeirnion.
 [§G21.6/47.6] Mael mab Kvnedda bioedd Dynmael.
 [§G21.7/47.7] Koell ap <Kvnedda>³ bioedd kymwd <Koleiawn>⁴ yNyffryn Klwyd.
 [§G21.8/47.8] <Dogvael>⁵ ap Kunedda bioedd kymwd Dogveilinge yNyffryn Klwyd.
 [§G21.9/47.9] Rynon ap Kvnedda bioedd dyno Ryvoniog.
 [§G21.10/47.10] <Oswael>⁶ bioedd Osweilion.
 [§G21.11/47.11] Einion Yrth ap Kvnedda bioedd Kaer Einion.
 [§G21.12/47.12] Gwron ap Kvnedda a <Blويد>⁷, brodyr oeddynt, a Dwywei *verch* Degid Voel i <mam>⁸.
 [§G21.13/47.13] Gwen *verch* Kvnedda, gwraig Amlawd Wledig yn eigr, mam Gynwal Karnhwch.
 [§G21.14/47.14] Kynyr a Meilir ac⁹ meibion Gwron ap Kvnedda, a vuant yll tri gid

[*Rylands Welsh I, f. 1r*]

a Chaswallon Llawir i kefniderw yn gyrv y Gwyddyl Ffichdiaid o Von, ac i divanasant yn llwyr, pann laddodd <Kaswallon>¹⁰ Llawir Serigi Wyddel yn Llam y <Gwyddyl yMon>¹¹.

- [§G22] Plant <Ywain>¹² Gwynedd ap Gruffudd ap Kynan: Ierwerth <a>¹³ Gwenllian mam Wenwynwyn <ap>¹⁴ Ywain Kyveilioc.

- [§G23/28] Plant Rodri Mawr ap Epyllt *verch* Gynan Tindaethwy: Anarawd ap Rodri, Kadell ap Rodri, Mervryn ap Rodri, <Me(v)ric>¹⁵ ap Rodri, Tudwal ap Rrodri, Gwriad ap Rodri, Gwydliid ap Rodri.

- [§G23.1/28.1] Plant Anarawd ap Rodri Mawr: Idwal Voel ac Elisa^v.

- [§G23.1.1/28.1.1] Plant Idwal Voel: Ievaf a Iago a Me(v)ric a <Chynan>¹⁶ ac Idwal <Vychan>¹⁷.

- [§G23.1.2/28.1.2] Plant Ievaf ap Idwal Voel: Maic a Howel a Ievaf tad <Kynan y>¹⁸ kwn.

- [§G23.1.3/28.1.3] Plant Igo¹⁹ ap Idwal Voel: Kynan ap Iago, Kustenin D^v ap Iago, a las yngwaith Hiradduc.

- [§G23.1.4/28.1.4] Prawst *verch* Elisev ap Anarawd ap Rodri Mawr oedd vam Kynan ap Seisillt a mam Llywelyn ap Seisillt, tad yr hen Ruffudd ap Llywelyn ap Seisillt.

- [§G23.1.5/28.1.5] Idwal ap Me(v)ric a <v>²⁰ dywyssoc, <oddyna>²¹ Iago, oddyna Kynan,

¹ FJHV; Kynedd T.

² TF; Arwystli JHV. JHV *add* Karedic ap Kvnedda a gavas Garedigion.

³ JHV; Kvnedd[...] T; – F.

⁴ JFH; Koliawn T; Koeleiawn V.

⁵ JFHV; Dagvael T.

⁶ FJHV; Oswald T.

⁷ FJV; Blaid TH.

⁸ FJHV; man T.

⁹ TJV; – FH. V *adds* Yneigr.

¹⁰ JHV; Kasw[...]n R; Kyswallldan F; – T.

¹¹ FJHV; Gwyd[...]n R; Gwyddel yMon T.

¹² VFT; Y[...] R.

¹³ FTV; [...] R.

¹⁴ FTV; a[...] R.

¹⁵ FTJHV; M[...] R.

¹⁶ FTJHV; Ch[...]n R.

¹⁷ TFJHV; Vyc[...]n R.

¹⁸ FTJHV; Kyn[...] R.

¹⁹ *Recte* Iago.

²⁰ VFTJH; v[...] R.

²¹ FTJHV; o[...]na R.

oddyna Gruffudd ap Kynan.

[§G23.2/28.2] Plant Kadell ap Rodri Mawr: Howel Dda a Meuric a Chlydawc.

[§G23.2.1/28.2.1] Plant Howel Dda: Ywain <a>¹ Rŵn a Rodri.

[§G23.2.2/28.2.2] Plant Ywain ap Howel Dda: <Mredudd>² ac Einiawn.

[§G23.2.3/28.2.3] Plant <Meredudd>³ ap Ywain ap Howel Dda: Kadwallon <ac Angharad mam Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ap Seisillt a>⁴ mam [1v] Bleddyn ap Kynvyn, mam Riwallon ap Kynvyn ac Ewerydd⁵.

[§G23.2.4/28.2.4] Meuric ap Kadell a laddodd Klydawc i vrawd.

[§G23.2.5/28.2.5] Plant <Einion>⁶ ap Ywain ap Howel Dda: Tewdwr Mawr.

[§G23.2.6/28.2.6] <Plant>⁷ Tewdwr Mawr: Rys <a Rydderch>⁸ ac <Elen gwraic>⁹ [GAP].

[§G23.2.7] Plant Rys ap Tewdwr Mawr: Gruffudd ap Rys a Nest gwraic iarll Penvro, Geralt wysnaethwr.

[§G23.2.8] Plant Gruffudd ap Rrys ap Tewdwr: yr arglwydd Rys ap Gruffudd, Anarawd, Kadell, Mredudd a Rrys. I mam oedd Wenllian verch Gruffudd ap Kynan¹⁰.

[§G23.2.9] Plant yr arglwydd Rys: Maelgwn a Rys Gryc a Gruffudd a Mredudd Gethin a <Gwenllian>¹¹ gwraic <Ednyved>¹² Vychan o Von.

[§G23.2.10] Plant Maelgwn ap yr arglwydd Rys: Maelgwn Vychan.

[§G23.2.11] Plant Rys Gryc: Rys Vychan nev Rys Mechyll.

[§G23.2.12]¹³ Plant Rys Mechyll: Rys Ievangk, Rys Wyn a Margred gwraic Madoc arglwydd Glynn Dyfrdwy.

[§G23.3/28.3] Plant Mervryn ap Rodri Mawr: Tryffin, y gwr yr heniw gwyr y Rriw o Leyn ohonaw.

[§G23.4/28.6] Plant <Gwriad>¹⁴ ap Rodri: Gwgon ap Gwriad, y gwr yr henw gwyr y Nant Mawr o Dwrkelyn yMon ohonaw.

[§G23.5/28.7] Gwydlid ap Rodri yr henw gwyr Penmon Lys ohonaw.

[§G23.6/28.4] Meuric ap Rodri a ddigwyddodd i ar i varch yn Ystrad <Mevric>¹⁵, ac ni bŵ ettivedd iddo.

[§G23.7/28.5] Tudwal ap <Rodri>¹⁶ a vrathwyd ymhenn i lin yngwaith <kamryd Konwy>¹⁷, pann <ymladdodd>¹⁸ meibion <Rodri>¹⁹ ac <Edryd Wallthir brenin Lloegr, ac o'r brath>²⁰ [2r] hwnnw y kloffes, ac i roes i vrodyr iddo vchel llogieid Gwynedd iddo.

[§G24] Plant Gruffudd ap Kynan ap Iago: Ywain Gwynedd a Chadwaladr a Chadwallon. O verched: Rannvllt a Gwenllian a Morvydd a Susanna gwraic Madoc ap Mredudd ap Bleddyn ap Kynvyn ac Annest hefyd. Yngharad verch Ywain ap Edwin oedd eŵ mam.

[§G25/12] Plant Ywain Gwynedd ap Gruffudd ap Kynan:

[§G25.1/12.1] Ierwerth Drwyndwn a Maelgwn a Gwenllian mam Wenwynwyn ap Ywain Kyveilioc: yw mam oedd Wladus verch Lowarch ap Trehaiarn ap Karadawc ap Gwynn ap

¹ FTHV; [...] R; – J.

² TFJHV; Mred[...]d R.

³ VFTJH; Mer[...]udd R.

⁴ FTJHV; a[...]ngharad [...]ffudd [...]p Sei[...] R.

⁵ *mam Riwallon... Ewerydd* is a marginal addition.

⁶ TFJV; Eini[...]n R; Einon H.

⁷ FTJHV; [...] R.

⁸ HFTV; [...] Ry[...]rch R; Rydderch J.

⁹ FTJHV; El[...]aic R.

¹⁰ *Anarawd... Kynan* is an interlinear addition.

¹¹ FTJV; G[...]nllian R.

¹² TFJV; E[...]yved R.

¹³ This section is an interlinear addition.

¹⁴ FTJHV; Gw[...]iad R.

¹⁵ JFTHV; [...]c R.

¹⁶ TFJHV; Rod[...]i R.

¹⁷ FTJHV; kamr[...]onwy R.

¹⁸ FTJHV; [...]laddodd R.

¹⁹ TFJHV; [...]odri R.

²⁰ TFJHV; [...]allt h[...] R.

- Gollwyn ap Ednywain ap Bleddyn ap Blettrus ap Kynawc Mawr ap Ierwerth Hirvlawdd ap Tegonwy ap Teon.
- [§G25.2/12.2] Davydd a Rodri a Chadwallon abad Enlli ac Ynghrad gwraic Gruffudd Maelor: plant Ywain o Gristin verch Ronwy ap Ywain ap Edwin ev mam.
- [§G25.2.1/12.2.1] Mam Gristin oedd Genilles verch Hoedliw ap Ithel ap Edryd ap Inethan ap Iasedd.
- [§G25.2.2/12.2.2] Mam Ronwy ap Ywain oedd Vorvydd verch Ronwy ap Ednywain Bendew ap Miniad ap Gwaithvoed.
- [§G25.2.3/12.2.3] Mam Ywain ap Edwin oedd Ewerydd verch Gynvyn ap Gwerystan ap Gwaithvoed.
- [§G25.2.4/12.2.4] Mam Ewerydd oedd Yngharad verch Vredudd ap Ywain ap Howel Dda.
- [§G25.3/12.3] Mam Gynan ap Ywain Gwynedd oedd Yngharad verch Bredur ap Mael ap Bleddyn¹ o Veirionydd.
- [§G25.4/12.4] Llywelyn ap Ywain Gwynedd: i vam oedd Wenlliann verch Ednywain ap <Gwrydr>² ap Dyfnaint.
- [§G25.5/12.5] <Mredudd>³ ap Ywain Gwynedd, [2v] a Morvydd verch Verwydd Hir i vam.
- [§G25.6/12.6] Idwal ap Ywain: Avandrec verch Wrgi o Benn Mynydd Gradvael i vam.
- [§G25.7/12.7] Rŵn ap Ywain, a Medd verch Wrgi i vam, chwaer Avandrec.
- [§G25.8/12.8] Madoc ac Eignion, mebion Ywain: vn vam oeddynt.
- [§G25.9/12.10] Daŵ Gynwric a vŵant veibion i Ywain.
- [§G25.9.1/12.10.1] Vn onaddvnt a wystlodd Ywain i Henrri vrenin ynghoed Keirioc, ac i daliwyd gyd a'r gwystlon pann dores Ywain a'r brenin; ac o hynny y bŵ varw.
- [§G25.9.2/12.10.2] Kynwric arall a elwid Kynwric ap y veiriones.
- [§G25.10/12.11] Phylib ap Ywain, a Morvydd verch Elvan ap Sanddef o Ros i vam.
- [§G25.11/12.12] Ririd ap Ywain, y gwr bioedd Klochran, y dref a roed i hen Ruffudd ap Kynan, ysydd rrwng Dinas Dŵlŵn a swydd Golomkelli.
- [§G25.12] Mam Ronwy ap Ywain.
- [§G26/13] Plant Kadwaladr ap Gruffudd ap Kynan:
- [§G26.1/13.1] Kadŵan ap Kadwaladr: vn vam oedd ac Ywain Kyveilioc.
- [§G26.2/13.2] Maredudd Goch ac Einion a Chadwallon, meibion Kydwaladr, a Dyddgŵ verch Mredudd ap Bleddyn ap Kynvyn iw mam.
- [§G26.3/13.3] Kŵnedda a Rikart a Randwlff a Gruffudd, meibion Kadwaladr, ac Adles verch iarll Klar ev mam.
- [§G26.4/13.4] Iwera Vychan ac Angharad chwaer, plant Kadwaladr o Danglwystl verch Kadwallon ap Gruffydd ap Kynan.
- [§G27/14] Plant Kadwallon ap Gruffudd ap Kynan: Kŵnedda a Thangwystl, yr honn a vŵ yn planta o Gadwaladr i hewythr. Ac Ywain Gwynedd a beris dallŵ Kŵnedda i nai, ap i vrawd, ac eto y diar-hebir: is Konwy ryŵel <Kŵnedda>⁴.
- [§G28.1] [3r] Plant Iago ap Idwal ap Meuric ap Idwal Voel: Kynan ap Iago.
- [§G28.2/17] Mam Gynan ap Iago edd⁵ Avandrec verch Wair ap Pill ap Kynwric ap <Kynddelw>⁶ Gam ap Elgud ap Grisnadd ap Dwywc Lyth ap Tegawc ap Dwfnerth ap Madoc ap Mechydd ap Sanddef Brikeingl ap⁷ Llowarch Hen ap Elidir Lydanwyn.

¹ *ap Bleddyn* is an interlinear addition.

² TJHV; [...]w[...]r R; Gwryd F.

³ JFTHV; Mr[...]udd R.

⁴ FTJHV; Kŵnedd[...] R.

⁵ *Recte* oedd.

⁶ FTJHV; Kynddel[...] R.

⁷ *Sanddef Brikeingl ap* is surrounded by red dots.

- [§G29/18] Mam Plant Rodri Mawr oedd Yngharad verch Vevric ap Dyfnwal ap Arthen ap Seisillt ap Klydawc [ap]¹ Artholes ap Aruotheu ap Bothe² ap Seiriol ap Vssa ap Kyredic ap K^lnedda Wledic.
- [§G30/19] Mam Ver^lvryn Vrych, tad Rodri Mawr, oedd Nest verch Gadell ap Brochwel ap ap [sic] Elise^l ap Kynllo ap Beli ap Mael Mynan ap Selyf Sarff Kada^l ap Kynan Garwyn ap Brochwel Ysgithroc ap Kyngen Glodrydd³ ap Kadell Dyrnlluc ap Pasgen ap Brydw ap Ruddvedel Vrych ap Kyndeyrn ap Gwrtheyrn Gwrthena^l.
- [§G31/20] Mam Elidir ap Sanddef, gorhendam Rrodri Mawr, oedd Geleinion verch Anarawd Gallgrwnn ap Mer^lvryn Mawr ap Kynuyn ap Anechwi ap Tudwal ap R^lvn ap Meirchion ap Seisillt ap Dyngad ap Tudwal ap Ednyved ap Maxen Wledic.
- [§G32/22] Mam Gaswallon ap ap [sic] Kad^lvan oedd A^lvandrec Dv verch Gynan Garwyn ap Brochwel Ysgithroc.
- [§G33/23] Mam Beli ap R^lvn ap Maelgwn Gwynedd oedd Berwevr verch R^lvn Ryvedvawr ap Einiawn ap Masgwic Kloff ap Kena^l ap Koel Godeboc.
- [§G34/24] Mam <R^lvn>⁴ ap Maelgwn Gwynedd oedd Walldwenn verch <Avallach>⁵.
- [§G35.1/25.1] [3v] Mam Vaelgwn Gwynedd oedd Veddyf verch Vaeldaf ap Dyliau Draws o Nankonwy.
[§G35.1.1/25.1.1] Mam Meddyf oedd verch Kallwch⁶ ap K^lvwch ap Kychwein, <chwaer>⁷ Drystan Danll^lvwch.
- [§G36/26] Mam Kaswallon Llawir oedd Brawst verch Tithlym Prydain.
- [§G37/27] Mewn tri lle y delid arglwyddiaeth Wynedd o gogael:
[§G37.1/27.1] ^lvn onadd^lvnt v^l Ystradwel verch Gad^lvan ap Kynan ap E^lvdaf ap Karadawc ap Bran ap Llyr Llediaith. A'r Ystradwawl honno oedd wraig Goel Godebawc, mam Dyfr a mam Gena^l ap Koel.
[§G37.2/27.2] Ail lle yw Gwawl verch Goel Godeboc, gwraig Edyrn ap Padarn Peissrudd, mam G^lvneda Wledic.
[§G37.3/27.3] Trydydd lle v^l Esyllt verch Kynan Dindaethwy, gwraig Vervryn Vrych, mam Rodri Mawr.
- [§G38/15] Plant Gruffudd ap Kynan, val i dywetpwyd vchod:
[§G38.1/15.1] Ywain Gwynedd ap Gruffudd, Kydwaladr ap Gruffudd, Kydwallon ap Gruffudd, a Rran^lllt a Gwenllian a Mared a Susana ac Anes: Yngharad verch Ywain ap Edwin oedd ev mam oll.
[§G38.2/15.2] Iago ap Gruffudd a'i chwaer, y wraig a v^l i Hw^lva ap Ithel Velyn o Ial: a merch Lychwy o Lan Be^lvan yw mam.
[§G38.3/15.3] Idwal ap Gruffudd a v^l abad yMhenn Mon, ac y mae i vedd yno etto.
[§G38.4/15.4] Duling ap Gruffudd, effeiriad v^l ac athro da, ac vn mab a v^l iddo: Tomas ap Duling.
- [§G39/16] Mam Gruffudd ap Kynan oedd:

¹ This *ap* has been inadvertently omitted because *Klydawc* occurs at the end of one line and *Artholes* at the beginning of the next.

² This is an interlinear addition replacing *Brochan*.

³ This is a marginal addition.

⁴ FTJHV; R[...] R.

⁵ TFJHV; [...]ch R.

⁶ This has been altered from *Kadll^lvwch*.

⁷ FTJHV; ch[...]er R.

- [§G39.1/16.1] Rannvlt verch Awloed ap Settric ap Gluivarn ap Settric ap Haralt Harffagyr ap Siwider Sur ap Beor ap Siwyder Ris ap Haralt Harffagyr. Yr Haralt <hwnnw>¹ <a>² [4r] oresgynnodd Llychlyn oll ac a ddeholes yr holl vrenhinedd ohoni ac a vlv ehvn oruchel vrenin ar Lychlyn. Yr hen Haralt hwnnw oedd vab i Haldan Dv ap Gwythrid vrenin Helgwr ap Haldan Melde ap Eistrid ap Haldan, y brenin kyntaf a vlv yn Llychlyn.
- [§G39.1.1/16.1.1] Nain Gruffudd ap Kynan: Maelgrec verch Dwling ap Dwchil vrenin Kamwri, i bvmrann Ewerddon.
- [§G39.1.2/16.1.2] Yslain vam Anloyd vrenin, merch brenin Muen, dwyrann o Ewerddon.
- [§G39.1.3/16.1.3] Gwrymlaith oedd vam Settric, verch Vwrchoth vrenin Llani. Tri mab a vlv i Wrchath vrenin, klodvorvsaf trywyr ievaingk oeddyn yn i hoes, a buanaf oeddynt: Bwrchath vrenin Muen, a Settric vrenin Dinas Duly, a Moelkolwm brenin Medi, oedd vrodry vn vam a Gruffudd ap Kynan.
- [§G39.1.4/16.2.1] Ranalt vab Wrchadd a oresgynnodd ddwy rann o Ewerddon yn oed pvm nos a mis; dewraf gwr ievangk oedd ymhvmrran Ewerddon. A buanaf oedd i varch a mwyaf i naid, kains ef a noded i naid yno; sef i kyfflybid i varch Alexander Mawr.
- [§G40.1] Plant Ierwerth Drwyndwn ap Ywain Gwynedd ap Gruffudd ap Kynan: Llywelyn ap Ierwerth. Marvred verch Vadoc ap Mredud ap Bleddyn ap Kynvyn oedd i vam.
- [§G40.2] Plant Llywelyn ap Ierwerth Drwyndwn:
- [§G40.2.1] Gruffudd a Gwladus Dv gwraic Syr Randwlff Mortmer³ ap Rocher ap Huw Mortmer, y kyntaf o'r iearll Mortmeriaid y Mars, yr hwnn a ddoeth i Loegyry gyd a Wiliam Bastart. Tanglwyst verch Lowarch Goch o Ros oedd <yw mam>⁴ yll <da>⁵, <Gruffudd>⁶ a Gwladus Dv.
- [§G40.2.2] [4v] Dauydd ap Llywelyn a Gwenllian gwraic Syr Iohon Lasi iarll Lingkol ac Yngharad gwraic Vaelgwn Vychan ap Maelgwn ap yr arglwydd Rys a Marvred gwraic Iohon Yscott iarll Kaerlleon, ac wedi hyny i bv wraic i Iohn arglwydd Brewys.
- [§G40.3] Plant Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ap Ierwerth Drwyndwn: Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, Dauydd ap Gruffudd, Rodri ap Gruffudd, Ywain Goch ap Gruffudd, a Gwladus gwraic Rys Ievangk⁷, a Ranwlft merch Reinalt vrenin Manaw yw mam, oedd Ranvlt verch Reinalt brenin Manaw⁸.
- [§G41] Plant Rikart ap Kydwaladr ap Gruffudd ap Kynan; i Rikart y bu xiii o verched:
- [§G41.1] Vn oedd wraic Einion Vychan o Veirionydd.
- [§G41.2] Arall: gwraic Madoc ap Eignion ap Mredudd.
- [§G41.3] Arall: gwraic vn o veibion Dauydd ap Tegwared.
- [§G41.4] Arall: gwraic vab Kynwric Sais.
- [§G41.5] Arall: gwraic Tudur ap Ednyved Vychan o von.
- [§G41.6] Arall: gwraic Ithel Vychan ap Ithel Gam.
- [§G41.7] I mam oedd [GAP] verch Gwynn ap Eginir ap Gollwyn ap Tangno.
- [§G42/30] Gwehelyth Dehevlarth:
- [§G42.1/30.1] Rys ap Gruffudd ap Rys ap Tewdwr ap Einion ap Ywain ap Howel Dda ap Kadell ap Rodri Mawr.
- [§G42.1.1/30.1.1] Gwenllian verch Gruffudd ap Kynan oedd vam yr arglwydd Rys hwnnw.
- ¹ TFJHV; hwnn[...] R. Following this word, FT have the genealogy of *Mam Gynan* (§G28.2/17), which, though now mostly torn away, clearly begins in the lower margin of f. 3v of Rylands Welsh 1. T introduces the genealogy with the words *kais ar y ddaken draw*, where *ddaken* is presumably a miscopying of *ddalen*; these words were probably copied from Rylands Welsh 1 too, since the word *ddalen* is still visible between the main text and remnants of *Mam Gynan* in the lower margin.
- ² TJHV; [...] R; – F.
- ³ Following this, the words *iarll Mars* have been struck through.
- ⁴ FTJHV; [...]am R.
- ⁵ FTJHV; da[...] R.
- ⁶ FTJH; [...] R; – V.
- ⁷ a Gwladus... *Ievangk* is an interlinear addition.
- ⁸ a Ranwlft... *Manaw*: this passage has been altered by various interlinear additions. It originally read a *merch Vwrchadd vrenin Ewerddon yw mam*.

[§G42.1.2/30.1.2] Mam Gruffudd ap Rys ap Tewdwr oedd Wladus verch Riwallon ap Kynvyn ap Gwerystan.

[§G43] Gwehelyth Arllechwedd Vchaf:

Iarddur ap Trehaiarn ap Kynddelw ap Rrird ap Bod ap Kysgen ap [GAP].

[§G44/31] [5r] Gwehelyth Gwerthrynnion:

[§G44.1/31.1] Kadwallon ap Madoc ap Iorwerth ap Kadwgon ap Elystan Glodrydd ap Kuhelyn ap Ivor ap Sevirus ap Kadwr Wenwyn ap Idnerth ap Iorwerth Hirvlawdd ap Tegonwy ap Teon.

[§G44.1.1/31.1.1] Ranillt verch Gruffudd ap Kynan oedd van¹ Kadwallon ap Madoc.

[§G45/32] Gwehelyth Powys:

[§G45.1/32.1] Gruffudd Maelor ac Ywain Vychan ac Elissev, meibion Madog ap Mredudd ap Pleddyn ap Kynvyn.

[§G45.1.1/32.1.1] Sussanna verch Gruffudd ap Kynan oedd yw mam.

[§G46/33] Gwehelyth Arwystli:

[§G46.1/33.1] Howel ap Ielaf ap Ywain ap Trehaiarn ap Karadawc ap Gwynn ap Gollwyn ap Ednywain ap Bleddyn ap Bletrus ap Kynawc Mawr ap Iorwerth Hirvlawdd ap Tegonwy ap Teon.

[§G46.1.1/33.1.1] Mam Howel oedd Varvred verch Gruffudd ap Kynan.

[§G46.2/33.2] Mredudd ap Rottpert ap Llowarch ap Trehaiarn ap Karadawc ap Gwynn ap Gollwyn ap Ednywain.

[§G46.2.1/33.2.1] I vam oedd Ddyddgŵ verch Vadoc ap Iorwerth² ap Kadwgon ap Elystan Glodrydd.

[§G47/34] Gwehelyth Powys³:

[§G47.1/34.1] Ierwerth Goch ap Mredudd ap Bleddyn ap Kynvyn ap Gwerystan.

[§G47.1.1/34.1.1] I vam oedd Eva verch Vletrus ap Ednywain Bendew.

[§G48/35] Gwehelyth Morganwc:

[§G48.1/35.1] Morgant ap Karadawc ap Iestin ap Gwrgant ap Ithel ap Idwallon ap Morgan Mawr ap Ywain ap Howel ap Rys ap Arthavael ap Rys ap Ithel ap Morgant ap Athraws ap Mevric ap Teudric ap Teithffalt ap Mynan ap Yrb <ap>⁴ Erbic ap Enynny⁵.

[§G48.1.1/35.1.1] [5v] Gwladus verch Gruffudd ap Rys ap Tewdwr oedd vam Vorgant.

[§G48.2/35.2] Gruffudd ap Ivor ap Meuric Vychan mab vchelwr o Sainhenydd.

[§G48.2.1/35.2.1] Nest verch Gruffudd ap Rys ap Tewdwr oedd i vam.

[§G49/36] Gwehelyth Gwent:

[§G49.1/36.1] Morgant ap Howel ap Ierwerth ap Ywain ap Gruffudd ap Rydderch ap Iestin ap Gwrgan.

[§G49.1.1/36.1.1] Gweurvyll verch Ywain Kyveilioc oedd i vam.

[§G50/37] Neur dderyw ysbysŵ yr oes honn o vonedd. Bellach y dywedwn y gwyr a vŵant o Arthur hyd Vaelgwn.

[§G51/38] Gwehelyth Dyved:

[§G51.1/38.1] Ywain ap Elen verch Lowarch ap Hyveidd ap Tangwstl verch Ywain ap Mredudd ap Tewdos ap Kadwgon ap Kynddelw ap Kadien ap Gwlyddien ap Nowy ap Arthen ap Pedr ap Kyngar ap Gorthevyr ap Erbin ap Aergul ap Llawir ap Tryffin ap Ywain Vraisc ap Kyndeyrn Vendigaid ap Ywain ap Kyngar ap Ywain ap Gwledyr verch Gledwin ap Dyuet ap Ebynt ap Elynt ap Amloid ap Amwerid ap Kustennin ap Maxen Wledic.

¹ Recte vam.

² This word is written over an erased word that appears to have read *Idnerth*.

³ This is written over *Morganwc*, which has been struck through.

⁴ FTJV; [...] R.

⁵ ap Erbic ap Enynny is an addition.

- [§G51.2/38.2] Rikert ap Mredudd ap Rydderch ap Kletri ap Kadivor ap Gollwyn ap Gwynn ap Rydderch ap Elgan Weflhwch ap Kynan Kylchef ap Tryffin Varvoc ap Ywain Vraise ap Kyndeyrn nev Cyndrwyn¹ Vendigaid.
- [§G52/39] Ednyved ap ap [sic] Morien ap Kadgwr ap Kadvor ap Merwydd ap Morvynydd ap Morith ap Morgwn ap Bodawc ap Morien Glas.
- [§G53/40] Gwehelyth Kadelling o Gegidva yMhywys:
 [§G53.1/40.1] Gwynn ap Gruffudd ap Beli ap Selyf ap Brochwel ap Aeddan ap Elisev ap <Gwynawc>² ap Bili ap [6r] Mael Mynan ap Selyf ap Kynan Garwyn ap Brochwel Ysgithroc ap Kynngen ap Kadell Deyrnlluc ap Pasgen ap Rydw ap Ruddvedel Vrych ap Kyndeyrn ap Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenav.
 [§G53.2/40.2] Alawoc Wr ap Idic ap Kadell Dyrnlluc.
- [§G54/41] Gwehelyth Penllyn:
 Meirion ap Lleuuev ap Koed ap Doned ap Tudwal ap Ednyved ap Brochwel ap Dyfnwal ap Deinioc Lyr ap Kadwr ap Pybyr ap Kaper ap Puter ap ap [sic] Ystadwer ap Pandwlff ap Kyndwlff ap Gorvlwng ap Peblych ap Pebid Penllyn.
- [§G55/42] Gwehelyth Meirionnydd:
 Kynan ap Brochwel ap Ednyved Meirionydd ap Elnvdd Bach ap Brochwel ap Yswalt ap Idris Gawr ap Gwyddno ap Kynyr Varyfdwrch ap Kydwaladr ap Meirion Meirionnydd ap Tybiav ap Kvnedda Wledic.
- [§G56/43] Gwehelyth Ardudwy:
 Bleiddud ap Karadawc ap Ieuanawl ap Eigiawn ap Peibiau³ ap Melvic ap Dyngad ap Donod⁴ ap Kvnedd⁵ Wledic.
- [§G57/44] Gwehelyth Ros:
 Howel Varyf Vehinoc ap Karadoc ap Meirion ap Howel ap Rvn ap Iddon ap Kadvael Krys Haloc ap Aeddan ap Maic ap Kynglas Koed ap Ywain Danwyn ap Einiawn Yrth ap Kvnedda Wledic.
- [§G58/46.2] Gwehelyth Dogveiling yNyffryn Klwyd:
 Kowryd ap Elaeth ap Elgud Glas ap Ilon ap Dogvael Dogveiling ap Kvnedda Wledic ap Edyrn ap Padarn Peisrudd.
- [§G59/48] [6v] Llwyth Killin, meibion vchelwyr:
 [§G59.1/48.1] Hwva ap Kynddelw ap Kwnws ap Killyn ap Maelawc Dda ap Greddyf Kwnws Dv ap Killyn Ynvyd ap Predur Teyrnoe ap Meilir Eryr Gwyr Gorssedd ap Tydy ap Tyvodedd ap Gwylvyw ap Marchwyn ap Bran ap Pill ap Kerfyr ap Meilir Meleiriawn ap Gwron ap Kvnedda Wledic.
 [§G59.1.1/48.1.1] Keinvric verch Ednywain Bendew ap Kynon Veiniad ap Gwaithvoed ap Gwrydr oedd i vam.
 [§G59.2/48.2] Llwyth Killin yMortyn o Vaelawr: Sanddef Hardd ap Karadawc Hardd ap Gwrydr ap Maelawc Dda.
 [§G59.2.1/48.2.1] Yngharad verch Vrochwel ap Moelyn o Dwrkelyn yMon oedd vam Sanddef.
 [§G59.2.2/48.2.2] Arthen ac Iddon, brodyr Sanddef, meibion Karadawc Hardd oeddynt ap Gwrydr ap Maelawc Dda. I vam oedd verch Vrochwel ne Moelyn⁶ ap⁷.

¹ *nev Cyndrwyn* is an interlinear addition.

² FTJV; G[...]awc R; Gwylawc H. In H, the *l* is written above an *n*.

³ The final *w* is an addition.

⁴ *Melvic ap Dyngad ap Donod* is a marginal addition, replacing the erased word *D/mod*.
⁵ *Recte* Kvnedda.

⁶ *ne Moelyn* is an interlinear addition, written underneath *Vrochwel*.

⁷ Although an additional *ap* has been added here, the name *Gronwy* at the start of the next section begins

- [§G59.3/48.3] Gronwy ap ap [sic] Morgenaŵ ap Idwynn ap Einiawn ap Mygyr ap Maelawc Dda.
 [§G59.4/48.4] Meilir ap Hwŵa ap Llowarch Goch ap Idic ap Idawc ap Maelawc Dda.
 [§G59.4.1/48.4.1] Keleiniawn verch Howel ap Karwed ap Marchudd ap Kynan ap Elŵyw ap Mor ap Mynan ap Ysbwys Mwyntyrch ap Ysbwys ap Kadrod Kalchvynydd oedd vam Meilir ap Huva.
 [§G59.5/48.5] Bleddyn ap Eŵreanc ap Ithel ap Dinhaiarn ap Brochwel ap Trehaiarn ap Maelawc Dda.
 [§G59.5.1/48.5.1] Keinwric verch Rŵn Vawr ap Madonwy mab vchelwr o Gaer Wedros i vam. Brochwael ap Trehaiarn a wystlws Keinwric i verch i Ruffudd ap Llywelyn, kanid oedd vn mab iddo yna. Ac yn yr wystledig[7r]aeth hwnnw i mynnodd Trehaiarn ap Maelawc Dda hi.
 [§G59.5.2/48.5.2] <Eurdrych>¹ verch Diwng ap Eŵnydd a ŵŵ wraic i Drehaiarn ap Maelawc Dda, mam Eurdrid verch Trehaiarn, y wraic a ŵŵ i Bleig Goec.
 [§G59.6/48.6] Ywain ac Ednyŵed, meibion Karadawc ap Ievaf ap Rys ap Mor ap Dibyder ap Killyn ap Maelawc Dda.
- [§G60/49] Llwyth Aelan Bellach:
 [§G60.1/49.1] Einiawn ap Gwalchmai ap Meilir ap Mabon ap Iarddur ap Mor ap Tegerin ap Aelan ap Greddyf ap Kwnws Dŵ ap Killyn Ynydd ap Predur Teyrnœ ap Meilyr Eryr Gwyr Gorsedd.
 [§G60.1.1/49.1.1] Genilles verch Wrgenaŵ ap Ednywain ap Ithel o'r Brynn yMhywys ac o Benant Melangell oedd vam Eigniawn.
 [§G60.1.2/49.1.2] Mam Ednywain ap Ithel oedd Nest verch Gynŵyn ap Gwerystan ap Gwaithŵed.
 [§G60.1.3/49.1.3] Mam Wrgenaŵ ap Ednywain oedd Enerys verch Rys Sais ap Ednyŵed ap Llowarch Gam ap Lluddyka ap Tudur Treŵor.
 [§G60.1.4/49.1.4] Mam Genilles verch Wrgenaŵ oedd Wledyr verch Seisillt ap Gwrgi mab vchelwr o Gastell yNghaer Einiawn.
 [§G60.1.5/49.1.5] Mam Wledyr verch Seisillt ap ap [sic] Gwrgi oedd Dygiwc verch Wynn ap Gruffudd ap Beli ap Selyf ap Brochwel ap Aeddan ap Elisaf ap Gwylawc ap Beli ap Mael Mynan ap Selyf Sarff Kadaŵ ap Kynan Garwynn ap Brochwel Ysgithroc.
 [§G60.1.6/49.1.6–49.2] Mam Walchmai ap Meilir oedd Dendric verch Rys ap Gruffudd ap Selyf ap Mor ap Maeyc ap Elaeth ap Ynyr ap Gronwy ap Gwiawn ap Rys Goch ap Sanddef [7v] ap Iarddur ap Mor ap Degeyrn ap Aelan ap Greddyf ap Kwnws Dŵ.
 [§G60.2/49.2.1–49.3] Perweur verch Rotpert ap Ednywain Benndew oedd vam pedwar maib Rys Goch: nid amgen Gwion ap Rys, Elidir ap Rys, Gwilim ap Rys, Gweyrydd ap Rys Goch².
 [§G60.3/49.4] Pedwar mab Iarddur ap Mor, o Ewerydd verch Kynddelw ap Karadawc.
 [§G60.3.1/49.4.1] Haer verch Iarddur ap Diwric oedd wraic Neuter ap Hedd ap Mael ap Karadoc ap Moelyn ap Sandef ap Iarddur ap Mor.
 [§G60.4/49.5] Bletrus ap Gruffudd oedd henw Moelyn yn iawn. Moelyn ap Aelan ap Greddyf ap Kwnws Dŵ, y gelwid Llwyth Killin ohono.
 [§G60.4.1/49.5.1] Hŵnŵdd verch Vran ap Dinawal oedd vam Bletrus ap Gruffudd.
 [§G60.4.2/49.5.2] Gwraic Vletrus ap Gruffudd oedd Brawst verch Gynddelw ap Gwgon o Lyn.
 [§G60.4.3/49.5.3] Mam Brawst oedd Sanant verch Gynvyn Hirdref.
 [§G60.4.4/49.5.4] Mam Sanant oedd Haer verch Gillin ap³ y Blaidd Rudd o'r Gest yn Eddionydd, a'r vn Haer honno oedd vam Mredudd ap Bleddyn ap Kynŵyn.
 [§G60.5/49.6] Tair merched Kynvyn Hirdref o'r Haer honno:
 [§G60.5.1/49.6.1] Vn oedd Sanant, mam Kynddelw ap Gwgon o Leyn.
 [§G60.5.2/49.6.2] Arall: Perweir, gwraic ap Bletrus, mam Iarddur ap Diwric.
 [§G60.5.3/49.6.3] Y drydedd oedd [GAP] gwraic Gwrgenaŵ ap Gollwyn mab vchelwr o Vochnant. Mab y'r Gwrgenaŵ hwnnw o [GAP] verch Gynŵyn Hirdref o Haer verch y

with a rubricated initial.

¹ V; Eurd[...]ych R; Eurdych FJ; Eurddvrch T; Eŵrddoeth H.

² Gweyrydd ap Rys Goch appears to be an addition.

³ Gillin ap is an interlinear addition.

- Blaidh Rudd oedd Ririd Vlaidd, ac am i vod yn wyr i Haer verch y Blaidh Rudd y roed arno Ririd [8r] Vlaidd.
- [§G60.5.4/49.6.4] Tri chefniderw oedd: Ririd Vlaidd a Iarddur ap Diwric a Chynddelw ap Gwgon; tair merched Kynvyn Hirdref oedd ev tair mam.
- [§G61.1/50.1] Kadwgon a Ierwerth, meibion Llowarch ap Bran ap Dynawal ap Eŷnydd ap Aelan ap Alcer ap ap [sic] Tudwal ap Rodri Mawr.
- [§G61.1.1/50.1.1] Ruel verch Gronwy ap Ywain ap Edwin oedd eŷ mam yll daŷ.
- [§G61.2/50.2] Gwraic Gadwgon ap Llowarch ap Bran oedd Wenllian verch Gynan ap Owain Gwynedd¹ ap Gruffudd ap Kynan.
- [§G61.2.1/50.2.1] Mam y Wenllian honno oedd verch Genillyn ap Meirion Goch o Leyn.
- [§G61.3/50.3] Gwraic Ierwerth ap Llowarch ap Bran oedd Wenllian verch Howel ap Ieŷaf ap Ywain ap Trehaiarn ap Karadoc ap Gwynn ap Gollwyn ap Ednywain ap Bleddyn ap Pleturus.
- [§G62/51] Rys a Meilir a Thegwared, meibion Kadwgon ap Bleddyn ap Gwrydyr ap Ednywain ap Llywelyn Aurdorchoc ap Kynwric ap Kynddelw Gam ap Elgud ap Grwysnadd ap Dwywc Lyth ap Llowarch Hen².
- [§G63/52] Llwyth yr henyw gwyr Pentraeth ohonaw:
- [§G63.1/52.1] Geraint ap Tegwared ap Kynvawr ap Madoc ap Nyniaw ap Idnerth ap Edryd ap Nethan (neŷ Iarddur ap Kadwgon)³ ap Diseth ap Kathus ap Rŷn ap Enedwy.
- [§G63.2/52.2] Rrotpert ap Rŷn ap Meilir ap Aere ap Idnerth ap Edryd⁴.
- [§G64/53] Dauydd ap Tegwared ap Hoedliw ap Ririd ap Meirion ap Kriadoc ap Ywain ap Marchudd ap Kynan ap Elŷyw ap Mor ap Mynan ap Ysbwys Mwyntyrch.
- [§G65/54] [8v] Gwehelyth gwyr Ros, pedwar Llwyth Edryd:
- [§G65.1/54.1] Ednyŷed Vychan ap Kynwric ap Ierwerth ap Gwgon ap Idnerth ap Edryd ap Inethan ap Iasedd ap Karwed ap Marchudd ap Kynan ap Elŷyw ap Mor ap Mynan ap Ysbwys Mwyntyrch ap Ysbwys ap Kadrod Kalchŷynydd ap Kynwyd Kynwydian ap Kynŷelyn ap Athrwys⁵ ap Mar ap Kenaŷ ap Koel Godeboc.
- [§G65.2/54.2] Gruffudd ap Riwallon ap Gwynn ap Bleddyn ap Edryd.
- [§G65.3/54.3] Iorwerth ap Iddon ap Ithel ap Edryd.
- [§G65.4/54.4] Bleddyn ap Meuric ap Riwallon ap Dwywc ap Elidir ap Elŷyw ap Mor.
- [§G66/55] Gwehelyth Arŷon:
- [§G66.1/55.1] Kyfnerth Vychan ap Kyfnerth ap Morgenaŷ ap Gwrydr ap Dyfnaint ap Iddon ap Iddic ap Llowarch ap Llonian ap Kilmin Tredŷ.
- [§G66.2/55.2] Ierwerth a Chynwic⁶ a Thudwal, meibion Riwallon ap Gwrydyr ap Dyfnaint.
- [§G66.2.1/55.2.1] Lleŷkŷ verch Wrgenaŷ ap Seisillt ap Ithel ap Gwerystan ap Gwaithŷoed oedd vam Ierwerth.
- [§G66.2.2/55.2.2] Ac Yneigyŷ verch Dudŷwlch ap Tegwared o'r Ddol y⁷ Edeirnion oedd vam Dudwal Gam.
- [§G66.3/55.3] Kadwgon a Madoc a Ierwerth Goch Yngnat a Iorwerth Wissgi, meibion Riwallon ap Kynddelw ap Gwrydyr ap Dyfnaint.
- [§G66.4/55.4] Madoc ap Rahaut ap Ednywain ap Gwrydr.

¹ A mam Ywain Gwynedd has been erased following this word.

² ap Llowarch Hen is an addition.

³ This alternative for Edryd ap Nethan is a marginal addition.

⁴ Edryd is an interlinear addition replacing the words *Kadwr ap Kadawc*, which have been struck through.

⁵ ap Athrwys is a marginal addition.

⁶ Recte Chynwric.

⁷ Recte yn.

[§G66.5/55.5] Ystwyth¹ ap Ednywain ap Gwrydr ap Dyfnaint ap Iddon ap Iddic ap Llowarch ap Llonian ap Kilmin Troetv.

[Harley 1970, f. 44r]

[§G67/56] Llwyth Gollwyn:

[§G67.1/56.1] Merwydd², Eginir ac Ednyved, meibion Gollwyn ap Tangno ap Kadvael ap <Llvd>³: yw mam oedd Vedlan Benllydan verch Gynon Veiniad ap Gwrydir Goch, chwaer Ednywain Bendew.

[§G67.2/56.2] <Kynon>⁴ ap Gollwyn a [GAP] verch Engar o Vochnant.

[§G67.3/56.3] Asser a Gwgon a Meiriawn, meibion Meurig ap Tangno.

[§G67.4/56.4] Tegwared ap <Rotpert>⁵ ap Assar ap Merwydd ap Gollwyn ap Tangno.

[§G67.5/56.5] Davydd ap Kadwgon ap <Genillin>⁶ ap Meirion ap Merwydd ap Gollwyn ap Tangno.

[§G67.6/56.6] Iarddur ap Diwngk⁷ ap Blettrus ap Merwydd ap Gollwyn ap Tangno ap Kadvael ap Lludd.

[§G67.7/56.7] Gwynn, yr hwnn a vv ddistain, ap Eginir ap Gollwyn ap Tangno.

[§G67.7.1/56.7.1] A merch y'r Gwynn hwnw oedd wraig Rikard ap Kydwaladr ap Gruffudd ap Kynan.

[§G67.7.2/56.7.2] Gwyr plwy <Bedd Kelert>⁸ a ddon y'r vn Gwynn ap Eginir hwnnw, ag i llwyth Gollwyn.

[§G68/58] Llwyth Penllyn:

[§G68.1/58.1] Ririd Vlaidd ap Gwrgenav ap Gollwyn ap Moriddig ap Rys ap <Gwerystan>⁹ ap Llowarch ap Rywallon ap Aradry.

[§G68.1.1/58.1.1] Merch Kynvyn Hirdref oedd vam Ririd Vlaidd <o Haer merch y Blaidd>¹⁰ Rudd o'r Gest.

[§G68.2/58.2] Madog ap Ririd Vlaidd: i vam oedd Wenllian verch Ednyved ap Kynwrig ap Rywallon o Vailor.

[§G68.2.1/58.2.1] Mam Wenllian oedd Vladus verch Aldud ap Ywain ap Edwin vrenin.

[§G69/59] Rys ap Edryd ap Inethan ap <Karwed>¹¹ ap Marchudd ap Kynan ap Elvyw ap Mor ap Mynan ap Ysbwys Mwyntyrch ap Ysbwys ap Kadrod Kalchvynydd ap [44v] ap Kynwyd Kynwydion ap Kynvelyn ap Mor ap Kenav ap Koel.

[§G70.1/60.1] Tri maib Hedd ap Olwynawg¹²: Meudir a Gwrgi a Gwillonon.

[§G70.1.1/60.1.1] Plant Henter¹³ ap Hedd: yr henyw gwyr Llann Dalhaiarn ohonvnt.

[§G70.1.2/60.1.2] Plant <Gwillonon>¹⁴ ap Hedd: yr henyw gwyr Dyffryn Elwy ohonvnt.

[§G70.1.3/60.1.3] Plant Gwrgy ap Hedd: yr henyw gwyr Nant Haled ohonvnt.

[§G70.2/60.2] Idnerth ap <Ralant>¹⁵ ap Asser ap Gwrgy ap Hedd ap Alvnawg ap Greddyf ap Tymyr ap Llawr ap Llavrodedd Varyfvawg.

¹ *Recte* Ystrwyth.

² FH *add* ac.

³ FJHV; Llwd T.

⁴ JV; Kynan T; Rynon F.

⁵ FJH; Robbert T; Rotpart V.

⁶ JHV; Genilin T.

⁷ TJH; Diwric V.

⁸ FJHV; Beddbelert T.

⁹ FJH; Gwrystan TV.

¹⁰ FJ; – TV; o Haer *verch* Gillin ap y Blaidd H.

¹¹ FJV; Karwedd TH.

¹² TH; Olunawc FJV.

¹³ TFH; Henter neŵ Mendyr J; Meutyr V.

¹⁴ FJV; Gwillmon T; Gwyllnyon H.

¹⁵ FJHV; Rolant T. *Recte* Rahaut.

[§G71/61] Rissiart ap Llowarch ap <Kynddilig>¹ ap <Nyniaw>² ap Cunet ap Envael ap Llychwael ap Bran ap Brydw ap Braint Hir ap Nevydd ap Gerenig ap Garanawg Gloywdigar ap Kynwas ap Rychwyn Varvog o Vodolwyn yn Ros.

[§G72] *Gwhelyth* Diffryn Klwyd:

[§G72.1] Kowryd ap Kadvan ap Alaog Wr ap Idig ap Kadell Deyrnllug.

[§G72.2] Ieuan ap *Davydd* Vychan ap Ierwerth ap *Davydd* ap Kowryd ap Kadvan ap Alawog Wr.

[§G73] Llyma gyff gwairdd talym o wehelaethav y Mars, Maylawr a swydd y Wavn oll:

Tudur Trevor ap Ynyr³ ap Kadvarch ap Gwernen ap <Gwaeddgar>⁴ ap Bywynn ap Biortherch ap Gwriawn ap Gwynnan ap Gwynvyw ap Kadell Dyrnllvg ap Pasgen ap Rydw ap Ruddvedel Vrych ap Kadeyrn ap Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenav ap Rydeyrn ap Dehevvraint ap Endigant ap Endeyrn ap Enid ap Endos ap Enddolav ap Avallach ap Aflech ap Beli Mawr ap Mynogan⁵.

[§G73.1] Llwyrth Trevar:

Ievaf ap Addaf ap Awr ap Ievaf ap <Kvhelyn>⁶ ap Ris Says ap Ednyved ap Llowarch Gam ap <Lluddyka>⁷ ap Tudur Trevor.

[§G73.2] Llwyrth Nant Hevdwy:

Ierwerth Voel ap Ierwerth Vychan ap yr hen Ierwerth ap Ywain ap Bleddyn ap Tudur ap Rys Says ap Ednyved ap Llowarch Gam ap Llvdyyka ap Tudur Trevor.

[§G73.3] Llwyrth Maylawr Gymraeg:

Kynwrig ap Rywallon ap Dingad ap Tudur Trevor.

[§G73.4] Llwyrth Llannerch Banna:

Ionas ap Gronwy ap Tudur ap Rys Sais ap Ednyved ap Llowarch Gam ap Llvdyyka ap <Tudur>⁸ Trevor ap <Membyr>⁹ ap [GAP].

[§G74] [45r] Llwyrth Bortvn yMaelawr:

[§G74.1] Sanddef ap Karadawg Hardd ap <Gwrydyr>¹⁰ ap Maelawg Dda ap Greddyf ap Kwnws Dv ap Killin Ynydd ap Predur Teirnoe ap Meilir Eryr Gwyr Gorsedd ap Tydv ap Tyvodedd ap Gwylvyw ap Marchwyn ap Pran ap Pill ap Kervyr ap Meilir <Meilirion>¹¹ ap Gwron ap Kvnedda Wledig.

[§G74.1.1] Mam Sanddef oedd [GAP] verch Brochwel ap Moelyn o Dwrkelyn yMon.

[§G75] Llwyrth Tref Alvn:

Evnydd ap Gwenllian verch Rys ap Marchan ap Kynwrig ap <Kynddelw>¹² Gam ap <Elgud>¹³ ap Grinnadd ap <Dwywc>¹⁴ ap Degawg ap Kyfnerth ap Madog Madogion ap Sanddef Brikeingl ap Llowarch Hen ap Elidir Lydanwyn ap Meirchion Gul ap Grwst Ledlwm ap Kenav ap Koel Godebog.

[§G76.1] Llwyrth Evtvn a Sonlli ag Erddlys:

Elidir ap Ris Says ap Ednyved ap Llowarch Gam ap Llyddyka ap <Tudur>¹⁵ Trevor.

[§G76.2] Llwyrth Dvdlvst yn y Traian:

Idon ap Ris Says ap <Ednyved>¹⁶ ap Llowarch Gam ap Llvdyyka ap Tudur Trevor.

¹ FJHV; Kynddelig T.

² FJHV; Miniaw T.

³ TH; Ynyr F; Ymyr JV.

⁴ FJHV; Gwaergar T.

⁵ T adds ag felly i yach Koel Godebog.

⁶ FJHV; Kehelyn T.

⁷ FJV; Llwdyyka T.

⁸ JFHV; Tewdur T.

⁹ F; Menbyr T.

¹⁰ FHV; Gwryd T.

¹¹ FH; Meliron T; Meileirion V.

¹² FJHV; Kynddelw T.

¹³ FJV; Elgird T; Elgid H.

¹⁴ FJHV; Dvvywg T.

¹⁵ JFV; Tudur T.

¹⁶ FJV; Eignion T.

[*Rylands Welsh I, f. 9r*]

[§G76.3] Llwyth swydd y Drefwen:

Syr Wiliam Pefr ap Gronwy ap Tudur ap Rys Sais ap Ednyved ap Llowarch Gam ap Llŷddyka ap Tudur Treŵr.

[§G76.4] Llwyth Deŵddwr a Mechain:

Syr Roicher Powys ap Gronwy ap Tudur ap Rys Sais ap Ednyved ap Llowarch Gam ap Lluddyka ap Tudur Treŵr.

[§G77.1] Brenhinllwyth Powys Wenwynwyn:

Plant Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn ap Ywain Kyveilioc ap Gruffudd ap Mredudd ap Bleddyn ap Kynŷyn ap Gwerystan: nid amgen Ywain ap Gruffudd, Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, Iohon ap Gruffudd, Wiliam ap Gruffudd, Gruffydd Vychan ap Gruffudd, Daŷydd ap Gruffudd. Yw mam oedd verch¹ [GAP].

[§G77.1.1] Mam Gruffud ap Gwenwynwyn oedd Vargred verch yr arglwydd Rys ap Gruffudd ap Rys ap Tewdwr.

[§G77.1.2] Mam Wennwynwyn ap Ywain Kyveilioc oedd Wenllian verch Ywain Gwynedd.

[§G77.1.3] Mam Ywain Kyveilioc oedd Weŵrvyl verch Wrgenaf ap Howel ap Ievaf ap Kadwgon ap Elystan Glodrydd.

[§G77.2] Gwehelyth Kae Howel a Chrevddŷn:

Ierwerth Goch ap Mredudd ap Bleddyn ap ap [*sic*] Kynŷyn ap Gwerystan.

[§G77.2.1] I vam oedd Eva² verch Bletrus ap Ednywain Bendew ap Miniad ap Gwaithvoed.

[§G77.3] [9v] Gwehelyth Edeirnion a Dinnmael:

Plant Ywain Brogŷntŷn ap Madoc ap Mredudd ap Bleddyn ap Kynŷyn ap Gwerystan ap Gwaithvoed: Gruffudd ap Ywain, Ierwerth ap Ywain, Bleddyn ap Ywain. Yw mam oedd [GAP].

[§G77.4] Gwehelyth Nannav:

Plant Kadwgon ap Bleddyn ap Kynŷyn: Madoc ap Kadwgon, Eigniawn ap Kadogon, Morgant ap Kadwgon, Henri, a Gruffudd, Mredudd, ac Owain, a gair o'r blaen³. I mam⁴ [GAP].

[§G77.5] Gwehelyth Kynllaith:

[§G77.5.1] Einiawn Evell ap Madoc ap Mredudd ap Bleddyn ap Kynŷyn.

[§G77.5.2] Kynwric Evell i vrawd yntaf, y daw gwyr eglwysec ohonaw.

[§G77.5.3] Yw mam oedd [GAP] verch Vrian mab vchelwr o'r Main.

[§G78.1] Gwehelyth Tegeingyl:

Edwin ap Gronwy⁵ ap Howel Dda ap Kadell ap Rodri Mawr ap Eŷyllt verch Gynan Dindaethwy ap Rodri Molwynoc ap Idwal Iwrch ap Kydwaladr Vendigaid.

[§G78.1.1] Iedelffed gwraic Edmwnt vrenin Lloegr oedd vam Edwin.

[§GA6]⁶ Llowarch ap Pran ap Dinawal ap ap [*sic*] Tudawal ap Einŷdd ap Alan ap Alser ap Tudwal ap Rodri Mawr.

[§G78.2] [10r] Llwyth Tegeingl:

Ednywain Benndew ap Kynon Veiniad ap Gwaithvoed ap Gwrydr ap Karadawc ap Lles Llawdeawc ap Ednyved ap Gwynan ap Gwynawc Varyfsych ap Keidio ap Koryf ap Kaenawc ap Tegonwy ap Teon ap Gwineŷ Daŷ Vreŷddwyd ap Pywyr Lew ap Bywdec ap Rŷn Rudd Baladr ap Llaryf [ap] Kasnar Wledic ap Lludd ap Beli Mawr.⁷

¹ verch is a later addition. It was added at the same time as *Hawys*, which immediately preceded it, but *Hawys* was later struck through.

² This name seems to be a later addition.

³ *Eigniawn... blaen* seems to be a later addition. The cross-reference is to §G13.6 above.

⁴ oedd has been struck through following this word.

⁵ ap Rodri has been struck through following this word. There seem to have been one or two other words erased before ap Rodri, but these are now obscured by a later addition in another hand.

⁶ This section is written in very faint ink, immediately following §G78.1.1 at the bottom of f. 9v. It is probably a later addition.

⁷ Between this section and the next appears the word *Ednyŷ*; this would seem to be an abortive attempt to

[§G79] Pymthegllwyth Gwynedd yw y rain:

[§G79.1] yMon:

[§G79.1.1] Gweyrydd ap Rys Goch.

[§G79.1.2] Plant Hwŷa ap Kynddelw: nid amgen Ierwerth ap Hwŷa, Bletrus ap Huŷa, Mattusalen ap Huŷa, Ieuan ap Huŷa. Ac y'r rrain y daw holl Von ond Wyrion Ednyved Vychan ac Wyrion Llowarch ap Bran.

[§G79.2] Yn swydd Ddinbych y mae pedwar llwyth: nid amgen Marchudd a Marchweithion a Hedd ap Olwynawc a Braint Hir.

[§G79.3] yNhegeingl daŷ Edwin ap Gronwy ac Ednywain Bendew.

[§G79.3.1] Ac o'e rrain y daw Tegeingyl a swydd Ddinbych onid Wyrion Ednyved ap Llowarch Goch.

[§G79.4] Yn Nankonwy y mae Neŷydd Hardd.

[§G79.5] yMhenllyn: Ririd Vlaidd.

[§G79.6] yMeirionydd: Ywain ap Bradwen.

[§G79.7] Yn Ardudwy: Gollwyn ap Gellan.

[§G79.8] [10v] Yn Arŷon: Kilmin Tredtŷ.

[§G79.9] Yn Arllechwedd: Maelawc Krwm.

[§G79.10] yNyffryn Klwyd: Eŷnydd.

[§G79.11] Ac yNnref Alŷn yMaelawr Gymraec: yr ŷn Eŷnydd ap Gwenllian verch Rys ap Marchan ap Kynwric ap Kynddelw Gam.

[§G80] Hyd hynn y dywedasom o vonedd Kymry, y rrai a ŷŷant gwedy Bruttus hyd yr hen llwythaŷ a ŷŷant kyn y oes honn. Weithian yr ysbyswn o vonedd yr oes honn hyd at yr hen llwythaŷ hynny, rac nas gwypo y to o'r oes nesaf.¹

[§G81] Ac yn gyntaf i dychreŷwn o bŷmp brenhinllwyth Kymry, val y mae yn ysgrivenedic, nid amgen:

[§G81.1] yNgwynedd: Gruffudd ap Kynan.

[§G81.2] yMhywys: Bledlyn ap Kynŷyn.

[§G81.3] yNeheŷbarth: Rrys ap Tewdwr.

[§G81.4] yMorgannwc: Kriadoc ap Iestin.

[§G81.5] Y Rwnge Gwy a Hafren: Elystan Glodrydd.

...

begin a new section about Ednywain Bendew.

¹ In the left-hand margin: *Oed Krist eleni M CCCC lxxxvii o vlynyddoedd.*

Appendix B.6: Llyma Dalm o Weheliaethau a Llwythau Cymru

The following is an edition of the tract *Llyma Dalm o Weheliaethau a Llwythau Cymru* in Peniarth 127, part i, pp. 98–110. The tract occurs as a discrete item, sandwiched between *Pedwar Marchog ar hugain Llys Arthur* and the genealogy of the manuscript's scribe, 'Sir' Thomas ab Ieuan ap Deicws. It is given no title in Peniarth 127i; the title used here is taken from the copy of the tract in BL Add. 14916 (*Llyfr Bodeulwyn*).

Since the edition reproduces the complete text of an extant manuscript, no extensive textual apparatus is required. The principles followed when editing the main text are the same as those used for the edition of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies in Appendix B.4. The only complication concerns the section labelling. The text has been divided into sections following the same principles as the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, but here each section number is preceded by the letter 'T', for 'Thomas'. In addition, some sections are given a second section number, separated from the first by a forward slash. These additional section numbers correspond either to the sections of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies or, if preceded by a 'G', to the sections of the Gutun Owain recension. This reflects the manner in which *Llyma Dalm o Weheliaethau a Llwythau Cymru* was compiled, most probably from at least three discrete sources: a text of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies descended from Σ; a text of the Gutun Owain recension; and, possibly, a genealogical source from Strata Marcella (see Appendix A.4.4). For discussion, see Chapter 4.

[Peniarth 127i, p. 98]

[§T1/30] Gwehelyth Deheubarth:

[§T1.1/30.1] Rys ap Gruffudd ap Rys ap Tewdwr ap Einion ap Ywain ap Howel ap Cadell ap Rodri Mawr.

[§T1.1.1/30.1.1] Gwenllian verch Gruffudd ap Kynan oedd ŵam yr arglwydd Rys ap Gruffudd ap Rys ap Tewdwr.

[§T1.1.2/30.1.2] Gwladus verch Riwallon ap Kynvyn oedd wraig Rys ap Tewdwr, mam Gruffudd ap Rys.

[§T2] Gwehelyth Kayo:

Dauid vngam ap Dauid ap Howel ap Dauid ap Meuric Coch ap Gruffudd ap Rys ap Iŵor ap Tegwas velyn arglwydd Howlffordd.

[§T3/32] Gwehelyth Powys vadic:

[§T3.1/32.1] Gruffudd Maelor ac Ywain vchan ac Elisef, meibion oeddynt i vadoc ap Mredydd ap Bleddyn ap Kynvyn.

[§T3.1.1/32.1.1] A Sussanna verch Gruffudd ap Kynan oedd ef mam.

[§T4] Gwehelyth Powys Wenwynwyn:

[§T4.1] Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn ap Ywain Kyveilioc ap Gruffudd ap Mredydd ap Bleddyn ap Kynvyn.

[§T4.1.1/G77.1.1] [99] Mam Gruffudd ap Gwennwynwyn oedd Margred merch yr arglwydd Rys ap Gruffudd ap Rys ap Tewdwr.

[§T5.1/33.1] Gwehelyth Arwystli:

Howel ap Iefaf ap Ywain ap Trehayarn ap Caradoc ap Gwynn ap Gollwyn ap Ednywain.

[§T5.1.1/33.1.1] Mam Howel ap Iefaf oedd Mareda verch Gruffudd ap Kynan.

[§T5.2] Gwehelyth arall orwystli:

Mredydd ap Einion ap Kynvelyn ap Dolffyn ap Riwallon ap Madoc ap Cadwgon ap Bleddyn ap Kynvyn.

[§T5.3] Gwehelyth arall o Arwystli:

Ywain ap Dauid ap Einion Ddistain ap Ierwerth ap Gwrgenev ap Vchdryd ap Aleth vrenhin Dyfed.

[§T5.3.1] Mam Dauid ap Einion Ddistain oedd varred verch Gruffudd ap Mredydd ap Bleddyn ap Kynvyn.

[§T5.4] Ywain Moel ap Ierwerth ap Gwrgenev ap Vchdryd ap Aleth vrenhin Dyfed.

[§T6] Gwehelyth Kyveilioc:

[§T6.1] Gronw ap Ednyved² ap Seisyllt.

[§T6.1.1] Gwraig Ronw oedd Meddevus verch Ywain Kyveilioc.

[§T6.1.2] Mam Meddevus oedd Wenllian verch Ywain Gwynedd ap Gruffudd ap Kynan.

[§T7] Gwehelyth Mechein Is Coed:

Ierwerth Voel ap Iefaf Sais ap Kyfnerth ap Iddon Galed ap Trehayarn ap Ierwerth Hilvawr ap Mael Meilienydd.

[§T8] [100] Gwehelyth Generdinlle a'r vndref ar ddec a'r Cresvain:

Syr Roger ap Gruffudd ap Iankyn ap Madoc ap Phylib ap Gruffudd o Enerdinlle ap Gruffudd vchan ap Syr Gruffudd Marchoc ap Ierwerth Goch ap Mredydd ap Bleddyn ap Kynvyn.

[§T9] Gwehelyth Llwydiarth yMhowys:

¹ Recte o Arwystli.

² recte Einion. A number of derivative copies of the text correct this mistake, including BL Add. 14916, Cwrtmawr 530, Cardiff 4.265 and NLW 16962–3A.

[§T9.1] Kelynin ap Ririd ap Kynddelw ap Ierwerth ap Gwrgeneŵ ap Vchdruod ap Aleth neŵ Alŵn vrenhin Dyŵed.

[§T9.1.1] Gwraic Kelynin oedd Wenllian verch Adda ap Meŵric ap Kynwrig ap Pasgen ap Gwynn ap Gruffudd arglwydd Kegidŵa ap Beli ap Selyf ap Brochwel.

[§T10] Gwehelyth Aber Tanad:

Mredudd vchan ap yr hen Mredudd ap Howel ap Mredudd ap Bleddyn.

[§T11.1/40.1] Gwehelyth Kegidŵa:

Gwynn ap Gruffudd ap Beli ap Selyf ap Brochwel ap Ayddan ap Elisēŵ ap Gwylawc ap Beli ap Mael Mynan ap Selyf ap Kynan Garwyn ap Brochwel Ysgithroc ap Kyngen Glodrydd ap Cadell Deyrnlluc. Ywain ap Gruffudd i gelwid Gwynn ap Gruffudd yn iawn.

[§T11.2] Gwehelyth Burgeding ymhlwyf Kegidŵa:

Ithel Goch ap Daudi ap Mredudd ap Bleddyn ap Kynŵyn ap Gwerystan ap Gwaithŵoed.

[§T12] Gwehelyth y Main:

Ierwerth Vchan ap Ierwerth Goch ap Mredudd ap Bleddyn ap Kynŵyn.

[§T13] [101] Gwehelyth Caer Einion:

[§T13.1] Gruffudd ap Mredudd ap Daudi ap Gruffudd vchan.

[§T13.2] Ac Ywain ap Mredudd ap Daudi ap Gruffudd vchan ap Gruffudd ap Einion ap Ednyŵed ap Sulien ap Caradoc ap Gollwyn.

[§T14] Daudi Llwyd ap Mredudd ap Llywelyn ap Gruffudd ap Daudi Llwyd ap Ririd ap Cadwgon ap Madoc ap Cadwgon ap Ierwerth Hilŵawr ap Mael Meilienydd.

[§T15] Daudi Gethin ap Einion ap Gruffudd Gethin ap Ririd ap Gruffudd Drwyndwn ap Einion ap Kyfnerth.

[§T16] Gwehelyth y Kadwynŵain yMechen Vwch Koed:

Gruffudd Deg ap Gruffudd ap Einion ap Ywain ap Einion Eŵell ap Madoc ap Mredudd ap Bleddyn ap Kynŵyn.

[§T17] Gwehelyth Ystrad Alŵn:

Llywelyn ap Kynwrig Eŵell ap Madoc ap Mredudd ap Bleddyn ap Kynŵyn.

[§T18] Gwehelyth Krukieth yn swydd Groesysswallt:

Einion Greŵlon ap Einion ap Ririd ŵlaidd.

[§T19.1] Gwehelyth Keri:

Meredudd ap Maelgwn ap Cadwallon ap Madoc ap Idnerth ap Cadogon ap Elystan Glodrydd iarll Henffordd.

[§T19.1.1] Rannŵllt verch Gruffudd ap Kynan oedd ŵam Cadwallon ap Madoc ap Idnerth.

[§T19.2] [102] Gwehelyth arall o Geri:

Randwl ap Ierwerth ap Trehayarn ap Golwc ap Paen ap Meirchiawn ap Tanged ap Padriarc Vrenhin Da.

[§T19.3] Gwehelyth arall o Geri:

Einion ap Howel ap Tudyr ap Einion vchan ap Einion ap Ieŵaf ap Gronw ap Ivor ap Idnerth ap Cadwgan ap Elystan Glodrydd.

[§T20/31] Gwehelyth Meilienydd rrwng Gwy a Hafren:

[§T20.1/31.1] Cadwallon ap Madoc ap Idnerth ap Cadwgon ap Elystan Glodrydd ap Kŵhelyn ap Mor ap Seuerus ap Cadwr Wenwyn ap Idnerth ap Ierwerth Hirŵlawdd (yr hwnn a elwir yn yr iaith newydd Ierwerth Hirymldd) ap Tegonwy ap Teon.

[§T20.1.1/31.1.1] Mam Cadwallon ap Madoc oedd Rannŵllt verch Gruffudd ap Kynan.

[§T21.1] Gwehelyth Elŵael Is Mynydd a Glynn Bwch:

Ivor Hen ap Ierwerth ap Llywarch ap Bran ap Dinawal ap Einŵdd ap Aelan ap Alcer ap Tudwal ap Rodri Mawr.

- [§T21.1.1] Mam Ivor Hen ap Ierwerth oedd Wenllian verch Howel ap Ieŵaf ap Ywain ap Trehayarn ap Caradoc.
- [§T21.2] Gwehelyth Aber Edw yn Elvael Vwch Mynydd:
Ywain ap *Meredudd* ap Einion Clud ap *Madoc* ap Idnerth ap Cadwgon ap Elystan Glodrydd iarll Henffordd.
- [§T21.3] Gwehelyth arall o Elvael Vwch Mynydd:
Cadwgon ap *Gruffudd* ap Howel Sais ap Howel ap Lleision ap Phylib ap Caradoc ap Rys Ieŵangk ap Rys Mechyll ap [103] Rys Gryc ap yr arglwydd Rys ap *Gruffudd* ap Rys ap Tewdwr Mawr ap Einion.
- [§T22.1] Gwehelyth o Vuellt:
Rickert ap Einion ap *Gruffudd* ap Rickert ap *Gruffudd* ap *Llywelyn* ap *Meredudd* Bengoch ap *Llywelyn* ap Howel ap Seisyllt ap *Llywelyn* ap Cadwgon ap Elystan Glodrydd.
- [§T22.2] Gwehelyth arall o Vuellt:
Y Moelyn, *Llywelyn* oedd i enw bedydd, ap *Meredudd* Hen ap *Llywelyn* ap Howel ap Seisyllt ap *Llywelyn* ap Cadwgon ap Elystan Glodrydd.
- [§T22.3] Gwehelyth arall o Vuellt:
Y Brych Kadarn a elwid Einion ap *Meredudd* Hen ap *Llywelyn* ap Howel ap Seisyllt ap *Llywelyn* ap Cadwgon ap Elystan Glodrydd.
- [§T23.1] Gwehelyth Brecheinioc:
Trehayarn Arglwydd ap Trehayarn vchan ap Trehayarn ap *Madoc* Vychan ap *Madoc* Yngnad ap Selyf ap Elisseŵ ap Maenerch ap *Gruffudd* vchan ap *Gruffudd* ap Elisse ap Rain ap Brychan Brecheiniawc.
- [§T23.2] Gwehelyth arall o Vrecheiniawc:
Bleddyn ap Maynyrch ap Drŵm Bennawc ap Tryffin ap Drem ap *Kŵhelyn* ap Gwenkŵ ap Edvedd ap Sedd Gyvedd [104] ap Gwyngad ap Nos ap Hoyw ap Gloyw ap Caw ap Cowrda ap Caradoc Vreichŵras ap Llyr Merini.
- [§T24/36] Gwehelyth Gwent:
[§T24.1/36.1] Morgant ap Howel ap Ierwerth ap Ywain ap *Gruffudd* ap Rydderch ap Iestin.
[§T24.1.1/36.1.1] Mam Morgant ap Howel ap Ierwerth oedd Weurŵyl verch Ywain Kyŵeilic.
- [§T25] Gwehelyth Sainhenyd:
[§T25.1/35.2] *Gruffudd* ap Ivor ap Meuric Vychan mab vchelwr o Sainhenyd.
[§T25.1.1/35.2.1] A Nest verch *Gruffudd* ap Rys ap Tewdwr oedd i ŵam.
- [§T26/38] Gwehelyth Gweŵnllwc a Dyŵet:
[§T26.1/38.1] Ywain ap Elen verch Lywarch ap Hyŵeidd ap Tanglwyst verch Ywain ap *Meredudd* ap Tewdos ap Cadwgon Trydelic ap Cadoc neŵ Cadien ap Gwlyddien ap Nowy ap Arthen.
[§T26.2/38.2] Rickert ap *Meredudd* ap Rydderch ap Cledri ap Kediŵor ap Gollwyn ap Gwynn ap Rydderch ap Elgan Wefylhwch ap Kynan Archenad ap Iob ap Dai ap Llywry ap Kynan Kilkelff ap Tryffin ŵarŵawc ap Ywain ŵraisc ap Kyndeyrn ŵendigaidd ap Gwrtheyrn Gwrtheneŵ.
- [§T27/35] Gwehelyth Morgannwc:
[§T27.1/35.1] Morgant ap Caradoc ap Iestin ap Gwrgant ap Ithel ap Idwallawn ap Morgant Mawr ap Ywain ap Howel ap Rys ap Arthuael ap Rys ap Ithel ap Morgant ap Athrwys ap Meuric ap Tewdric ap Enyny.
[§T27.1.1/35.1.1] [105] Mam Morgant ap Caradoc ap Iestin oedd Gwladus verch *Gruffudd* ap Rys ap Tewdwr.
- [§T28] Gwynedd bellach:
[§T28.1] Gwehelyth Meirionnydd:
Ynyr vchan ap Ynyr ap Meŵric ap *Madoc* ap Cadwgon ap Bleddyn ap Kynŵyn.
[§T28.1.1] Gwraic Ynyr vchan oedd Wenhwyŵar verch y mab Einion.

[§T28.2/G77.3] Gwehelyth Edernion a Dimael¹:

Gruffudd, Ierwerth a Bleddyn, meibion Ywain Brogŷntyn ap Madoc ap Meredudd ap Bleddyn ap Kynŷyn.

[§T28.3] Gwehelyth Nanconwy:

Howel Coetmor ap Gruffudd ŷychan ap Gruffudd ap Daudi Goch ap Daudi ap Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ap Ierwerth Drwyndwn ap Ywain Gwynedd ap Gruffudd ap Kynan.

[§T28.3.1] Mam Howel Coetmor oedd Wladus ŷerch Gruffudd ap Howel ap Gruffudd ap Ierwerth ap Meredudd ap Matusalem ap Hwva ap Kynddelw.

[§T28.4] Gwehelyth arall o Wynedd:

Einion ap Gollwyn Goec ap Ednywain ap Paladr Wisc ap Kaenawc Mawr ap Ierwerth Hirŷlawdd ap Tegonwy ap Teon.

[§T28.5/42] Gwehelyth arall o ŷeirionnydd:

Kynan ap Brochwel ap Ednyved Meirionnydd ap Eŷnydd Bach ap Brochwel ap Iswald ap Idris Arw ap Gwyddno ap Clydno ap Kynyr ŷarfdrwrch ap Cadwaladr [106] ap Meirion Meirionnydd ap Teibiawn ap Cŷnedde Wledic.

[§T28.6/41] Gwehelyth Penllyn:

Meiriawn ap Lleuŷoddeu ap Roet ap Donet ap Tudwal ap Ednyved ap Brochwel ap Dyfnwal ap Deinoc Lyth ap Cadwr ap Pybyr ap Caper ap Pŷder ap Stadwer ap Pandwlŷf ap Kynwlŷf ap Gorŷlwg ap Bebllic ap Sulwyth ap Pebid Penllyn.

[§T28.7/58.1] Llwyth Pemllyn²:

Ririd ŷlaidd ap Gwrgeneŷ ap Gollwyn ap Moriddic ap Rys ap Gwerystan ap Llywarch ap Riwallon ap Arandr³:

[§T28.8/43] Gwehelyth arall o Ardudwy:

Bleiddud ap Caradoc ap Ieŷanawl ap Einion ap Peibiau ap Meuric ap Dyngad ap Peibiau ap Dŷnawd ap Cŷnedda Wledic.

[§T29] Gwehelyth Nanneŷ:

[§T29.1/A3.4] Cadwgon ap Bleddyn a Llywarch ap Bleddyn, meibion Bleddyn ap Kynŷyn. Cadwgon oedd dad Ywain ap Cadwgon a Madoc ap Cadwgon.

[§T29.1.1] Gwenllian ŷerch Gruffudd ap Kynan oedd wraig Cadwgon ap Bleddyn, mam Madoc ap Cadwgon.

[§T30] Gwehelyth Kydewain:

[§T30.1/33.2] Meredudd ap Roppert ap Llywarch ap Trehayarn ap Caradoc ap Gwynn ap Gollwyn ap Ednywain ap Bleddyn ap Bletrus ap Kaenawc Mawr ap Ierwerth Hirŷlawdd ap Tegonwy ap Teon.

[§T30.1.1/33.2.1] Mam Meredudd ap Roppert arglwydd Kydewain oedd Ddyddgŷ ŷerch Madoc ap Idnerth ap Cadwgon ap Elystan Glodrydd iarll Henffordd.

[§T30.1.2] [107] Pann oedd oed Crist mil CC xxxvi o ŷlynyddoedd y bŷ ŷarw Meredudd ap Roppert arglwydd Kydewain.

[§T31/G72] Gwehelyth Dyffryn Clwyd:

[§T31.1/G72.1] Cowryd ap Cadŷan ap Alawc Wr ap Idic ap Cadell Deyrnlluc.

[§T31.2/G72.2] Ieuan ap Daudi ŷychan ap Ierwerth ap Daudi ap Cowryd ap Cadŷan ap Alawc Wr.

[§T32/46.2] Gwehelyth Docveiling:

Kynwric ap Alaeth ap Elgud Las ap Eilon ap Docŷael Dogŷeiling ap Cŷnedda Wledic.

[§T33] Gwehelyth Ros:

[§T33.1/44] Howel ŷarfŷehinawc ap Caradoc ap Meirion ap Howel ap Rŷn neŷ Rŷon ap Idgwyn neŷ Iddon o henw arall ap Cadwal Grys Halawc ap Aeddan ap Meic ap Kynlas Kot ap Ywain Danwyn ap Einion Yrth ap Cŷnedda Wledic. Howel Arf ŷiniawc ap Caradoc i gelwid ef yn iawn.

¹ *Recte* Dinmael.

² *Recte* Penllyn.

³ *Recte* Araud; cf. *Arodryaun* in CBT III, poem 24.147.

- [§T33.2/61] Rickert ap Llywarch ap Kynddelic ap Nynio ap Kynet ap Envae ap Llychwael ap Bran ap Prydv ap Braint Hir ap Nevydd ap Geraint ap Garanawc Gloywddigar ap Kwnws ap Rychwyn Varvoc o Vodolwyn yn Rros.
- [§T34/G73] Llyma dalym o Lwythel y Mars:
Tvdur Trevor ap Ynyr ap Kadvarch ap Gwrgenev ap Gwaeddgar ap Bywyn ap Iorddwfn ap Gwiriawn ap Gwynnan ap Gwynvyw Vrych ap Cadell Deyrnlluc.
- [§T34.1/G73.1] Llwyth Trevor:
Ievaf ap Adda ap Awr ap Ievaf ap Kvhelyn ap Tudyr [108] ap Rys Sais ap Ednyved ap Llywarch Gam ap Lluddicka ap Tudyr Trevor.
- [§T34.2/G73.2] Llwyth Nanhevdwy:
Ierwerth voel ap Ierwerth vychan ap yr hen Ierwerth ap Ywain ap Bleddyn ap Tudyr ap Rys Sais.
- [§T34.3/G73.3] Llwyth Maelor Gymraec:
Kynwrig ap Riwallon ap Dyngad ap Tudyr Trevor.
- [§T34.4/G73.4] Llwyth Llannerch Banna:
Ionas ap Gronw ap Tudyr ap Rys Sais ap Ednyved ap Llywarch Gam ap Lluddycka ap Tudyr Trevor.
- [§T35/G74.1] Llwyth Bortvn yMaelor:
Sanddef Hardd ap Caradoc Hardd ap Gwrydr ap Maeloc Dda.
- [§T36/G75] Llwyth Tref Alvn:
Evnydd ap Gwenllian verch Rys ap Marchan ap Kynwrig ap Kynddelw Gam.
- [§T37.1/G76.1] Llwyth Evtyn a Sonlli ac Erddlys:
Elidir ap Rys Sais ap Ednyved ap Llywarch Gam ap Lluddycka ap Tudyr Trevor.
- [§T37.2/G76.2] Llwyth Dudlyston yn y Traean:
Iddon ap Rys Sais ap Ednyved ap Llywarch Gam.
- [§T37.3/G76.3] Llwyth swydd y Drewen:
Syr Wiliam Pevyr ap Gronw ap Tudyr ap Rys Sais ap Ednyved ap Llywarch Gam.
- [§T37.4/G76.4] Llwyth Devddwr a Mechain:
Syr Roger Powys ap Gronw ap Tudyr ap Rys Sais ap Ednyved ap Llywarch Gam ap Lluddycka ap Tudur Trevor.
- [§T38.1/G77.2] [109] Gwehelyth Kae Howel a Chrevddyn:
Ierwerth Goch ap Meredudd ap Bleddyn ap Kynvyn.
[§T38.1.1/G77.2.1] Merch Bletrus ap Ednywain Bendew oedd i vam.
- [§T38.2/G77.5] Gwehelyth Kynlleith:
[§T38.2.1/G77.5.1] Einion Evell ap Madoc ap Meredudd ap Bleddyn ap Kynvyn ap Gwerystan ap Gwaithvoed.
[§T38.2.2/G77.5.2] Kynwrig Evell ap Madoc ap Meredudd, y daw gwyr eglwyssec ohonaw.
[§T38.2.3/G77.5.3] Mam Einion Evell a Chynwric Evell oedd verch Madoc ap Evream o Vain Gwynedd.
- [§T39/G78] Gwehelyth Tegeingl:
[§T39.1/G78.1] Edwin ap Gronw vrenhin Tegeingl.
[§T39.1.1/G78.1.1] Edelffed oedd i vam, gwraig [GAP] brenhin Lloegr.
[§T39.2/G78.2] Ednywain Bendew ap Kynon nev Kynan Veiniad ap Gwaithvoed ap Gwrydr ap Caradoc.
- [§T40.1] Tri meib a vv i Tudyr Trevor: nid amgen Lluddycka, Dyngad a Gronw.
[§T40.2] Lluddycka yw hynaif Ierwerth Voel a Ievaf ap Adda ap Awr.
[§T40.3] Dingad ap Tudyr yw hynaif Ednyved ap Kynwrig ap Riwallon a Hwva ap Kynwrig.
[§T40.4] Gronw ap Tudyr Trevor yw hynaif swydd y Drewen. Canys vn verch i Ronw ap Tudyr Trevor oedd wraig Ffwc ap Gwarin, ac am hynny y Normaniwr Ffrengig hwnnw a vv yn arglwydd ar y Drewen oblegid i wraig, megis i bv Iohn o Siartwn yn arglwydd yMhowys oblegid i wraig, nid amgen Hawis Gadarn verch Ywain ap Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn ap Ywain Kyveilioc.

[§T41] Ednyved ap Kynwrig a Hwŷa ap Kynwrig a Nyniaw ap Kynwrig, y rrain bioedd swydd Gaer a swydd Ymwyth[ic] [110] a thalm o Bowys ŷadoc. A'r ardal hwnnw ar Gymrŷ a ddeŷant i Ortheyrn Gwrtheneŷ, eithr Wyrion Kynŷyn ac Wyrion Rys ap Marchan ac Wyrion Sanddef Hardd o Vortŷn.

Appendix B.7: Llyma Frychan Brycheiniog a'i blant

In a small group of manuscripts there appears a composite version of the Brychan Tract which occasionally impinges on the textual tradition of *Plant Brychan* in the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. I call this composite text *Llyma Frychan Brycheiniog a'i blant*, in accordance with the title used in one of its earliest manuscripts, Peniarth 253. The text constitutes a sixth version of the Brychan Tract (alongside *De situ Brecheniauc*, *Cognacio Brychan*, *Sarth Marthin gynt*, *ynawr Brycheiniawc*, JC 1–3 and LIIG 1), albeit one that has been assembled from many different sources. The five manuscripts containing the text are as follows:

- Peniarth 178, part i, pp. 20–5 (Gruffudd Hiraethog, 1544–61).
- Peniarth 253, pp. 146–8 (Thomas Gruffydd, s. xvi^{med}).
- Brogyntyn I. 15, transcript 6, pp. 365–6 (George Owen Harry, 1593–6).
- Harley 6831, ff. 235r–235v (John Jones of Dyfynog, 1706).
- Harley 4181, ff. 30r–32r (Hugh Thomas, 1710–18).

The manuscripts fall naturally into two groups, one consisting of northern manuscripts and the other of southern manuscripts. The northern branch is characterised by the addition of *Llandybi* to §3.7.¹ The earliest and best text of the northern version may be found in Gruffudd Hiraethog's hand in Peniarth 178i, pages 20–25, in a section of the manuscript that was originally a part of Peniarth 177.² Related to this are the versions of *Plant Brychan* found in two of the conflated recensions of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. *Llyma Frychan Brycheiniog a'i blant* was used by Thomas ab Ieuan ap Deicws to supplement his copy of *Plant Brychan* in Peniarth 127i. This is particularly significant because it shows that the text was in existence by no later than 1510. It was also used as the basis for the *Plant Brychan* in Henry Salesbury's lost manuscript, now represented chiefly by Llanstephan 187 and Llanstephan 138i.³ Unlike Peniarth 127i, Henry Salesbury's manuscript followed the order of *Llyma Frychan Brycheiniog a'i blant*. The degree of conflation in the texts of Thomas ab Ieuan ap Deicws and Henry Salesbury (which may have involved Henry Salesbury having used a text descending from Peniarth 127i as well) renders their exact relationship to Peniarth 178i uncertain.

The southern branch has many characteristic features, such as the reading *Bann* for *Rain* (§2.1) and the omission of *Rvn* (§2.4). The earliest witness to this group is Peniarth 253, written in the mid-sixteenth century by Thomas Gruffydd, the scribe who also wrote Peniarth 143.⁴ In Chapter 4 it was noted that Peniarth 143 was related in particular to transcript 6 in Brogyntyn I. 15 (pp. 345–79); the same transcript in Brogyntyn I. 15 contains a partial copy of *Llyma Frychan Brycheiniog a'i blant* that is closely related to Peniarth 253.⁵ A slightly more distant relative of Peniarth 253 and Brogyntyn I. 15 is found copied into a letter written by John Jones of Dyfynog to Edward Lhwyd in 1706, a letter which was later forwarded by Lhwyd to Hugh Thomas and thus came to be incorporated into one of Hugh Thomas's manuscripts, Harley 6831.⁶ This letter seems to have been the immediate source

¹ Cf. *DSB* 12.6; *CB* 15.6; JC 3.19; LIIG 1.3.14; LIIG (GO) G3.3.14.

² Bartrum, 'Late Additions', p. 78; Bartrum, 'Notes', pt 2, 107–8; *EWGT* 53. Note that in 'Late Additions' Bartrum confuses parts i and ii of Peniarth 178, no doubt because of the misleading appearance of *RMWL* I, 991.

³ As noted in Thornton, 'Brychan', pp. 26–7.

⁴ See above, pp. 187–8; *RMWL* I, 1071; T. Jones, *Brut y Tywysogyon or The Chronicle of the Princes: Red Book of Hergest Version*, pp. xxxii–xxxiii; T. Jones, *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec*, pp. lxxvii–viii.

⁵ See above, pp. 187–8.

⁶ Owen, *Catalogue* II, 479–90 (letter on p. 483). My thanks to Jeanne Mehan for bringing this letter to my attention and for allowing me to use her images of it.

for Hugh Thomas's copy in Harley 4181, folios 30r–32r. Harley 6831 does not contain any innovations that are not already present in Harley 4181, while occasionally the latter accidentally preserves remnants of the former's more unusual spelling traits (e.g. *bh* for /v/; cf. §2.13: *Kyn/bran* Peniarth 253; *Cynnbhrran* Harley 6831; *Cynnbrain* Harley 4181). Hugh Thomas states in Harley 4181 (f. 30r) that his copy came from an old manuscript by 'the famous Doctor Davis [Siôn Dafydd Rhys?] [...] being made in the time of Queen Elizabeth'. Perhaps he knew that this was the manuscript copied by John Jones of Dyfynog.

The edition below takes Gruffudd Hiraethog's Peniarth 178i as its base text. Full variant readings have been incorporated for the complete copies in Peniarth 253 and Harley 6831. Neither Brogyntyn I. 15 nor Harley 4181 have been used, the former because it is incomplete and does not offer any superior readings, the latter because it probably derives from Harley 6831. During the creation of the edition, reference has also been made to the conflated copies in Peniarth 127i, Llanstephan 187 and Llanstephan 138i, but variants from these manuscripts have not been included owing to their conflated condition.

The sigla used in the edition are as follows:

P: Peniarth 178i.

Q: Peniarth 253.

U: Harley 6831.

Variants are generally quoted in the order PQU. Only significant variants from QU have been included in the apparatus.¹ Whenever a reading in Q or U has been deemed to reflect the archetype more closely than P, that reading has been incorporated into the main text in angular brackets and P's reading has been removed to the footnotes. Other editorial principles are the same as those outlined in more detail in the introduction to the edition of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies in Appendix B.4. The section labels employed in this edition are independent of the section labels given to any other version of the Brychan Tract, *Plant Brychan* included.

¹ For a more comprehensive account of the variants in PQ, see Guy, 'Medieval Welsh Genealogy' II, 435–8.

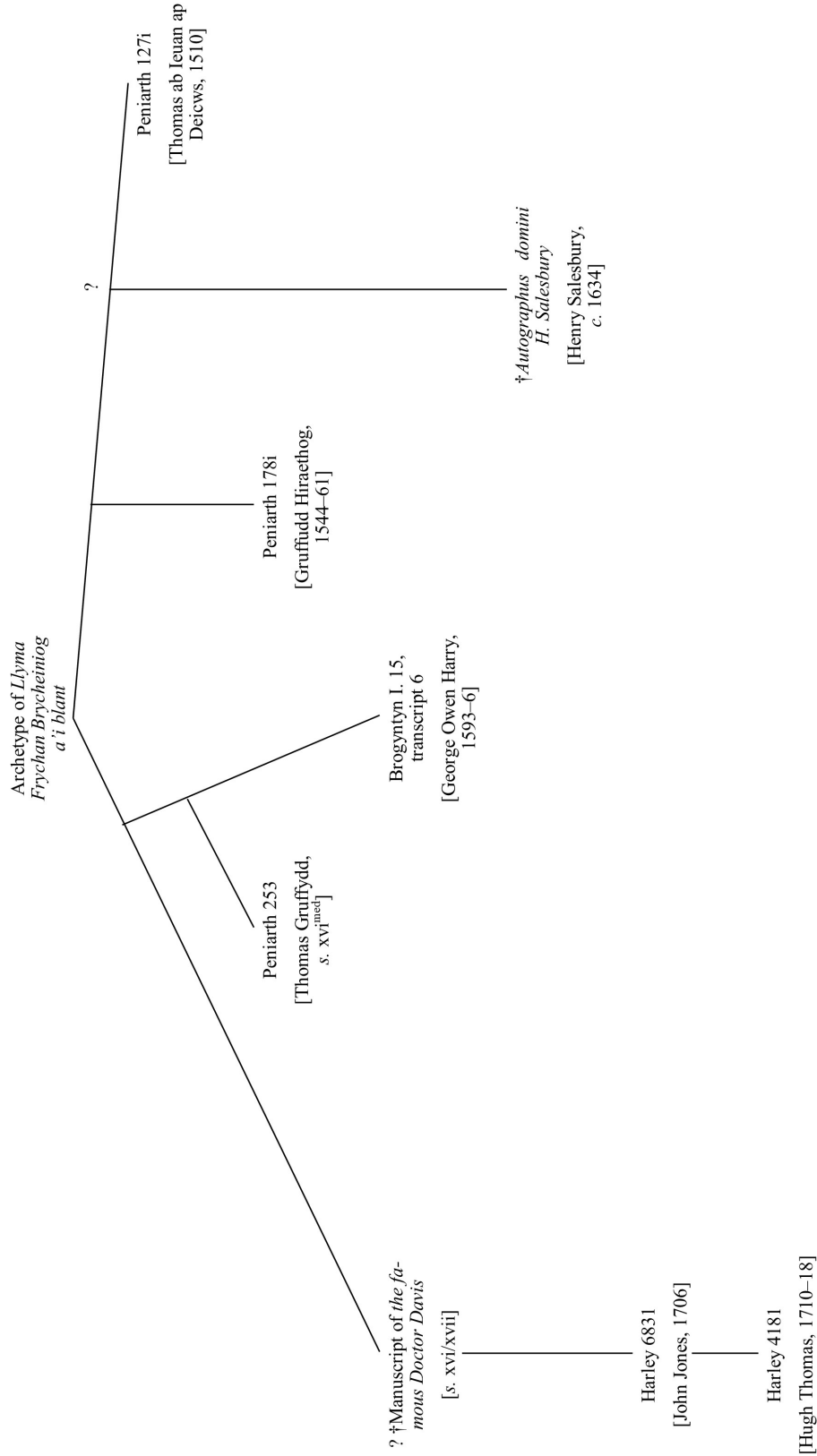


Figure B.7.1: *Llyma Frychan Brycheiniog a'i blant*

[Peniarth 178i, p. 20]

<Llyma Vrychan Brychainioc a'i blant>¹

[§1]² <Brychan Brychainioc ap Evallach ap Korniw³, a merch Dewdric oedd i vam ef.>

[§2] [20] Llyma henw meibion Brychann Brycheiniawg a'r lle maent yn gorwedd yn saint⁴:

[§2.1] Rain⁵ ap Brychan ysydd yn sant yn sswydd Linkol.

[§2.2] Glewyn ap Brychan ysydd [21] yn sant ac a orysgynawdd Ddyhe(vbarth⁶.

[§2.3] Kyledawc⁷ ap Brychan ysydd yn sant yGhaer Gledawc yn Lloegr.

[§2.4] Docvan a Rawin⁸ a Rvn⁹, meibion Brychan; ni wn i ple maent yn gorffowys¹⁰.

[§2.5]¹¹ Kynawc¹² ap Brychan ysydd yn sant yMerthyr Kynawc¹³.

[§2.6] Dingad ap Brychan ysydd yn san[t] yNgwent Is Koed¹⁴.

[§2.7] Pasgen a Neffi¹⁵ a Ffabiali¹⁶, tri maib i Vrychan, a'r rai hyny aethant i'r Ysbaen ac a aethant yn saint¹⁷ ac yn benreithie yn yr Ysbaen¹⁸.

[§2.8] <Marthin>¹⁹ ap Brychan a Gebliuer²⁰ ap Brychan ysydd yn saint yNgredigiawn.

[§2.9] Llechav²¹ ap Brychan ysydd yn sant yNhalyllechav.

[§2.10] Dyvynan²² ap Brychan yMon yn Llanddyfnan.

[§2.11] Kayan ap Brychan ysydd yn sant yn Llangayan²³.

[§2.12] Kymbryd²⁴ ap Brychan ysydd yn sant yn²⁵ Llanddvlas yn Ros.

[§2.13] [22] Kynvran ap Brychan ysydd yn sant yn Llsvaen²⁶ yn Ros.

[§2.14] Hychan ap Brychan ysydd yn sant yNyffryn Klwyd.

[§2.15] Dyvric ap Brychan ysydd yn sant yNgredigiawn.

[§2.16] <Berwyn>²⁷ ap Brychan ysydd yn sant yNgherniw.

¹ Q; – P; Plant Brychan a'i preswylbha U.

² P omits this section. The text is supplied by Q.

³ Q; Carniwg U.

⁴ Llyma... saint P; – QU.

⁵ P; Bann QU.

⁶ ac a orysgynawdd Ddyhe(vbarth P; yNeheybarth QU.

⁷ P; Arglydoc QU.

⁸ P; Ryvan QU.

⁹ a Rvn P; – QU.

¹⁰ P adds yn saint.

¹¹ In QU, this section is positioned before §2.1.

¹² PQ; Cyno U. In U, a symbol links this name to the name *Clywin* written in the margin.

¹³ yMerthyr Kynawc PQ; – U. Q adds yMrechainioc. QU add a Manolwedd verch Manedyl oedd i vam. Q adds Klydoc ap Brychan yn y dref hir yn Eyas.

¹⁴ Is Koed P; – QU.

¹⁵ P; Nevyn QU.

¹⁶ P; Phabiel QU.

¹⁷ a aethant yn saint P; yno i maent yn saint U. a'r rai... saint PU; – Q.

¹⁸ ac yn benreithie... Ysbaen P; yssy yn yr Ysbaen Q; – U.

¹⁹ QU; Mathgrin P.

²⁰ a Gebliuer P; ac Evlifer Q; a Gevlin U.

²¹ P; Llychen QU.

²² P; Dyfnan QU.

²³ yn Llangayan P; yMerthyr Kaeon QU.

²⁴ P; Kynvryd QU.

²⁵ P adds Llangymbryd, modd arall. The latter is absent from Peniarth 127i and the Henry Salesbury recension, as well as QU.

²⁶ P; Llyfnant Q; Lhysnau U. In U, dots have been added underneath the final *u*.

²⁷ QU; Terwyn P.

- [§2.17] Kynin ap Brychan ysydd yn sant yngwlad Ddyved¹ yn y lle a elwir Llangynin² a'i weission neŵ a'i veibion³.
 [§2.18] <Ridorch>⁴ a Rodoch⁵, meibion Brychan, y rai aethant i Ffraingk ac amwisgasant⁶ yn y⁷ krevedd yn y lle a elwir Tomrriwch⁸ yn Ffraink⁹, ac yno y maent yn saint anrydedd¹⁰.
 [§2.19]¹¹ Llyma henwaw pŵmaib arrŵgain o veibion Brychan Brycheinioc.

[§3] Bellach llyma henwe¹² merched Brychan:

- [§3.1] [23] Gwlad¹³ verch Vrychan a vŵ wraic i Wynlli ap Gliwys a¹³ mam i Gadawc¹⁴ ap Gwynlli a mam Glywys Kerniw¹⁵ i vrawt ynte, sant anrydedd¹⁶.
 [§3.2] Euuail¹⁷ verch Brychan ysydd yn santes yn lle a elwir Merthyr Euuail¹⁸.
 [§3.3] Golevddydd¹⁹ verch Brychan ysydd yn santes [yn] lle a elwir Hasgen.
 [§3.4] Nevydd verch Brychan ysydd yn santes yn lle a elwir Llech Gelyddon²⁰ yMrydyn²¹.
 [§3.5] Mellv²² verch Brychan a vŵ wraic i Dywallt pair llaw Eiddv²³ a mam Gynvyn Kadwyl.
 [§3.6] Hawystl verch Brychan ysydd yn santes yNhaer Hawystyl.
 [§3.7] <Tybie>²⁴ verch Brychan ysydd yn santes²⁵ yn Ystrad Tywi.
 [§3.8] Rianger²⁶ verch Vrychan ysydd yn santes a mam i Gynydyr²⁷ sant o Vilienydd²⁸.
 [§3.9] <Eleri>²⁹ verch Brychan a vŵ wraic [24] i Gyredic ap³⁰ Kŵnedda Wledic a mam i Sant ap Kredic³¹, tad Tewi³².
 [§3.10] Tvdvyl verch Brychan ysydd yn santes yMerthyr Tvdvyl yMorganwc.
 [§3.11] Gwenddydd verch Brychan a vŵ wraic i Gynvawr a mam i³³ <Gyngen ap>³⁴ Gynvawr³⁵ a

¹ yngwlad Ddyved P; – QU.

² QU *add* yNeheybarth.

³ a'i weission... veibion P; – QU.

⁴ QU; Ridaorch P.

⁵ P; Rodorch QU.

⁶ P; a wisgwyd QU.

⁷ yn y P; mewn QU.

⁸ P; Tom Iwrch Q; Tonn Hyrch U. In U, the *H* of *Hyrch* is linked by a symbol to the marginal variants *I neu S neu H*.

⁹ yn Ffraink P; – QU.

¹⁰ P; yr Q; vrdhassol U.

¹¹ QU omit this section.

¹² Bellach llyma henwe P; – QU.

¹³ a vŵ... a P; – QU.

¹⁴ P; Gattwc QU. In P, *Gadawc* is glossed with *Gattawc*.

¹⁵ P; – QU.

¹⁶ ynte, sant anrydedd¹⁶ P; – QU.

¹⁷ PQ; Enbhail U.

¹⁸ P; Euuail Q; Enbhail U.

¹⁹ P; Golauwedd Q; Goluubhedh U. In U, dots have been placed underneath the *uu*.

²⁰ P; Glydon QU.

²¹ P; yMrydain QU.

²² P; Melldeu Q; Melhden U.

²³ Dywallt pair llaw Eiddv²³ P; Dywall pen Eiddyn Q; Tywalh pen²³ Eidhvn U.

²⁴ QU; Tybi P.

²⁵ P *adds* yn lle a elwir Llandybi. Cf. CB 15.6 and JC 3.19.

²⁶ P; Rianger Q; Rhiaighgar U.

²⁷ P; Gynllo QU.

²⁸ o Vilienydd P; yMelienydd Q; ym Malienydd U.

²⁹ QU; Eler P.

³⁰ i Gyredic ap PU; – Q.

³¹ a mam i Sant ap Kredic P; mam Sangk Q; mam Sant U.

³² tad Tewi P; – QU.

³³ Gynvawr a mam i P; – QU.

³⁴ QU; Geŵgain verch P.

³⁵ In U, dots have been placed underneath the final *r* and a *c* has been written above it.

mam i Gynyr <Kadgaddyc>¹ a mam i Gadell Dyhyrnlŵc a mam i Vrochwel Ysgithroc a mam i Sanant verch Gynvawr, gwraig Vaelgwn Gwynedd, mam Eŵrgain verch Vaelgwn.

[§3.12] Rianwen verch Brychan a vŵwraig Ierwerth Hirvlawdd² o Bowys.

[§3.13] Nevyn³ verch Brychan a vŵwraig i Gynvarch ap Meirchiawn a mam ŵrien Reged.

[§3.14] Gwrgon verch Brychan⁴, gwraig Kadrod Kalchvynydd, mam Dynwaedd Bagloc.

[§3.15] Klodvaith verch Brychan, santes ysydd yn Emlyn.

[§3.16] Elionor verch Brychan sydd santes yNhalgarth.

[§3.17] Dyganwen verch Brychan sydd santes yManaw.

[§3.18] Gwenllian verch Brychan, gwraig Aeddan [V]awd⁵ Vilwr⁶.

[§3.19] Gwawrddydd verch Brychan, santes yMeirionydd.

[§3.20]⁷ [25] Mechyll⁸ verch Brychan a vŵwraig i Wrgant <Mairionnydd>⁹.

[§3.21] Gwenefydd¹⁰ verch Brychan, gwraig Elidir¹¹ Lydanwyn, mam Lowarch Hen.

[§3.22] Golevvedd verch Brychan sydd santes yng Kraic <Orseddol>¹².

[§3.23] Keinddrych verch Brychan, gwraig i Gynyr Varfdrwch o Bowys.

[§3.24] Dwynwen a Cheinwen, merched Brychan sydd santessav yMon.¹³

[§4]¹⁴ Brychan Brycheinioc arglwydd Brycheinioc a iarll Kaer <Lleon>¹⁵ a barwn Ystaffart.

¹ QU; Katkadawc P.

² P adds Varyfdrwch. Cf. DSB 12.10; JC 3.2; LIIG 1.3.2.

³ PQ; Hebhyn U.

⁴ P adds Brycheinioc.

⁵ [...]awd P; Vawd QU.

⁶ Cf. *Meirchion Vawd Vilwr* in *Brenhinllwyth Morgannwg*.

⁷ In QU, §§3.20–1 appear in the reverse order.

⁸ PU; Mechydd Q.

⁹ QU; M[...] P.

¹⁰ PU; Gwennvydd Q.

¹¹ PU; Lidir Q.

¹² QU; Orse[...] P.

¹³ Q adds Tytyst verch Brychan, santes o Estrad Tywi.

¹⁴ In P, this item has been added to the top of p. 20. In QU, it follows the end of §3.

¹⁵ QU; Lloen P.

Appendix B.8: Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd

Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd is a tract on the legendary Men of the North surviving in only one medieval manuscript: Peniarth 45 (pp. 291–2), written in the first half of the fourteenth century.¹ Most of the manuscript is filled with a copy of the Dingestow version of *Brut y Brenhinedd*, a copy closely related to that in Peniarth 46 (s. xiv^{med}) and, at a further remove, to the copy in the Dingestow manuscript itself (NLW 5266B, s. xiii²).² *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd* has previously been edited by William Skene in 1868, Arthur Wade-Evans in 1930 and Rachel Bromwich in 1961.³ In 1966, Peter Bartrum produced another edition with variant readings from five later manuscripts.⁴ Four of these manuscripts (Bartrum's FGHJ) do not, in fact, contain copies of *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd*; rather, they contain copies of Gutun Owain's recension of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, which itself reproduced some of the material from *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd* (LIIG (GO) G9.5–7 and G10.1–3).⁵ The fifth manuscript, Peniarth 253 (pp. 145–6), written by Thomas Gruffydd in the middle of the sixteenth century (Bartrum's B), is one of a group of later manuscripts preserving copies of *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd*. The others, not listed by Bartrum, are Brogyntyn I. 15, p. 365 (George Owen Harry, 1593–6), Harley 1935, f. 89r (1589 × 1630) and Bodley Add. A. 281, f. 372v (Richard Williams, 1644–5).⁶ Barry Lewis has shown that all four of these manuscripts contain texts derived from Peniarth 45.⁷ They are therefore not independent witnesses to *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd*, and their variants are not considered below. The following edition reproduces the text exactly as it is found in Peniarth 45.

¹ *MWM* 59.

² Roberts, 'Fersiwn Dingestow', pp. 341–6 and 351.

³ Skene, *Four Ancient Books* II, 454–5; Wade-Evans, 'Beuno Sant', pp. 339–41 (reprinted in the 2013 edition of *VSBG*, pp. 361–3); *TYP*¹ 238–9 (= *TYP*² 256–7).

⁴ Ignoring the variant readings, Bartrum's transcription of Peniarth 45 is generally accurate, with the exception that he overlooked the abbreviation marks in 'Penn' (§4) and 'Pheredur' (§5). He also insisted on reading 'Corueu' rather than the correct 'Corneu' in §13 (cf. *EWGT* 72, n. 1), but this is unwarranted, since the scribe makes no consistent distinction between *n* and *u*.

⁵ As noticed in Chapter 4 above, pp. 230–1.

⁶ My thanks to Barry Lewis for these references. As discussed in Chapter 4, all of these manuscripts are also witnesses to the southern tradition of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies: see above, pp. 187–8.

⁷ See his forthcoming edition of *Bonedd y Saint*.

[*Peniarth 45, p. 291*]

Bonhed gwyr y gogledd yŷ hyn:

[§1] Vryen uab Kynuarch m. Meirchaŷn m. Gorust Ledlŷm m. Keneu m. Coel.

[§2] Llywarch Hen m. Elidyr Lydanwyn m. Meirchaŷn m. Gorust Ledlŷm m. Keneu m. Coel.

[§3] Clydno Eidin a Chynan Genhir a Chynuelyn Drŷsgyl a Chatraŷt Calchuynydd¹ meibon Kynnŷyt Kynnŷydyon m. Kynuelyn m. Arthwys m. Mar m. Keneu m. Coel.

[§4] Dunaŷt a Cherwyd a Sawyl Penn Uchel meibyon Pabo Post Prydein m. Arthwys m. Mar m. Keneu m. Coel.

[§5] Gŷrgi a Pheredur meibon Eliffer Gosgorduaŷr m. Arthwys m. Keneu m. Coel.

[§6] Gwendoleu a Nud a Chof meibyon Keidyaŷ m. Arthwys m. Mar m. Keneu m. Coel.

[§7] Trychan cledyf Kynuerchyn a thrychan ysgŷyt Kynnŷ[y]dyon a thrycha[n] wayŷ Coeling: pa neges bynhac yd elynt iddi yn duun, nyt amethei honno².

[§8] Ryderch Hael m. Tutwal [292] Tutclyt m. Kedic m. Dyunwal Hen.

[§9] Mordaf m. Seruan m. Kedic m. Dyfynwal Hen.

[§10] Elffin m. Gŷyddno m. Caŷrdaf m. Garmonyaŷn m. Dyfynwal Hen.

[§11] Gauran m. Aedan Uradaŷc m. Dyunwal Hen m. Idnyuet³ m. Maxen Wledic amheraŷdyr Ruuein.

[§12] Elidyr Mŷynuaŷr m. Gorust Priodaŷr m. Dyfynwal Hen.

[§13] Huallu m. Tutuŷlch Corneu tywyssaŷc o Kernyŷ, a Dywanw merch Amlaŷt Wledic y uam.

¹ The *l* was added later.

² hon honno MS. *hon* is at the end of one line and *honno* is at the beginning of the next.

³ The *y* is atypical in form, but does not conform to any other letter.

Appendix B.9: The Mostyn Genealogies

The Mostyn genealogies are uniquely preserved in NLW 3036B (Mostyn 117), pages 138a–138b.¹ The manuscript was written in the first half of the fourteenth century, probably in south-east Wales, by the same scribe as the Book of Taliesin (Peniarth 2).² Most of the manuscript is filled with a copy of the Dingestow version of *Brut y Brenhinedd*, most closely related to the copy in Peniarth 22 (written by Dafydd ap Maredudd Glais in 1444).³ The genealogies were added on the originally blank last leaf of quire 9, apparently by the main scribe.⁴ They have been printed twice before: once by Gwenogvryn Evans (*RMWL* I, 63), who omitted the earlier generations of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd's pedigree, and again in full by Peter Bartrum (*EWGT* 38–9). For further discussion, see Chapter 5, pp. 243–5.

¹ These two pages were formerly unnumbered.

² *MWM* 59; Haycock, 'Llyfr Taliesin'.

³ Roberts, 'Fersiwn Dingestow', pp. 332–3, 346–7 and 351. For Dafydd ap Maredudd Glais, see Himsworth, 'Dafydd'.

⁴ Huws, *Repertory*, s. NLW 3036B.

[NLW 3036B, p. 138a]

[§1] Llywelyn ap Gruffyd mab Llywelyn m. Ioruerth m. Owein m. Gruffyd m. Kynan m. Iago m. Idwal Voel m. Anarŷt m. Rodri m. Meruyn Vrych gŵr priafŷt Esyllt verch Kynan Tindaethŷy mab Rodri Maelŷynaŷc m. Idwal Iŷrch m. Katwaladyr Vendigeit m. Katwallaŷn m. Katuan m. Iago m. Beli m. Run m. Maelgŷn Gŷyned, herwyd dull y beird. Namyn o herwyd yr Istorïa, Beli oed vab y Eynyan vab Maelgŷn, y gŵr a uu petweryd brenhin ar ynys Prydein gŷvedy Arthur. Maelgŷn oed vab Katwallaŷn Llaŷhir m. Eynyaŷn Yrth m. Kuneda Wledic m. Edern m. Padern Peisrud m. Keneu m. Coel Godebaŷc m. Tecwan m. Deheweint m. Triuil m. Vrban m. Grad m. Rideyrn m. Keyeirn m. m.¹ Endos m. Endolen m. Aflach m. Aflech m. Llud m. Beli Maŷr m. Manogan m. Dyfynwal Hen m. Gorwynyaŷn m. Kamber m. Brutus m. Siluius m. Ascanius m. Eneas m. Anchises m. Capis m. Assaraccus m. Trois m. E[r]iconius² m. Dardan m. Iubiter m. Saturn m. Celi m. Creti m. Cipri m. Cetim m. Ieuan m. Iaphed m. Noe Hen m. Lameth m. Ma[t]usialem³ m. Enoc m. Iareth m. Malalel m. Kainan m. Enos m. Seth m. Adam m. Duŷ.

[§2] Rys m. Gruffyd m. Rys m. Teŷdŷr m. Kadell m. Eynon m. Owein m. Hywel Da m. Kadell m. Rodri Maŷr m. Meruyn Vrych.

[§3] [138b] Madaŷc mab Mareduŷ⁴ m. Bledyn m. Kynuyn m. Gwerstan m. Gwyn m. Gweithuoet m. Gwinnan m. Gwinano Barbsuch m. Lles Llaŷuedaŷc m. Corrn⁵ Diuisas m. Eorf m. Kaenaŷc m. Tegoŷŷy m. Teon m. Gwineu Deu Ureudŷyt m. Howyr Leu m. Hoŷdec m. Run Rudpaladyr m. Llara m. Kasnar Wledic m. Gloŷŷ Gŷlat Lydan m. Tenewan m. Llud m. Beli Maŷr.

[§4] Katwallaŷn a Howel ac Eynon Clut m. Madaŷc m. Idnerth m. Kadogaŷn m. Elystan m. Kuhelyn m. Merchider m. Anor m. Senerys m. Kadŷr m. Kador Gŷvenweun m. Idnerth m. Ioruerth Hirulaŷr⁶ m. Tegoŷ[ŷ]y m. Teon m. Gwineu Deu Vreudŷyt.

[§5] Arthur m. Vthyr m. Kustenhin m. Kynuaŷr m. Tutwal m. Moruaŷr m. Eudaf m. Kadŷr m. Kynan m. Karadaŷc m. Bran m. Llyr Lletieith.

[§6] Nonn mam Dewi oed verch y Anna verch Vthyr Pendragon. Mam Anna oed verch Eigyr Anlaŷd Wledic.

¹ This *m.* follows a space in the manuscript of about seven or eight characters in length at the end of a line.

² An *r* (or possibly two *rs*) was originally present but has been rubbed off.

³ There is a hole in the parchment between *Ma[t]* and *usïalem*, making the word difficult to read. The *t* may have been present but is impossible to verify. The *usi* is uncertain.

⁴ This name is extremely faint.

⁵ The final three letters are uncertain.

⁶ The *l* was added later.

Appendix B.10: The Cwtta Cyfarwydd Genealogies

This collection of idiosyncratic pedigrees is found within a distinct genealogical section of the well-known manuscript called *Y Cwtta Cyfarwydd* (Peniarth 50). The manuscript was written between about 1445 and 1456 by a scribe who calls himself *Davyd*.¹ Most of the contents are vaticinatory in nature, encompassing prophetic texts in Welsh, English and Latin.² But between pages 82 and 86 are genealogies taken from at least three sources: (1) on pages 82–4 is a copy of the St Cadog genealogies, probably taken from the composite version of the Life of St Cadog, as is discussed in Appendix A.2.1; (2) from the bottom of page 84 to the bottom of page 85 are the miscellaneous pedigrees printed below; and (3) on page 86 are selected items taken from a ‘second branch’ version of *Bonedd y Saint*.³ All these genealogies were copied into Cardiff 3.77, pages 101–10 by John Jones, who was responsible for the gall-staining visible in this part of Peniarth 50.⁴

The miscellaneous pedigrees on pages 84–5 have not previously been printed together as a group, though Bartrum printed and discussed certain items individually.⁵ Considered together, the pedigrees can reveal something of the preoccupations of the compiler. There is a clear interest in the lordship of Glamorgan and surrounding areas in south-east Wales, as one would expect from the other contents of the manuscript.⁶ The *Edern* in §1 is St Edern, who in this context is probably supposed to represent the patron saint of Llanedeyrn, north-east of Cardiff. Sections 2–3 concern descendants of the three sons of ‘Gwaithfoed of Gwent’, even though Gwaithfoed himself is named only once.⁷ Gwaithfoed was allegedly the father of three sons called Aeddan, ‘Y Bach’ and Gwyn Anwyl, each of whom is said to have been lord of one of the three castles forming the lordship of ‘Three Castles’: respectively, Grosmont, Skenfrith and White Castle, all now in Monmouthshire.⁸ The relationships between the members of this family who are mentioned in §§2–3, as deduced by Bartrum from other genealogical sources, are shown in Figure B.10.1.⁹ Gwyn Anwyl of White Castle is the subject of §2 (*Gwynn Annlyn*).¹⁰ The subject of §3, Gruffudd Gethin (whose son Dafydd fl. 1391), was descended from Aeddan of Grosmont.¹¹ Gruffudd Gethin’s mother Gwladus, whose line is described in §3, was descended from Y Bach of Skenfrith. However, the discrepancy of generations shown in Figure B.10.1 suggests that Gruffudd Gethin and his mother Gwladus are unlikely to have been descended from Gwaithfoed of Gwent in the ways described in the sources. Moving through the collection, the subject of §4 is Jenkyn Kemeys

¹ Huws, *Repertory*, s. Peniarth 50; *RMWL* I, 389–99. For a general overview of the manuscript, see Fulton, ‘Geography’, pp. 327–32 and 335–8. I find Fulton’s suggestion that the manuscript was ‘commissioned’ by Rhys ap Siancyn or one of his sons unconvincing, since the manuscript’s contents are disorganised and miscellaneous, and it seems unlikely to be the product of a specific request. See the summary of the manuscript’s contents in Kay, ‘Prophecy’, p. 95.

² A. L. Jones, ‘Prophecy’, pp. 144–6; Fulton, ‘Geography’, pp. 330–2; Kay, ‘Prophecy’, p. 83. For an overview of prophecy in medieval Welsh manuscripts (including Peniarth 50), see Kay, ‘Prophecy’.

³ This is discussed by Barry Lewis in the introduction to his forthcoming edition of *Bonedd y Saint*.

⁴ *EWGT* 76.

⁵ §4 in ‘Pedigrees’, pt 1, 124 (PP 71), with note on p. 143; §6 in *EWGT* 93 (ByA 30a); §7 in ‘Pedigrees’, pt 1, 121 (PP 65), with note on pp. 140–1; §9 in *EWGT* 94 (ByA 33), with note on p. 150.

⁶ Fulton, ‘Geography’, p. 329.

⁷ Cf. *WG* I III, s. ‘Gwaithfoed 1’.

⁸ Bartrum, ‘Pedigrees’, pt 1, 126–7. The lordship gradually came to be defined by the three castles between the reigns of Henry II and John.

⁹ *WG* I III, s. ‘Gwaithfoed 1’, ‘Gwaithfoed 3’, ‘Gwaithfoed 4’ and ‘Gwaithfoed 6’.

¹⁰ For a short account of Gwyn ap Gwaithfoed losing his castle to a French knight only to regain it again after killing the knight in single combat, see John Williams, *Llyfr Baglan* (ed. Bradney, p. 126).

¹¹ This Gruffudd Gethin is not to be confused with Gruffudd Gethin of Ynysdawy, for whose family see Chapter 1 above, p. 44.

(apparently fl. 1374) of Began, very near Llanedeyrn to the north-east of Cardiff.¹ The subject of §7, Einion ap Gollwyn, was the ancestor of many families in south-east Wales, and he is described in genealogical sources as ‘Lord of Meisgyn’ (part of the lordship of Glamorgan).² The interesting pedigree of Elen ferch Eudaf in §9 is only otherwise paralleled by the pedigree of Caradog ap Iestyn in *Brenhinllwyth Morgannwg*, as discussed in Chapter 5.³ Altogether, therefore, it is clear that the compiler maintained an interest in the native Welsh families of south-east Wales.

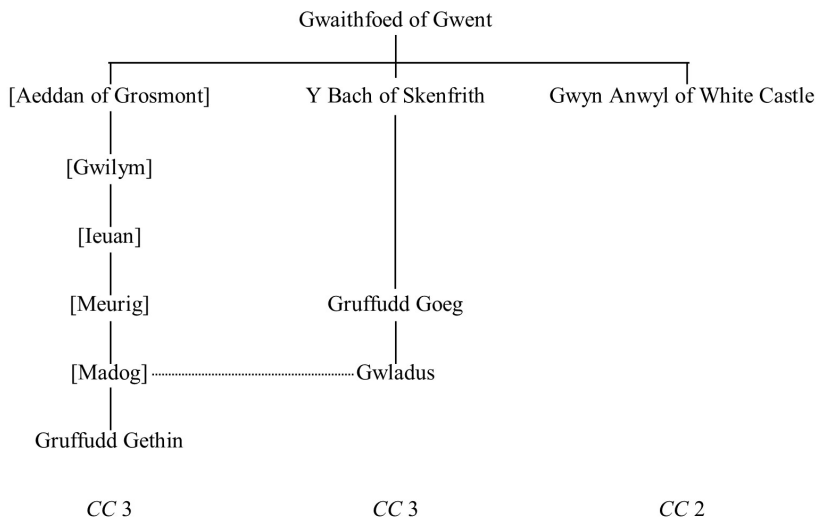


Figure B.10.1: The family of Gwaithfoed of Gwent in the Cwta Cyfarwydd genealogies

Some of the pedigrees in this collection are unique or are only sparsely attested elsewhere. The version of the pedigree of Jenkyn Kemeys in §4 is only otherwise attested in Cardiff 2.1 (p. 116), a manuscript by the poet Dafydd Benwyn dating to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.⁴ The version of the pedigree of Einion ap Gollwyn in §7 is unique, though its doctrine influenced other, conflated pedigrees.⁵ The version of the pedigree of Arthur in §6 is closest to the version that Gutun Owain incorporated into his recension of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies (LIIG (GO) G1.1).⁶

On the other hand, it seems unlikely that the local Glamorgan pedigrees in the collection entered writing as isolated items. The account of Gruffudd Gethin's mother (§3), for example, probably accompanied Gruffudd Gethin's own pedigree in Peniarth 50's source. It is probable that Peniarth 50's collection of pedigrees was extracted from a broader body of genealogical writing that was circulating in south-east Wales in the middle of the fifteenth century, even though this body of writing is only sparsely attested before the

¹ Bartrum, 'Pedigrees', pt 1, 143, n. 71; Clark, *Limbus*, p. 407.

² Bartrum, 'Pedigrees', pt 1, 140–1, n. 65; *WG I* II, s. 'Einion ap Gollwyn 1'.

³ See above, pp. 236–8.

⁴ Bartrum, 'Pedigrees', pt 1, 124; *RMWL* II.i, 137.

⁵ Bartrum, 'Pedigrees', pt 1, 121 and 140–1, n. 65.

⁶ It is also similar to the version in another fifteenth-century manuscript, Peniarth 27ii, p. 90: *EWGT* 93–4 (ByA 30b).

second half of the sixteenth century.¹ The impression is reinforced by Peniarth 51, a miscellany written by the Glamorgan poet Gwilym Tew in the 1460s and 1470s, which contains a short collection of genealogies on pages 114–19 concerning some of the same Glamorgan families. For example, on page 118 of Peniarth 51 one finds the pedigree of Gruffudd Gethin's mother, much as in §3 below.² Gwilym Tew, a member of a prominent Glamorgan bardic family, was himself a descendant of Einion ap Gollwyn, whose progeny are well represented among the pedigrees in Peniarth 51.³ One could imagine that Gwilym Tew's family were responsible for the collection of Glamorgan genealogies from which the writer of Peniarth 50 made extracts. In the mid-fifteenth century, such a collection may have been among the first of its kind.⁴

The text below is edited from Peniarth 50 (C), pp. 84–5, with minimal intervention. Variants are provided only for the pedigree of Elen ferch Eudaf in §9, since it is attested as an isolated item in a very similar form in Peniarth 178i (P), p. 68, written by Gruffudd Hiraethog around 1545.⁵ In general, C is superior to P.

¹ For the few genealogical manuscripts from South Wales up to the second half of the sixteenth century, see Bartrum, 'Notes', pt 2, 116–17.

² For brief comment on the genealogies in Peniarth 51, see Bartrum, 'Notes', pt 3, 40–1.

³ *WG 1* II, s. 'Einion ap Gollwyn 6'; G. J. Williams, *Traddodiad*, pp. 43–8; Rowlands, *Gwaith Rhys Brydydd*, pp. vii–ix.

⁴ Compare the chaotic and disorganised genealogy on the front flyleaf of the Red Book of Talgarth (Llanstephan 27, c. 1400), mentioned in Chapter 1 above, pp. 42 and 44. This is unlikely to have been drawn from a wider body of genealogical writing.

⁵ Peniarth 178i once formed part of the same manuscript as Peniarth 177: Bartrum, 'Notes', pt 1, 107–8.

[Peniarth 50, p. 84]

[§1] Edern m. Beli m. Run m. Maelgŷn.

[§2] [85] Gwynn Annŷyn ap Gweithvoet.

[§3] Mam Gruffudd Gethin oedd Wladus *ferch* Gruffudd Goyc ap y Bach.

[§4] Iankyn Kemmeis ap Meuric ap Grono ap Gwallter ap ŷthrudd.

[§5] Brutus m. Siluius m. Ascanius m. Eneas m. Anchises¹ m. Asaracus m. Troys m. Euriconius m. Dardan y vu vrenhin yr holl vyt m. Iubiter m. Saturnus m. Celus m. Cretus m. Cipris m. Cetym m. Iauan m. Iapheth m. Noe Hen.

[§6] Arthur vab Vther v. Kustennin Vendigeit v. Kynor v. Tutwal v. Turmŷr Moruaŷr m. Karadoc m. Bran m. Llyr Lledieith.

[§7] Eynyon vab Gollŷyn v. Tagno m. Kadawel m. Lludd v.² Metlan *verch* Nynŷaŷ m. Gweithuoet m. Gŷrhydyr Hir o genaŷl talaith Vathrauel.

[§8] Llywelyn ap Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ap Iorwerth Drŷyndŷn ap Owein ap Gruffudd ap Kynan ap Iago ap Idwal ap Meuric ap Idwal ap Anaraŷt ap Rodri Mawr.

[§9] Elen *ferch* Eudaf m. Karadaŷc m. Bran m. Llyr Lletieith m. Garar³ m. Gerein Hir m. Secuyn m. Keit m. Arch m.⁴ Moruran m. Kerint m. Cridol m. Dingarth m. Annun⁵ m. Lainus m. Brutus m. Ericonius m. Alanius m. Reesilue⁶ m. Nenne⁷ m. Parapilius m. Ascanius m. Eneas m. Anchise⁸ m. Troys m. Dardan m. Iauan m. Iaphet m. Noe⁹ *etc.*

¹ The usual father of Anchises, Capis, is here omitted.

² This v., which would seem to be an abbreviation for *vab*, may be an error for *ei vam oedd*, since Medlan is elsewhere regarded as the mother of Gollŷyn ap Tangno's children (LIIG 56.1): Bartrum, 'Pedigrees', pt 1, 121 and 140–1, n. 65.

³ C; Gairir P.

⁴ Repeated after a line break.

⁵ C; Annam P.

⁶ m. Brutus m. Ericonius m. Alanius m. Reesilus C; – P.

⁷ C; Nue P.

⁸ C; Ansisse P.

⁹ C; Noe Hen P.

Appendix B.11: Brenhinllwyth Morgannwg

Brenhinllwyth Morgannwg is a unique pedigree of the lords and kings of Morgannwg that is not found in any of the genealogical collections edited elsewhere in this book. In each manuscript witness it is accompanied by different texts. Part of its interest lies in the unique ancestry given to *lrbān ap Edric*, better known as *Erb m. Erbic* (JC 9; cf. *GM* 1; *LIIG* 35.1), progenitor of the Morgannwg dynasty. This ancestry, from *Kradoc ap Bran* backwards, is paralleled elsewhere only by the pedigree of Elen ferch Eudaf in the *Cwtta Cyfarwydd* genealogies (*CC* 9), as is discussed in Chapter 5.¹

Bartrum edited *Brenhinllwyth Morgannwg* from three manuscript witnesses (here PTM).² Here, four further witnesses are considered. The resulting seven witnesses, in order of age, are as follows:

B: CA Muniment Room 12/16 (Ieuan Brechfa, 1501 × 1509).

P: Peniarth 178, part i, p. 10 (Gruffudd Hiraethog, c. 1545).

H: Peniarth 128, p. 59 (Edward ap Roger, c. 1560–85).

T: Peniarth 138, p. 601 (Thomas ap Llywelyn ab Ithel, c. 1561 × 1566/7).

W: CUL Mm.1.3, f. 3r (Wiliam Llŷn, 1566).

J: NLW 3067B (Mostyn 212B), part i, pp. 57–8 (Thomas Jones of Tregaron and others, c. 1574).

M: NLW 3032B (Mostyn 113), part i, p. 74 (Roger Morris, 1580 × 1600).

Brenhinllwyth Morgannwg also appeared in Henry Salesbury's lost manuscript (written c. 1634), taken probably from NLW 3032Bi (M); thus, it can be found in copies of Henry Salesbury's manuscript: Llanstephan 138i, p. 21, col. a and Llanstephan 187, f. 60v (see Appendix A.4.2).

In PTM, the text forms a discrete unit, headed by the titles *Brenhinllwyth Morganwc* (PM) and *Gwehelyth Morganwc* (T) and traced back from either Caradog ab Iestyn (fl. 1127) (PM) or his father Iestyn ap Gwrgan (d. by 1127) (T). In WJ, the pedigree has been used to expand versions of *Pump Brenhinllwyth Cymru* ('The Five Royal Kindreds of Wales'), a grouping that first emerges in the work of Gutun Owain (*LIIG* (GO) G81). Similarly, the pedigree is used in H to expand a version of *Pump Brenhinllwyth Cymru*, though one that has been integrated into the *Bonedd Gweheliaethau Cymru* section of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. H's pedigree of *Kariadawc ap Iestyn* was originally traced back to *Erbic ap Enyny* following *LIIG* (GO) G48.1/35.1, but, at a later stage, Edward ap Roger erased *Kariadawc ap* from the beginning of the pedigree and extended *Enyny*'s ancestry back through *Kreirwy* to *Ysganvs*, following *Brenhinllwyth Morgannwg*. For that reason, only the part of the pedigree from *Kreirwy* backwards is considered below. B, lastly, is a pedigree roll in the hand of Ieuan Brechfa, in which the pedigree of *Brenhinllwyth Morgannwg* has been used to trace the ancestry of Gwilym, son of the poet Ieuan Gethin of Baglan (c. 1390–c. 1470), back to Brutus.³ Since the pedigree roll indicates relationships using connected roundels, the roll is not a witness to the text *per se*, but it nevertheless remains a useful and interesting witness to the unusual names in the pedigree. For this reason, B is regularly, though not invariably, consulted in the footnotes below. Sometimes, a second reading is given for B, enclosed in square brackets. These readings derive from the guide words that were written adjacent to

¹ See too the brief discussion in *EWGT* 158, n. 3.

² *EWGT* 122 (MP 3).

³ Cf. *WG* I III, s. 'Iestyn 6', where Gwilym is called 'Gwilym of Betws'. Ieuan Gethin's poetry is edited in Owen, *Gwaith Ieuan Gethin*; for an overview of his life and works, see Owen, "'An Audacious Man'". For the pedigree roll, see above, p. 183.

the roundels prior to the names being written into the roundels themselves. Some errors that occur in the main text of the roundels are not found in the guide words.

The present edition is based on P, written by Gruffudd Hiraethog around 1545. W, written by Wiliam Llŷn in 1566, and M, written by Roger Morris between 1580 and 1600, may both derive from P. Both follow P in the incorrect reading *Gwraidd* for *Gwriad*. M follows P in misreading the *Holl* abbreviation for 'Hywel': P has *Holi*, while M has *Heli*. W renders the abbreviation properly, though this may be a correction. More indicative is the note at the end of the text of W which claims that the pedigree was taken from a book of Gruffudd Hiraethog, possibly Peniarth 178i itself, considering that Wiliam Llŷn knew the manuscript.¹ Not enough of the text survives in H (written by Edward ap Roger from about 1560 to 1585) to allow any firm conclusions about H's textual affinities, but it might be indicative that H shares some small spelling variations with W. On the other hand, H preserves the correct reading *Llyr*, and so might be an independent copy of the text.

Next to P, the most important witness is arguably T, written by Thomas ap Llywelyn ab Ithel between 1561 and his probable death in 1566/7. Relatively few corruptions are found in T, though it shares with BJ the omission of Idwallon. B (Ieuan Brechfa's pedigree roll, 1501 × 1509) and J (Thomas Jones of Tregaron and others, c. 1574) are closely related, sharing many innovations. For example, both have *Keidio* for *Kaid*; in both the *Vawd* element of Meirchion's epithet has become *Mawr/Vawr*; and both add a similar extra element after the second *Einudd* (*Gadarn* in B, *ap Garddyf* in J). Judging by the omission of Idwallon, T may be a textually conservative relative of BJ. On the other hand, T shares the error *Llyn* for *Llyr* with PWM, which is not found in either BJ or H. The utility of the presence or absence of Idwallon for determining textual relationships is thrown into question by the treatment of Arthfael (ap Rhys) among the witnesses. Superficially, the presence or absence of Arthfael suggests the textual groups WJ and PBTM. But Arthfael has been inserted into J from another source, and would thus appear in his usual position in any copies of J; the exemplars of other witnesses could have inserted or removed the name in the same way. *Gwehelyth Morgannwg*, for instance, does not have Arthfael, and could have prompted the omission of the name. As usual, the corrupt forms of obscure names in a pedigree's remoter sections provide more secure evidence for textual relationships. Therefore, on the strength of the error *Llyn* for *Llyr*, T may be a relative of PWM rather than BJ.

A close relative of J was used by Hugh Thomas in Harley 4181, ff. 37r–39v (within the section of the manuscript compiled between 1713 and 1718) (see Figure B.11.1).² Hugh Thomas combined the pedigree of *Brenhinllwyth Morgannwg* with a version of *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* and other information derived from the Book of Llandaf. Similarly, extracts from a version of *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* accompany J's version of *Brenhinllwyth Morgannwg*. It is possible that *Brenhinllwyth Morgannwg* and *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* appeared together in the common exemplar of J and Harley 4181. The version of *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* known to Hugh Thomas was also copied by him into Harley 6831, f. 197r (s. xvii/xviii), but in that context it was not combined with *Brenhinllwyth Morgannwg* (see Appendix B.3).

The common exemplar of J and Harley 4181 may have included genealogies concerning the descendants of Ieuan ap Lleision ap Rhys of Baglan (fl. s. xiv/xv?).³ In both Harley 6831

¹ When Peniarth 177 and Peniarth 178i formed a single manuscript, Wiliam Llŷn added notes to it, and Bartrum suggested that it was he who originally separated the manuscript into two: 'Notes', pt 2, 107–8. Note that the statement at the end of the pedigree in W ('[...] ap Sulivs val Gruffudd ap Kynan o lyvr Gruffudd Hiraethog', '[...] son of Silius like Gruffudd ap Cynan from a book of Gruffudd Hiraethog') does not indicate that it is the pedigree of Gruffudd ap Cynan that is found in Gruffudd Hiraethog's book; this is a reference to the pedigree of Gruffudd ap Cynan on f. 1v of W itself. It is the pedigree of Iestyn ap Gwrgan that was apparently taken from the book of Gruffudd Hiraethog.

² Harley 4181's version of the pedigree is partly printed in Vaughan, 'Welsh Pedigrees', p. 109.

³ *WG I III*, s. 'Iestyn 6'.

and Harley 4181, the Morgannwg genealogy is traced forwards in time to Ieuan ap Lleision ap Rhys's alleged descendant Crisli (d. 1633/4), her husband Thomas Jones (or ap John, d. 1616) and their children.¹ In Harley 4181, the same genealogy is brought forwards to the eighteenth century and to Hugh Thomas himself, Crisli and Thomas's great-grandson.² An older relative of the common exemplar of J and Harley 4181 is Ieuan Brechfa's pedigree roll (B), in which the genealogy of *Brenhinllwyth Morgannwg* is brought forwards to Ieuan ap Lleision ap Rhys's grandson Gwilym ab Ieuan Gethin. This implies that, in the common source of all three manuscripts (B, J and Harley 4181), *Brenhinllwyth Morgannwg* accompanied genealogies concerning the descendants of Ieuan ap Lleision ap Rhys. This common source must date from no later than the first decade of the sixteenth century, when Ieuan Brechfa wrote B. Ieuan Brechfa, it should be noted, also possessed a copy of *Gwehelyth Morgannwg*, which may have appeared in the common exemplar of J and Harley 4181 (see Appendix B.3). Perhaps Ieuan Brechfa himself was responsible for writing the common source of all three manuscripts (Figure B.11.1).³

Variants for the edition below are presented in the order of the approximate ages of the manuscripts, with the exception that P is cited first: PBHTWJM. Readings that are brought into the main text from witnesses other than P are enclosed in angular brackets, whereas letters supplied by the editor are enclosed in square brackets. For the method of transcribing Roger Morris's manuscript (M), see the introduction to Appendix B.4.

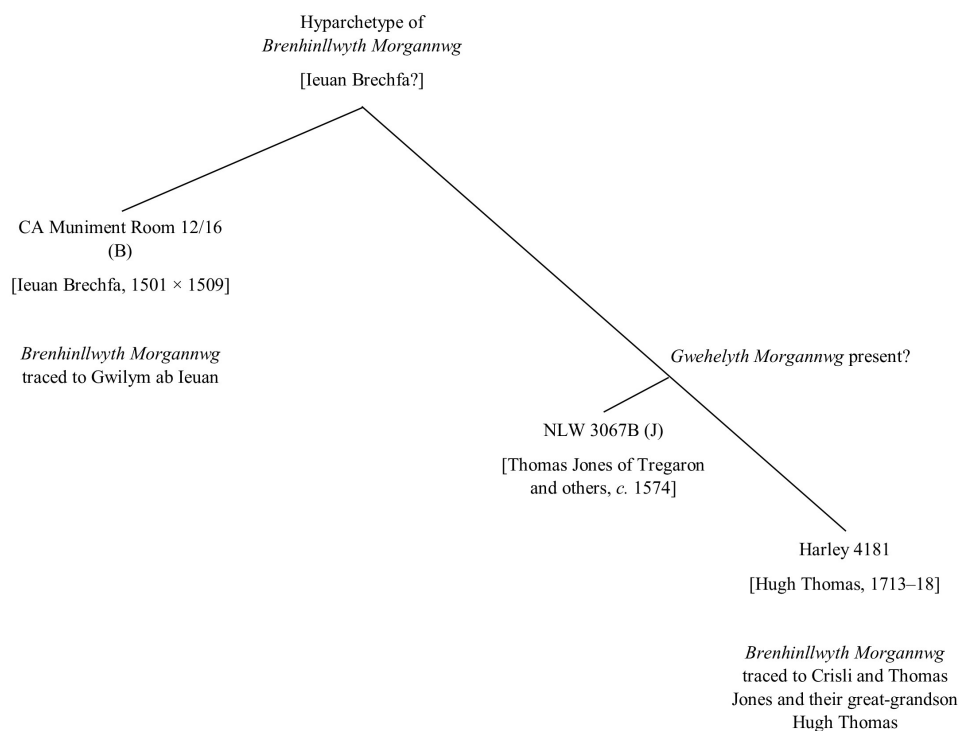


Figure B.11.1: The BJ branch of the transmission of *Brenhinllwyth Morgannwg*

¹ *WG* 3, s. 'Trahaearn Fawr 10(A1)/2'.

² *WG* 3, s. 'Trahaearn Fawr 10(A1)/4'.

³ I would like to thank Patrick Sims-Williams for sharing his transcriptions of J and the Hugh Thomas manuscripts with me, and Gruffudd Antur for supplying me with images of J.

[Peniarth 178i, p. 10]

Brenhinllwyth Morganwc¹

Kariadoc ap² Iestyn ap Gwrgan³ ap Ithel ap Idvallawn⁴ ap Morgan Mwynvawr ap Owain⁵ ap <Howel>⁶ ap Rys ap Arthavael⁷ ap <Gvriad>⁸ ap Brochuael ap Mevric ap Arthvael⁹ ap Rys ap Einvdd¹⁰ ap Morgan ap Adros¹¹ ap Mevric ap Tewdric ap Teithvalt¹² ap Nynniaw¹³ ap Vrbā¹⁴ ap Edric¹⁵ ap Kreirwy¹⁶ ap Mevric ap Meirchion¹⁷ ap Gwrgann¹⁸ Vrych¹⁹ ap Arthuael²⁰ ap Einudd²¹ ap Gorddwfn²² ap Goruc ap Meirchion Vawd Vilwr²³ ap Owain ap Kyllin²⁴ ap Kradoc²⁵ ap Bran²⁶ ap <Llyr>²⁷ ap Barar²⁸ ap Kerihir²⁹ Lyngwyn³⁰ ap Kaid³¹ ap Ar[ch]³² ap Meryran³³ ap Keraint³⁴ ap Greidiol³⁵ ap Dingad ap Annvn³⁶ ap Albanivs³⁷ ap <Kamber>³⁸ ap Brutus³⁹ ap Silius ap Ysganvs⁴⁰.

¹ Brenhinllwyth Morganwc PM; Gwehelyth Morganwc T; Pumed oedd yMorgannwc pann oedd oed Krist [GAP] yr hwnn a elwid W; Llyma lle treithir am wyhelyth ac arfav Iestyn ap Gwrgant brenin Morganwg J.

² Kariadoc ap PM; – TWJ.

³ T adds twyssoc Morganwc.

⁴ ap Idvallawn PWM; – BTJ.

⁵ Morgan Mwynvawr ap Owain PBTWM; Owain ap Morgan Vwyn vawr J.

⁶ TBWJ; Holi P; Heli M.

⁷ PWM; Arthal B; Arthuael T; Arthmael J.

⁸ B; Gwraidd PWM; Gwriadd T; Gweirydd J.

⁹ ap Arthvael PBTM; – WJ. B adds ail. In J, *ap Arthfael* was inserted by another hand.

¹⁰ PW; Nud Gadarn B; Kynydd T; Ainydd J; Einvoð M.

¹¹ PJM; Odrus [Odrys] B; Adroc T; Andros W.

¹² PW; Taithvalch B; Taithffallt T; Taithwallt J; Teithvallt M.

¹³ PBTWM; Nyraw J.

¹⁴ PBTWM; Bran J.

¹⁵ PTWJM; Erbic B.

¹⁶ B adds draic vent.

¹⁷ PHTWJM; Mairion B.

¹⁸ PHTWJM; Gvrgan B.

¹⁹ PBHTWJ; Beych M.

²⁰ PTWM; Arthael B; Arthavael H; Arthmael J.

²¹ PHTWM; Nuud [Nudd] B; Einyrdd J. B adds Gadarn; J adds ap Garddyf.

²² PTWJM; Gordu B; Gorddwn H.

²³ Vawd Vilwr PHTWM; Maṽr B; Vawr Vilwr J. Cf. *Aeddan Vawd Vilwr* in *LIFB* 3.18.

²⁴ PTJ; Pellynt [Pellvynt] B; Killin HW; Kelur M.

²⁵ PHTWJM; Madoc B.

²⁶ PHTWJM; – B.

²⁷ H; Llyn PTWM; Lleṽynn B; Llvr J. Cf. *CC* 9.

²⁸ PHTWM; Bar B; Parar J.

²⁹ PHTWJ; Kynṽric B; Korihir M.

³⁰ PHTWM; Lygṽynn B; Bywr Vwyn J.

³¹ PHTWM; Kaidido [Keidio] B; Keidio J.

³² Ar[...] P; Arch BHTWM; Arth J.

³³ PTWM; Merann [Meryran] B; Meiryran H; Meirion J.

³⁴ PHTWM; Geraint [Keraint] B; Kerant J.

³⁵ PBTJ; Greidol HW; Rheidiol M.

³⁶ T adds Ddṽ brenin Groec.

³⁷ PHM; Alanus B; Albinvc T; Albainvs W; Albon J.

³⁸ BHTWMJ; Kanber P.

³⁹ T adds y brenin kyntaf yn Ynys Brydeyn.

⁴⁰ ap Silius ap Ysganvs PH; – T; ap Sulivs val Gruffudd ap Kynan o lyvr *Gruffudd Hiraethog* W; ap Syllys J; ap Silius ap Ascanius ap Aeneas M.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ahlqvist, A., ed. and transl., *The Early Irish Linguist: An Edition of the Canonical Part of the Auraicept na nÉces* (Helsinki, 1983).
- Aitchison, N. B., 'Regicide in Early Medieval Ireland', in *Violence and Society in the Early Medieval West*, ed. G. Halsall (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 108–25.
- Alcock, L., *Arthur's Britain: History and Archaeology, AD 367–634* (London, 1971).
- Allan, A., 'Yorkist Propaganda: Pedigree, Prophecy and the "British History" in the Reign of Edward IV', in *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England*, ed. C. Ross (Gloucester, 1979), pp. 171–92.
- Andrews, R. M., et al., ed., *Gwaith Bleddyn Fardd a Beirdd Eraill Ail Hanner y Drydedd Ganrif ar Ddeg*, CBT 7 (Cardiff, 1996).
- and D. Stephenson, 'Draig Argoed: Iorwerth Goch ap Maredudd c. 1110–71', *CMCS* 52 (2006), 65–91.
- Anglo, S., 'The British History in Early Tudor Propaganda', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 44 (1961), 17–48.
- *Images of Tudor Kingship* (London, 1992).
- Anlezark, D., 'Sceaf, Japheth and the Origins of the Anglo-Saxons', *ASE* 31 (2002), 13–46.
- Anscombe, A., 'Indexes to Old-Welsh Genealogies', *Archiv für celtische Lexikographie* 1 (1900), 187–212 and 513–49; 2 (1904), 147–96; 3 (1907), 57–103.
- 'The Pedigree of Patrick', *Ériu* 6 (1912), 117–20.
- 'Some Old Welsh Pedigrees', *Cy* 24 (1913), 74–85.
- Antin, P., ed., *S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Opera. Pars I: Opera Exegetica. 3: In Hieremiam Libri VI, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* 72 (Turnhout, 1960).
- Antur, G., 'Ieuan ap Madog ap Rhys', *Dwned* 22 (2016), 83–8.
- 'Owain Waed Da', *Dwned* 22 (2016), 88–91.
- Anwyl, E., 'The Early Settlers of Cardigan', *Arch. Camb.*, 6th ser., 6 (1906), 93–120.
- Aufrecht, W. E., 'Genealogy and History in Ancient Israel', in *Ascribe to the Lord: Biblical and Other Studies in Memory of Peter C. Craigie*, ed. L. Eslinger and G. Taylor (Sheffield, 1988), pp. 202–35.
- Bachellety, E., ed., *L'œuvre poétique de Gutun Owain* (Paris, 1950–1).
- Bale, J., *Scriptorium illustrium Majoris Brytanniae quam nunc Angliam et Scotiam vocant, catalogus*, 2 vols (Basel, 1557–9).
- Banks, R. W., ed., 'Cartularium Prioratus S. Johannes Evang. de Brecon', *Arch. Camb.*, 4th ser., 13, no. 52 (1882), 275–308; 14, no. 53 (1883), 18–49; no. 54, 137–68; no. 55, 221–36; no. 56, 274–311.
- Bannerman, J., 'The King's Poet and the Inauguration of Alexander III', *SHR* 68 (1989), 120–49.
- *Studies in the History of Dalriada* (Edinburgh, 1974).
- Baring-Gould, S., and J. Fisher, *The Lives of the British Saints*, 4 vols (London, 1907–13).
- Barker-Benfield, B. C., ed., *St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 13, 3 vols (London, 2008).
- Barrell, A. D. M., and R. R. Davies, 'Land, Lineage, and Revolt in North-East Wales, 1243–1441: A Case Study', *CMCS* 29 (1995), 27–51.
- Barrow, J., ed., *St Davids Episcopal Acta* (Cardiff, 1998).
- Bartlett, R., *Gerald of Wales 1146–1223* (Oxford, 1982).
- Bartrum, P. C., ed., 'Achau Brenhinoedd a Thywysogion Cymru', *BBCS* 19 (1961–2), 201–25.
- ed., 'Arthuriana from the Genealogical Manuscripts', *NLWJ* 14 (1965), 242–5.
- ed., 'Bonedd Henri Saithved', *NLWJ* 14 (1966), 330–4.
- ed., 'Bonedd yr Arwyr', *BBCS* 18 (1958–60), 229–52.
- 'Corrections to Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts', *BBCS* 40 (1993), 171–2.
- ed., 'Disgyniad Pendefigaeth Cymru (The Descent of the Sovereignty of Wales)', *NLWJ* 16 (1970), 253–63.
- ed., *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts* (Cardiff, 1966).

Bibliography

- ‘Fairy Mothers’, *BBCS* 19 (1960), 6–8.
- ‘Genealogical Sources Quoted by Gruffudd Hiraethog’, *NLWJ* 26 (1989), 1–9.
- ed., ‘Hen Lwythau Gwynedd a’r Mars’, *NLWJ* 12 (1962), 201–35.
- ed., ‘Late Additions to “Bonedd y Saint”’, *THSC* (1959), 76–98.
- ‘Maelda Hynaf and Ednywain ap Bradwen’, *BBCS* 20 (1964), 236–9.
- ‘Noë, King of Powys’, *Cy* 43 (1932), 53–61.
- ‘Notes on the Welsh Genealogical Manuscripts’, *THSC* (1968), 63–98; (1976), 102–18; (1988), 37–46.
- ed., ‘Pedigrees of the Welsh Tribal Patriarchs’, *NLWJ* 13 (1963–4), 93–146; 15 (1967–8), 157–66.
- ed., ‘Plant yr Arglwydd Rhys’, *NLWJ* 14 (1965–6), 97–104.
- ed., ‘Rhandiroedd Powys’, *NLWJ* 18 (1973), 231–7.
- ‘Some Studies in Early Welsh History’, *THSC* (1948), 279–302.
- ‘Was there a British “Book of Conquests”’, *BBCS* 23 (1968–70), 1–6.
- *A Welsh Classical Dictionary: People in History and Legend up to about A.D. 1000* (Aberystwyth, 1993).
- *Welsh Genealogies AD 300–1400*, 8 vols (Cardiff, 1974), with additions and corrections, 8 lists (Aberystwyth, 1974–2003).
- *Welsh Genealogies AD 1400–1500*, 18 vols (Aberystwyth, 1983), with additions and corrections, 4 lists (Aberystwyth, 1996–2003).
- Bately, J. M., ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition. Volume 3: MS A* (Cambridge, 1986).
- Bethmann, L. C., ed., ‘Genealogiae Comitum Flandriae’, in *MGH: SS IX*, ed. G. H. Pertz (Hanover, 1851), pp. 302–36.
- Bezant, J., ‘The Medieval Grants to Strata Florida Abbey: Mapping the Agency of Lordship’, in *Monastic Wales: New Approaches*, ed. J. Burton and K. Stöber (Cardiff, 2013), pp. 73–87.
- Bishop, T. A. M., ‘The Corpus Martianus Capella’, *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 4 (1964–8), 257–75.
- Bland, M., ‘“As far from all Reuolt”: Sir John Salusbury, Christ Church MS 184 and Ben Jonson’s First Ode’, in *English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700. Volume 8: Seventeenth-Century Poetry, Music and Drama*, ed. P. Beal (London, 2000), pp. 43–78.
- Blatt, F., ed., *The Latin Josephus. I: Introduction and Text. The Antiquities: Books I–V*, *Acta Jutlandica* 30.1 (Copenhagen, 1958).
- Bliss, W. H., ed., *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Volume 1: 1198–1304* (London, 1893) <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-papal-registers/brit-ie/vol1>> [accessed 19 August 2019].
- Bluhme, F., ed., ‘Edictus Langobardorum’, in *MGH: Leges IIII*, ed. G. H. Pertz (Hanover, 1868), pp. 1–225.
- Boardman, J., *The Cretan Collection in Oxford: The Dictaeon Cave and Iron Age Crete* (Oxford, 1961).
- Bohanan, L., ‘A Genealogical Charter’, *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 22 (1952), 301–15.
- Bouchard, C. B., ‘The Carolingian Creation of a Model of Patrilineage’, in *Paradigms and Methods in Early Medieval Studies*, ed. C. Chazelle and F. Lifshitz (New York, 2007), pp. 135–51.
- ‘Conclusion: The Future of Medieval Kinship Studies’, in *Verwandschaft, Name und soziale Ordnung (300–1000)*, ed. S. Patzold and K. Ubl (Berlin, 2014), pp. 303–14.
- ‘Images of the Merovingians and Carolingians’, *History Compass* 4 (2006), 293–306.
- *“Those of My Blood”: Constructing Noble Families in Medieval Francia* (Philadelphia, 2001).
- Bowen, D. J., *Gruffudd Hiraethog a’i Oes* (Cardiff, 1958).
- ‘Guto’r Glyn a Glyn-y-Groes’, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 20 (1995), 149–81.
- Bradley, H., ‘The Etymology of “Lichfield”’, *The Academy* 36, no. 914 (9 November 1889), 305–6.
- Bradney, J. A., ed., *Llyfr Baglan or the Book of Baglan, Compiled Between the Years 1600 and 1607 by John Williams* (London, 1910).
- Breatnach, L., ‘Poets and Poetry’, in *Progress in Medieval Irish Studies*, ed. K. McCone and K. Simms (Maynooth, 1996).
- Bredehoft, T. A., *Textual Histories: Readings in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Toronto, 2001).
- Brett, C., ‘Breton Latin Literature as Evidence for Literature in the Vernacular, A.D. 800–1300’, *CMCS* 18 (1989), 1–25.

Bibliography

- , F. Edmonds and P. Russell, *Brittany and the Atlantic Archipelago, 450–1200* (Cambridge, forthcoming).
- Broderick, G., ‘Irish and Welsh Strands in the Genealogy of Godred Crovan’, *Journal of the Manx Museum* 8 (1980), 32–8.
- Bromwich, R., ‘The Character of the Early Welsh Tradition’, in *Studies in Early British History*, ed. N. K. Chadwick (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 83–136.
- ‘*CLIH*. viii. 3’, *BBCS* 17 (1956–8), 180–1.
- ‘Early Welsh Genealogies’, *WHR* 4 (1968–9), 175–80.
- ‘Pedwar Marchog ar Hugain Llys Arthur’, *THSC* (1956), 116–32.
- ‘Traddodiad Llafar y Chwedlau’, in *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol*, ed. G. Bowen (Llandysul, 1974), pp. 46–64.
- ed., *Trioedd Ynys Prydein: The Triads of the Island of Britain*, 1st ed. (Cardiff, 1961); 2nd ed. (Cardiff, 1978); 3rd ed. (Cardiff, 2006); 4th ed. (Cardiff, 2014).
- and D. S. Evans, ed., *Culhwch ac Olwen*, 2nd ed. (Cardiff, 1997).
- Brooke, C. N. L., ‘The Archbishops of St Davids, Llandaff and Caerleon-on-Usk’, in his *The Church and the Welsh Border in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. D. N. Dumville and C. N. L. Brooke (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 16–49; rev. from *SEBC* 201–42.
- ‘St Peter of Gloucester and St Cadoc of Llandarfan’, in his *The Church and the Welsh Border in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. D. N. Dumville and C. N. L. Brooke (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 50–94; rev. from *Celt and Saxon: Studies in the Early British Border*, ed. N. K. Chadwick, rev. ed. (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 258–322.
- Broun, D., ‘The Birth of Scottish History’, *SHR* 76 (1997), 4–22.
- ‘*Cethri Primchenéla Dáil Riata* Revisited’, in *Sacred Histories: A Festschrift for Máire Herbert*, ed. J. Carey, K. Murray and C. Ó Dochartaigh (Dublin, 2015), pp. 63–72.
- *The Irish Identity of the Kingdom of the Scots in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Woodbridge, 1999).
- ‘The Genealogy of the King of Scots as Charter and Panegyric’, in *Copper, Parchment, and Stone: Studies in the Sources for Landholding and Lordship in Early Medieval Bengal and Medieval Scotland*, ed. J. R. Davies and S. Bhattacharya (Glasgow, 2019), pp. 209–60.
- ‘A New Look at *Gesta Annalia* Attributed to John of Fordun’, in *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland*, ed. B. E. Crawford (Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 9–30.
- *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain: From the Picts to Alexander III* (Edinburgh, 2007).
- Brown, M. H., ‘Kinship, Land and Law in Fourteenth-Century Wales: The Kindred of Iorwerth ap Cadwgan’, *WHR* 17 (1995), 493–515.
- Brundage, J. A., *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago, 1987).
- Bryant-Quinn, M. P., ed., *Gwaith Syr Phylib Emlyn, Syr Lewys Meudwy a Mastr Harri ap Hywel* (Aberystwyth, 2001).
- Byrne, F. J., *Irish Kings and High-Kings*, 2nd ed. (Dublin, 2001).
- Calder, G., ed. and transl., *Auraicept na n-Éces = The Scholar’s Primer: Being the Texts of the Ogham Tract from the Book of Ballymote and the Yellow Book of Lecan, and the Text of the Trefhocul from the Book of Leinster* (Edinburgh, 1917).
- Campbell, J., ‘The Debt of the Early English Church to Ireland’, in *Irland und die Christenheit: Bibelstudien und Mission / Ireland and Christendom: The Bible and the Missions*, ed. P. Ní Chatháin and M. Richter (Stuttgart, 1987), pp. 332–46.
- Carey, J., ‘The Ancestry of Féníus Farsaid’, *Celtica* 21 (1990), 104–12.
- *The Irish National Origin-Legend: Synthetic Pseudo-History*, Quiggin Pamphlets on the Sources of Mediaeval Gaelic History 1 (Cambridge, 1994).
- Carley, J. P., ‘Arthur in English History’, in *The Arthur of the English: The Arthurian Legend in Medieval English Life and Literature*, ed. W. R. J. Barron, rev. ed. (Cardiff, 2001), pp. 47–57.
- and J. Crick, ‘Constructing Albion’s Past: An Annotated Edition of *De Origine Gigantum*’, in *Arthurian Literature XIII*, ed. J. P. Carley and F. Riddy (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 41–114.
- Carney, J. P., ‘The Dating of Archaic Irish Verse’, in *Early Irish Literature: Media and Communication / Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit in der frühen irischen Literatur*, ed. S. N. Tranter and H. L. C. Tristram (Tübingen, 1989), pp. 39–55.
- ‘Three Old Irish Accentual Poems’, *Ériu* 22 (1971), 23–80.
- Carr, A. D., ‘An Aristocracy in Decline: The Native Welsh Lords after the Edwardian Conquest’, *WHR* 5 (1970–1), 103–29.

Bibliography

- ed., 'The Extent of Anglesey, 1352', *AASFCT* (1971–2), 150–272.
- ed., 'The First Extent of Merioneth', in *History of Merioneth. Volume II: The Middle Ages*, ed. J. B. Smith and L. B. Smith (Cardiff, 2001), pp. 702–16.
- *The Gentry of North Wales in the Later Middle Ages* (Cardiff, 2017).
- 'Jones Pierce Revisited: The Evidence of the Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Extents', in *Wales and the Welsh in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to J. Beverley Smith*, ed. R. A. Griffiths and P. R. Schofield (Cardiff, 2011), pp. 126–44.
- *Medieval Anglesey* (Llangefni, 1982).
- Cartwright, J., *Feminine Sanctity and Spirituality in Medieval Wales* (Cardiff, 2008).
- 'The Middle Welsh Life of St Ursula and the 11,000 Virgins', in *The Cult of St Ursula and the 11,000 Virgins*, ed. J. Cartwright (Cardiff, 2016), pp. 163–85.
- Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Bodleianae*, 5 vols (1862–1900).
- Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1843–).
- A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum: With Indexes of Persons, Places, and Matters*, 4 vols ([London], 1808–12).
- A Catalogue of the Manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, 6 vols (Cambridge, 1856–67).
- Chadwick, H. M., *Early Scotland: The Picts, the Scots & the Welsh of Southern Scotland* (Cambridge, 1949).
- and N. K. Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature*, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1932–40).
- Chadwick, N. K., *The British Heroic Age: The Welsh and the Men of the North* (Cardiff, 1976).
- 'Early Culture and Learning in North Wales', in *SEBC* 29–120.
- 'A Note on the Name Vortigern', in *Studies in Early British History*, ed. N. K. Chadwick (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 34–46.
- ed., *Studies in the Early British Church* (Cambridge, 1958).
- Chambers, R. W., *Beowulf: An Introduction to the Study of the Poem, with a Discussion of the Stories of Offa and Finn*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge, 1959).
- Charles, B. G., 'George Owen of Henllys: Addenda', *NLWJ* 23 (1983), 37–44.
- Charles-Edwards, G., 'Hywel Fychan: Red Book and White Book', *NLWJ* 21 (1979–80), 427–8.
- 'The Scribes of the Red Book of Hergest', *NLWJ* 21 (1979–80), 246–56.
- and T. M. Charles-Edwards, 'The Continuation of *Brut y Tywysogion* in Peniarth MS.20', in *Essays and Poems Presented to Daniel Huws*, ed. E. B. Fryde (Aberystwyth, 1994), pp. 293–305.
- Charles-Edwards, T. M., 'Anglo-Saxon Kinship Revisited', in *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century: An Ethnographic Perspective*, ed. J. Hines (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 171–210.
- 'Dynastic Succession in Early Medieval Wales', in *Wales and the Welsh in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to J. Beverley Smith*, ed. R. A. Griffiths and P. R. Schofield (Cardiff, 2011), pp. 70–88.
- *Early Irish and Welsh Kinship* (Oxford, 1993).
- 'Early Medieval Kingships in the British Isles', in *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, ed. S. Bassett (Leicester, 1989), pp. 28–39 and 245–8.
- 'The *Galanas* Tractate in Iorwerth: Texts and Legal Development', in *Tair Colofn Cyfraith*, ed. Charles-Edwards and Russell, pp. 92–107.
- 'The Heir-apparent in Irish and Welsh Law', *Celtica* 9 (1971), 180–90.
- 'Language and Society among the Insular Celts AD 400–1000', in *The Celtic World*, ed. M. Green (London, 1995), pp. 703–36.
- 'The Making of Nations in Britain and Ireland in the Early Middle Ages', in *Lordship and Learning: Studies in Memory of Trevor Aston*, ed. R. Evans (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 11–37.
- 'Picts and Scots: A Review of Alex Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba 789–1070*', *The Innes Review* 59 (2008), 168–88.
- 'The Three Columns of Law: A Comparative Perspective', in *Tair Colofn Cyfraith*, ed. Charles-Edwards and Russell, pp. 26–59.
- 'The Three Columns of Law from Iorwerth Manuscripts *E* and *B*', in *Tair Colofn Cyfraith*, ed. Charles-Edwards and Russell, pp. 258–307.
- 'Wales and Mercia, 613–918', in *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe*, ed. M. P. Brown and C. A. Farr (London, 2001), pp. 89–105.
- *Wales and the Britons 350–1064* (Oxford, 2013).

Bibliography

- *The Welsh Laws* (Cardiff, 1989).
- , M. E. Owen and P. Russell, ed., *The Welsh King and His Court* (Cardiff, 2000).
- and P. Russell, 'The Hendregadredd Manuscript and the Orthography and Phonology of Welsh in the Early Fourteenth Century', *NLWJ* 28 (1994), 419–62.
- and P. Russell, ed., *Tair Colofn Cyfraith: The Three Columns of Law in Medieval Wales: Homicide, Theft and Fire* (Bangor, 2007).
- Chotzen, Th. M., 'La "Querelle des Femmes" au Pays de Galles', *Revue celtique* 48 (1931), 42–93.
- Christensen, A. S., *Cassiodorus, Jordanes, and the History of the Goths: Studies in a Migration Myth* (Copenhagen, 2002).
- Clark, F. N., 'Reading the "First Pagan Historiographer": Dares Phrygius and Medieval Genealogy', *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 41 (2010), 203–26.
- Clark, G. T., *Limbus Patrum Morganiae et Glamorganiae. Being the Genealogies of the Older Families of the Lordships of Morgan and Glamorgan* (London, 1886).
- Cleaver, L., 'From Codex to Roll: Illustrating History in the Anglo-Norman World in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *ANS* 36 (2013), 69–90.
- 'Past, Present and Future for Thirteenth-Century Wales: Two Diagrams in British Library, Cotton Roll XIV.12', *The Electronic British Library Journal* (2013), article 13, 1–26.
- Cole, M. W., 'Llywelyn ab Iorwerth: The Making of a Welsh Prince' (unpubl. PhD thesis, Univ. of St Andrews, 2012).
- Colgrave, B., and R. A. B. Mynors, ed. and transl., *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 1969).
- Copsey, R., 'The Carmelites in England 1242–1540: Surviving Writings', *Carmelus* 43 (1996), 175–224.
- Costigan (Bosco), N. G., et al., ed., *Gwaith Dafydd Benfras ac Eraill o Feirdd Hanner Cyntaf y Drydedd Ganrif ar Ddeg*, CBT 6 (Cardiff, 1995).
- Cowley, F. G., *The Monastic Order in South Wales 1066–1349* (Cardiff, 1977).
- Cownie, E., *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England, 1066–1135* (London, 1998).
- Coxe, H. O., *Catalogus codicum MSS. qui in collegiis aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1852).
- Crick, J. C., *The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth. III: A Summary Catalogue of the Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1989).
- *The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth. IV: Dissemination and Reception in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1991).
- 'The Power and the Glory: Conquest and Cosmology in Edwardian Wales (Exeter, Cathedral Library 3514)', in *Textual Cultures: Cultural Texts*, ed. O. Da Rold and E. Treharne (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 21–42.
- Croenen, G., 'Princely and Noble Genealogies, Twelfth to Fourteenth Century: Form and Function', in *The Medieval Chronicle: Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle. Driebergen/Utrecht, 13–16 July 1996*, ed. E. Kooper (Amsterdam, 1999), pp. 84–95.
- Crouch, D., *The Birth of Nobility: Constructing Aristocracy in England and France, 900–1300* (Harlow, 2005).
- 'The Slow Death of Kingship in Glamorgan, 1067–1158', *Morgannwg* 29 (1985), 20–41.
- Cubbin, G. P., ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition. Volume 6: MS D* (Cambridge, 1996).
- Cubbin, A. M., 'The Early Church in the Isle of Man', in *The Early Church in Western Britain and Ireland: Studies Presented to C. A. Ralegh Radford*, ed. S. Pearce (Oxford, 1982), pp. 257–82.
- Daniel, R. I., ed., *Ymborth yr Enaid* (Cardiff, 1995).
- Davies, J. C., *Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents Relating to Welsh Dioceses 1066–1272*, 2 vols (Cardiff, 1946–8).
- Davies, J. H., *The National Library of Wales: A Catalogue of Manuscripts. Volume I: Additional Manuscripts in the Collections of Sir John Williams, Bart., G.C.V.O.* (Aberystwyth, 1921).
- Davies, J. R., 'Aspects of Church Reform in Wales, c. 1093–c. 1223', *ANS* 30 (2008), 85–99.
- *The Book of Llandaf and the Norman Church in Wales* (Woodbridge, 2003).
- 'The Cult of Saints in the Early Welsh March: Aspects of Cultural Transmission in a Time of Political Conflict', in *The English Isles: Cultural Transmission and Political Conflict in Britain and Ireland, 1100–1500*, ed. S. Duffy and S. Foran (Dublin, 2013), pp. 37–55.
- 'Liber Landavensis: Its Date and the Identity of its Editor', *CMCS* 35 (1998), 1–11.

- 'Old Testament Personal Names among the Britons: Their Occurrence and Significance before the Twelfth Century', *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 43 (2012), 175–92.
- 'The Saints of South Wales and the Welsh Church', in *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*, ed. A. Thacker and R. Sharpe (Oxford, 2002), pp. 361–95.
- 'Some Observations on the "Nero", "Digby" and "Vespasian" Recensions of the *Vita S. David*', in *St David*, ed. Evans and Wooding, pp. 156–60.
- Davies, R. R., *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063–1415* (Oxford, 2000).
- *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles 1093–1343* (Oxford, 2000).
- *The Revolt of Owain Glyndŵr* (Oxford, 1995).
- 'The Survival of the Bloodfeud in Medieval Wales', *History* 54 (1969), 338–57.
- Davies, Sean, *The First Prince of Wales? Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, 1063–75* (Cardiff, 2016).
- Davies, Sioned, transl., *The Mabinogion* (Oxford, 2007).
- Davies, W., 'Braint Teilo', *BBCS* 26 (1974–6), 123–37; repr. with the same pag. in her *Welsh History*, ch. III.
- 'The Consecration of Bishops of Llandaff in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', *BBCS* 26 (1974–6), 53–73; repr. with the same pag. in her *Welsh History*, ch. IV.
- *An Early Welsh Microcosm: Studies in the Llandaff Charters* (London, 1978).
- *The Llandaff Charters* (Aberystwyth, 1979).
- *Patterns of Power in Early Wales: O'Donnell Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford 1983* (Oxford, 1990).
- 'Property Rights and Property Claims in Welsh *vitae* of the Eleventh Century', in *Hagiographie, culture et sociétés, IVe–XIIe siècles: Actes du colloque organisé à Nanterre et à Paris (2–5 Mai 1979)*, Centre de recherches sur l'antiquité tardive et le haut moyen âge, Université de Paris 10 (Paris, 1981), pp. 515–33; repr. with the same pag. in her *Welsh History*, ch. XIV.
- *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester, 1982).
- *Welsh History in the Early Middle Ages* (Farnham, 2009).
- Davies, W. Ll., 'Thomas, Richard (1753–1780)', in *DWB*.
- Davis, C. R., 'Cultural Assimilation in the Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies', *ASE* 21 (1992), 23–36.
- De Courson, A., ed., *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Redon en Bretagne* (Paris, 1863).
- De Smedt, C., ed., 'Vita s. Winwaloei primi abbatis Landevenecensis auctore Wurdestino', *AB* 7 (1888), 167–264.
- Debary, M., 'Saint Gurthiern', *Mémoires de la société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne* 40 (1960), 17–27.
- Denholm-Young, N., *Handwriting in England and Wales* (Cardiff, 1964).
- Derolez, R., 'Dubthach's Cryptogram: Some Notes in Connection with Brussels MS. 9565–9566', *L'antiquité classique* 21 (1952), 359–75.
- Dimock, J. F., ed., *Itinerarium Kambriæ et Descriptio Kambriæ*, Giraldi Cambrensis Opera 6 (London, 1868).
- Doble, G. H., *Lives of the Welsh Saints*, ed. D. S. Evans, 2nd ed. (Cardiff, 1984).
- 'Saint Congar', *Antiquity* 19, no. 74 (1945), 85–95.
- *St Cadoc in Cornwall and Brittany*, Cornish Saints Series 40 (Truro, 1937).
- Dodd, A. H., 'Wynn Family, of Berth-ddu and Bodysgallen, Caerns.', in *DWB*.
- Downham, C., *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland: The Dynasty of Ívarr to A.D. 1014*, corr. ed. (Edinburgh, 2008).
- Drew, K. F., transl., *The Lombard Laws* (Philadelphia, 1973).
- Duby, G., 'French Genealogical Literature: The Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', in his *The Chivalrous Society* (London, 1977), pp. 149–57; transl. by C. Postan from his 'Remarques sur la littérature généalogique en France aux XIe et XIIe siècles', in *Comptes rendus des séances de l'année* (1967), 335–45; the latter repr. in his *Hommes et structures du moyen âge* (Paris, 1973), pp. 287–98.
- 'The Structure of Kinship and Nobility: Northern France in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', in his *Chivalrous Society* (London, 1977), pp. 134–48; transl. by C. Postan from his 'Structures de parenté et noblesse dans la France du Nord aux XIe et XIIe siècles', in *Miscellanea mediaevalia in memoriam Jan Frederik Niermeyer* (Groningen, 1967), pp. 149–65; the latter repr. in his *Hommes et structures du moyen âge* (Paris, 1973), pp. 267–85.
- Dumville, D. N., 'The Ætheling: A Study in Anglo-Saxon Constitutional History', *ASE* 8 (1979), 1–33.
- 'The Anglian Collection of Royal Genealogies and Regnal Lists', *ASE* 5 (1976), 23–50; repr. with the same pag. in his *Histories*, ch. V.

Bibliography

- ed. and transl., *Annales Cambriae, A.D. 682-954: Texts A–C in Parallel*, Basic Texts for Brittonic History 1 (Cambridge, 2002).
- ‘*Annales Cambriae* and Easter’, in *The Medieval Chronicle III: Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle. Doorn/Utrecht 12-17 July 2002*, ed. E. Kooper (Amsterdam, 2004), pp. 40–50; repr. in his *Celtic Essays* II, 25–33 [references are to the former].
- *Britons and Anglo-Saxons in the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 1993).
- *Celtic Essays, 2001–2007*, 2 vols (Aberdeen, 2007).
- ‘Cethri Prímchenéla Dáil Riata’, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 20 (2000), 170–91.
- *English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictinism, A.D. 950–1030* (Woodbridge, 1993).
- ‘English Script in the Second Half of the Ninth Century’, in *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, ed. K. O’Brien O’Keefe and A. Orchard, 2 vols (Toronto, 2005) I, 305–25.
- ‘English Square Minuscule Script: The Background and Earliest Phases’, *ASE* 16 (1987), 147–79.
- ‘English Square Minuscule Script: The Mid-Century Phases’, *ASE* 23 (1994), 133–64.
- ‘Gildas and Maelgwn: Problems of Dating’, in *Gildas: New Approaches*, ed. M. Lapidge and D. N. Dumville (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 51–9; repr. with the same pag. in his *Britons*, ch. I.
- ed., *Historia Brittonum 3: The ‘Vatican’ Recension* (Cambridge, 1985).
- ‘*Historia Brittonum*: An Insular History from the Carolingian Age’, in *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. A. Scharer and G. Scheibelreiter (Munich, 1994), pp. 406–34.
- *Histories and Pseudo-Histories of the Insular Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 1990).
- ‘Ireland and North Britain in the Earlier Middle Ages: Contexts for *Míniugud Senchasa Fher nAlban*’, in *Rannsachadh na Gáidhlig 2000*, ed. C. Ó Baoill and N. R. McGuire (Aberdeen, 2002), pp. 185–211; repr. in his *Celtic Essays* II, 35–71 [references are to the latter].
- ‘Kinship, Genealogies, and Regnal Lists’, in *Early Medieval Kinship*, ed. P. H. Sawyer and I. N. Wood (Leeds, 1979), pp. 72–104; repr. with the same pag. in his *Histories*, ch. XV.
- ‘Late-Seventh- or Eighth-Century Evidence for the British Transmission of Pelagius’, *CMCS* 10 (1985), 39–52; repr. with the same pag. in his *Britons*, chap. XIII.
- ‘The *Liber Floridus* of Lambert of Saint-Omer and the *Historia Brittonum*’, *BBCS* 26 (1974–6), 103–22; repr. with the same pag. in his *Histories*, ch. XII.
- *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England: Four Studies* (Woodbridge, 1992).
- ‘On the North British Section of the *Historia Brittonum*’, *WHR* 8 (1977), 345–54; repr. with the same pag. in his *Histories*, ch. II.
- ‘The Origin of the C-text of the Variant Version of the *Historia regum Britanniae*’, *BBCS* 26 (1975), 315–22.
- ‘Origins of the Kingdom of the English’, in *Writing, Kingship and Power in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. R. Naismith and D. A. Woodman (Cambridge, 2017), pp. 71–121.
- ‘A Paraphrase of the *Historia Brittonum*: Two Fragments’, *BBCS* 25 (1972–4), 101–5; repr. with the same pag. in his *Histories*, ch. XIII.
- ‘Political Organisation in Dál Riata’, in *Tome: Studies in Medieval Celtic History and Law in Honour of Thomas Charles-Edwards*, ed. F. Edmonds and P. Russell (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 41–52.
- review of K. Hughes, *The Welsh Latin Chronicles: ‘Annales Cambriae’ and Related Texts* (1974), *SC* 12/13 (1977/8), 461–7; repr. with the same pag. in his *Histories*, ch. III.
- ‘The “Six” Sons of Rhodri Mawr: A Problem in Asser’s *Life of King Alfred*’, *CMCS* 4 (1982), 5–18; repr. with the same pag. in his *Britons*, chap. XV.
- ‘Sub-Roman Britain: History and Legend’, *History* 62 (1977), 173–92; repr. with the same pag. in his *Histories*, ch. I.
- ‘The Textual History of the Welsh-Latin *Historia Brittonum*’, 3 vols with single pag. (unpubl. PhD thesis, Univ. of Edinburgh, 1976).
- ‘The West Saxon Genealogical Regnal List and the Chronology of Early Wessex’, *Peritia* 4 (1985), 21–66; repr. with the same pag. in his *Britons*, ch. IV.
- ‘The West Saxon Genealogical Regnal List: Manuscripts and Texts’, *Anglia* 104 (1986), 1–32.
- and M. Lapidge, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition. Volume 17: The Annals of St Neots, with Vita prima Sancti Neoti* (Cambridge, 1985).
- Dyson, R., ed. and transl., *The City of God against the Pagans: Augustine* (Cambridge, 1998).

Bibliography

- Edda Snorra Sturlusonar*, 3 vols in 4 parts (Copenhagen, 1848–87).
- Edmonds, F., ‘The Emergence and Transformation of Medieval Cumbria’, *SHR* 93 (2014), 195–216.
- ‘The Practicalities of Communication between Northumbrian and Irish Churches, c.635–735’, in *Anglo-Saxon/Irish Relations Before the Vikings*, ed. J. Graham-Campbell and M. Ryan, Proceedings of the British Academy 157 (Oxford, 2009), pp. 129–47.
- Edwards, N., ‘Rethinking the Pillar of Eliseg’, *The Antiquaries Journal* 89 (2009), 143–77.
- Ellis, H., ed., *Registrum vulgariter nuncupatum “The Record of Caernarvon”: è codice MSto Harleiano 696* (London, 1838).
- Ellis, T. P., ed., *The First Extent of Bromfield and Yale* (London, 1924).
- Emanuel, H. D., ‘An Analysis of the Composition of the “Vita Cadoci”’, *NLWJ* 7 (1952), 217–27.
- ‘The Book of Blegywryd and MS. Rawlinson 821’, in *Celtic Law Papers: Introductory to Welsh Medieval Law and Government*, ed. D. Jenkins (Brussels, 1973), pp. 161–70; transl. from his ‘Llyfr Blegywryd a Llawysgrif Rawlinson 821’, *BBCS* 19 (1960–2), 23–8.
- ‘The Gwysaney Manuscripts’, *NLWJ* 7 (1952), 326–43.
- ‘The Latin Life of St. Cadoc: A Textual and Lexicographical Study’ (unpubl. MA thesis, Univ. of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1950).
- ed., *The Latin Texts of the Welsh Laws* (Cardiff, 1967).
- Emden, A. B., *Donors of Books to S. Augustine’s Abbey, Canterbury*, Oxford Bibliographical Society, Occasional Publication 4 (Oxford, 1968).
- Etchingham, C., ‘North Wales, Ireland and the Isles: The Insular Viking Zone’, *Peritia* 15 (2001), 145–87.
- ‘Viking-Age Gwynedd and Ireland: Political Relations’, in *Ireland*, ed. Jankulak and Wooding, pp. 149–67.
- Evans, D. S., ed., *Buched Dewi* (Cardiff, 1959).
- *A Grammar of Middle Welsh* (Dublin, 1970).
- ed., *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* (Cardiff, 1977).
- ed., *The Welsh Life of St David* (Cardiff, 1988).
- Evans, D. W., and B. F. Roberts, ed. and transl., *Edward Lhwyd, Archæologia Britannica: Texts and Translations* (Aberystwyth, 2009).
- Evans, J. G., *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*, 2 vols (London, 1898–1910).
- and R. M. Jones, ed., *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch: Y Chwedlau a’r Rhamantau* (Cardiff, 1973).
- and J. Rhys, ed., *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv: Reproduced from the Gwysaney Manuscript* (Oxford, 1893).
- Evans, J. W., ‘The Survival of the *Clas* as an Institution in Medieval Wales: Some Observations on Llanbadarn Fawr’, in *The Early Church in Wales and the West*, ed. N. Edwards and A. Lane (Oxford, 1992), pp. 33–40.
- and J. M. Wooding, ed., *St David of Wales: Cult, Church and Nation* (Woodbridge, 2007).
- Faral, E., *La légende arthurienne: études et documents*, 3 vols (Paris, 1929).
- Faulkes, A., ‘Descent from the Gods’, <<http://www.vsnrweb-publications.org.uk/Descent-from-the-gods.pdf>> [accessed 19 August 2019]; corr. and updated from *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 11 (1978–9 [1983]), 92–125.
- FitzPatrick, E., *Royal Inauguration in Gaelic Ireland c.1100–1600: A Cultural Landscape Study* (Woodbridge, 2004).
- Fleuriot, L., ‘Old Breton Genealogies and Early British Tradition’, *BBCS* 26 (1974–6), 1–6.
- Flobert, P., ed. and transl., *La vie ancienne de Saint Samson de Dol* (Paris, 1997).
- Forbes, A. P., ed. and transl., *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern: Compiled in the Twelfth Century* (Edinburgh, 1874).
- Fossier, F., ‘Chroniques universelles en forme de rouleau à la fin du Moyen Age’, *Bulletin de la société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1980–1 [1982]), 163–83.
- Foster, H. B., and E. Cary, ed. and transl., *Dio’s Roman History*, 9 vols (London, 1914–27).
- Foster, I., ‘The Book of the Anchorite’, *PBA* 36 (1950), 197–226.
- Frank, R., ‘Germanic Legend in Old English Literature’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, ed. M. Godden and M. Lapidge (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 88–106.
- Fraser, J. E., *From Caledonia to Pictland: Scotland to 795* (Edinburgh, 2009).
- Friese, E., ‘Die “Genealogia Arnulfi comitis” des Priesters Witger’, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 23 (1989), 203–43.
- Fulton, H., ‘The Geography of Welsh Literary Production in Late Medieval Glamorgan’, *JMH* 41 (2015), 325–40.

- Fychan, C., 'Y Canu i Wŷr Eglwysig Gorllewin Sir Ddinbych', *Transactions of the Denbighshire Historical Society* 28 (1979), 115–82.
- Gameson, R., 'Anglo-Saxon Scribes and Scriptoria', in *Cambridge History*, ed. Gameson, pp. 94–120.
- ed., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume I: c. 400–1100* (Cambridge, 2012).
- 'The Circulation of Books between England and the Continent, c. 871–c. 1100', in *Cambridge History*, ed. Gameson, pp. 344–72.
- 'English Manuscript Art in the Late Eleventh Century: Canterbury and its Context', in *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints and Scholars 1066–1109*, ed. R. Eales and R. Sharpe (London, 1995), pp. 95–144.
- *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (c. 1066–1130)* (Oxford, 1999).
- Ganz, D., 'Square Minuscule', in *Cambridge History*, ed. Gameson, pp. 188–96.
- Genicot, L., *Les généalogies*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge Occidental A-I.5 (fasc. 15) (Turnhout, 1975), with 1985 supplement.
- Giffin, M. E., 'Cadwalader, Arthur, and Brutus in the Wigmore Manuscript', *Speculum* 16 (1941), 109–20.
- 'A Wigmore Manuscript at the University of Chicago', *NLWJ* 7 (1951–2), 316–25.
- Gillingham, J., 'The Context and Purposes of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*', *ANS* 13 (1992), 99–118; repr. in his *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 19–39 [references are to the latter].
- Given-Wilson, C., *The Chronicle of Adam Usk, 1377–1421* (Oxford, 1997).
- 'Chronicles of the Mortimer Family, c. 1250–1450', in *Family and Dynasty in Late Medieval England*, ed. R. Eales and S. Tyas (Donington, 2003), pp. 81–101.
- Gneuss, H., and M. Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Toronto, 2014).
- Goffart, W., 'The Supposedly "Frankish" Table of Nations: An Edition and Study', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 17 (1983), 98–130; repr. in his *Rome's Fall and After* (London, 1989), pp. 133–65 [references are to the latter].
- Golding, B., 'Trans-Border Transactions: Patterns of Patronage in Anglo-Norman Wales', *HSJ* 16 (2005), 27–46.
- Gough-Cooper, H. W., ed., *Annales Cambriae: The B Text. From London, National Archives, MS E164/1*, pp. 2–26 (2015) <<http://croniclau.bangor.ac.uk/documents/AC%20B%20first%20edition.pdf>> [accessed 19 August 2019].
- ed., *Annales Cambriae: The C Text. From London, British Library, Cotton MS Domitian A. i. ff. 138r–155r, with an Appended Concordance of Intercalated Notes* (2015) <<http://croniclau.bangor.ac.uk/documents/AC%20C%20first%20edition.pdf>> [accessed 19 August 2019].
- 'Decennovenal Reason and Unreason in the C-text of *Annales Cambriae*', in *The Medieval Chronicle 11*, ed. E. Kooper and S. Levelt (Leiden, 2017), pp. 195–212.
- 'Meet the Ancestors? Evidence for Antecedent Texts in the Late Thirteenth-Century Welsh Latin Chronicles', in *CMWM*.
- Granger, F., *Vitruvius: On Architecture*, Loeb Classical Library 251 and 280, 2 vols (London, 1931–4).
- Gransden, A., 'The Growth of the Glastonbury Traditions and Legends in the Twelfth Century', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 27 (1976), 337–58; repr. in *Glastonbury Abbey and the Arthurian Tradition*, ed. J. P. Carley (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 29–53 [references are to the former].
- Gresham, C. A., 'The Aberconwy Charter', *Arch. Camb.* 94 (1939), 123–62.
- 'The Aberconwy Charter: Further Consideration', *BBCS* 30 (1983), 311–47.
- Griffith, J. E., *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire Families with their Collateral Branches in Denbighshire, Merionethshire and Other Parts* (Horncastle, 1914).
- Griffiths, G. M., 'Edward ap Roger (16th cent.)', in *DWB*.
- Griffiths, R. A., *The Principality of Wales in the Later Middle Ages: The Structure and Personnel of Government. I: South Wales, 1277–1536* (Cardiff, 1972).
- 'The Revolt of Rhys ap Maredudd, 1287–1288', *WHR* 3 (1966), 121–43; repr. in his *Conquerors and Conquered in Medieval Wales* (Stroud, 1994), pp. 67–83.
- *Sir Rhys ap Thomas and his Family: A Study in the Wars of the Roses and Early Tudor Politics* (Cardiff, 1993).
- 'A Tale of Two Towns: Llandeilo Fawr and Dinefwr in the Middle Ages', in *Sir Gâr: Studies in Carmarthenshire History: Essays in Memory of W. H. Morris and M. C. S. Evans*, ed. H. James (Carmarthen, 1991), pp. 205–26; repr. in his *Conquerors and Conquered in Medieval Wales* (Stroud, 1994), pp. 254–76 [references are to the former].

Bibliography

- Griscom, A., ed., *The Historia regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth* (London, 1929).
- Grosjean, P., 'De Codice Hagiographico Gothano', *AB* 58 (1940), 90–103.
- ed., 'Vie de saint Cadoc par Caradoc de Llancarfan', *AB* 60 (1942), 35–67.
- ed., 'Vies et miracles de S. Petroc: I. Le dossier du manuscrit de Gotha', *AB* 74 (1956), 131–88.
- Gruffydd, R. G., 'The Early Court Poetry of South West Wales', *SC* 14/15 (1979/80), 95–106.
- 'From Gododdin to Gwynedd: Reflections on the Story of Cunedda', *SC* 24/25 (1989/90), 1–14.
- 'The Life of Dr. John Davies of Brecon', *THSC* (1971), 175–90.
- Guillotel, H., 'Cartulaires bretons médiévaux', in *Les cartulaires: actes de la table ronde organisée par l'Ecole nationale des chartes et le G.D.R. 121 du C.N.R.S. (Paris, 5–7 décembre 1991)*, ed. O. Guyotjeannin, L. Morelle and M. Parisse (Paris, 1993), pp. 25–41.
- Gunther, R. T., *Life and Letters of Edward Lhwyd* (Oxford, 1945).
- Gura, D. T., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts of the University of Notre Dame and Saint Mary's College* (Notre Dame, IN, [2016]).
- Guy, B., 'The Breton Migration: A New Synthesis', *ZcP* 61 (2014), 101–56.
- 'Brut Ieuan Brechfa: A Welsh Poet Writes the Early Middle Ages', in *CMWM*.
- 'Constantine, Helena, Maximus: On the Appropriation of Roman History in Medieval Wales, c.800–1250', *JMH* 44 (2018), 381–405.
- 'Did the Harleian Genealogies Draw on Archival Sources?', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 32 (2012), 119–33.
- 'The Earliest Welsh Genealogies: Textual Layering and the Phenomenon of "Pedigree Growth"', *Early Medieval Europe* 26 (2018), 462–85.
- 'Egerton Phillimore (1856–1937) and the Study of Welsh Historical Texts', *THSC*, new ser., 21 (2015), 36–50.
- 'Explaining the Origins of Brittany in the Twelfth Century: St Cadog's Solution', in *Early Medieval Brittany: Multidisciplinary Approaches*, ed. F. Edmonds, C. Brett and P. Russell (Turnhout, forthcoming).
- 'Geoffrey of Monmouth's Welsh Sources', in *A Companion to Geoffrey of Monmouth*, ed. J. B. Smith and G. Henley (Leiden, 2020), pp. 31–66.
- 'Gerald and Welsh Genealogical Learning', in *Gerald of Wales: New Perspectives on a Medieval Writer and Critic*, ed. G. Henley and A. J. McMullen (Cardiff, 2018), pp. 47–61.
- 'Historical Scholars and Dishonest Charlatans: Studying the Chronicles of Medieval Wales', in *CMWM*.
- 'The Life of St Dyfrig and the Lost Charters of Moccas (Mochros), Herefordshire', *CMCS* 75 (2018), 1–37.
- 'Literature', in *A Companion to Medieval Wales*, ed. E. Cavell and K. Hurlock (Leiden, forthcoming).
- 'A Lost Medieval Manuscript from North Wales: Hengwrt 33, the *Hanesyn Hên*', *SC* 50 (2016), 69–105.
- 'Medieval Welsh Genealogy: Texts, Contexts and Transmission', 2 vols (unpubl. PhD thesis, Univ. of Cambridge, 2016).
- 'The Origins of the Compilation of Welsh Historical Texts in Harley 3859', *SC* 49 (2015), 21–56.
- 'Rheinwg: The Lost Kingdom of South Wales' *Peritia* (forthcoming).
- 'A Second Witness to the Welsh Material in Harley 3859', *Quaestio Insularis: Selected Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium in Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic* 15 (2014), 72–91.
- 'The Textual History of the Harleian Genealogies', *WHR* 28 (2016), 1–25.
- 'A Welsh Manuscript in America: Library Company of Philadelphia, 8680.O', *NLWJ* 36 (2014), 98–123 <https://www.library.wales/fileadmin/fileadmin/docs_gwefan/amdanom_ni/cylchgrawn_llgc/cgr_earth_XXXVIrhifl_2014_5.pdf> [accessed 19 August 2019].
- 'Writing Genealogy in Wales, c.1475–c.1640: Sources and Practitioners', in *Genealogical Knowledge in the Making: Tools, Practices, and Evidence in Early Modern Europe*, ed. J. Eickmeyer, M. Friedrich and V. Bauer (Berlin, 2019), pp. 99–125.
- *et al.*, ed., *The Chronicles of Medieval Wales and the March: New Contexts, Studies and Texts* (Turnhout, forthcoming).
- Gwara, S., ed. and transl., *De raris fabulis, 'On Uncommon Tales': A Glossed Latin Colloquy-Text from a Tenth-Century Cornish Manuscript*, Basic Texts for Brittonic History 4 (Cambridge, 2005).
- Hall, A., ed., *Commentarii de scriptoribus Britannicis, auctore Joanne Lelando Londinate*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1709).

Bibliography

- Hammer, J., ed., *Geoffrey of Monmouth, Historia Regum Britanniae: A Variant Version* (Cambridge, MA, 1951).
- Handlist of Manuscripts in the National Library of Wales*, 9 vols (Aberystwyth, 1940–2003).
- Hanna, R., ‘Booklets in Medieval Manuscripts: Further Considerations’, *Studies in Bibliography* 39 (1986), 100–11.
- *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Medieval Manuscripts of St John’s College Oxford* (Oxford, 2002).
- Harbus, A., *Helena of Britain in Medieval Legend* (Cambridge, 2002).
- Harris, S. M., ‘The Kalendar of the *Vitae Sanctorum Wallensium*’, *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales* 3 (1953), 3–53.
- Haycock, M., ed., *Blodeugerdd Barddas o Ganu Crefyddol Cynnar* (Llandybïe, 1994).
- ‘Early Welsh Poets Look North’, in *Beyond the Gododdin: Dark Age Scotland in Medieval Wales*, ed. A. Woolf (St Andrews, 2010), pp. 7–39.
- ‘Llyfr Taliesin’, *NLWJ* 25 (1987–8), 357–86.
- Hayden, D., ‘Anatomical Metaphor in *Auraicept na nÉces*’, in *Authorities and Adaptations: The Reworking and Transmission of Textual Sources in Medieval Ireland*, ed. E. Boyle and D. Hayden (Dublin, 2014), pp. 23–61.
- Heather, P., ‘Cassiodorus and the Rise of the Amals: Genealogy and the Goths under Hun Dominion’, *Journal of Roman Studies* 79 (1989), 103–28.
- Heimir Pálsson, ed., and A. Faulkes, transl., *Snorri Sturluson: The Uppsala Edda, DG 11 4to* (London, 2012) <<http://vsnrweb-publications.org.uk/Uppsala%20Edda.pdf>> [accessed 19 August 2019].
- Helm, R., ed., *Eusebius Werke siebenter Band: Die Chronik des Hieronymus / Hieronymi Chronicon*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1956).
- Hemp, W. J., ‘Two Welsh Heraldic Pedigrees, with Notes on Thomas Chaloner of Denbigh and Chester, Ulster King of Arms’, *Cy* 40 (1929), 207–25.
- Henige, D., *Oral Historiography* (Harlow, 1982).
- Henken, E. R., *The Welsh Saints: A Study in Patterned Lives* (Cambridge, 1991).
- Henley, G., ‘Monastic Manuscript Networks of the Anglo-Welsh March: A Study in Literary Transmission’ (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Harvard Univ., 2017).
- ‘Rhetoric, Translation and Historiography: The Literary Qualities of *Brut y Tywysogyon*’, *Quaestio Insularis: Selected Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium in Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic* 13 (2012), 78–103.
- ‘The Use of English Annalistic Sources in Medieval Welsh Chronicles’, *HSJ* 26 (2015), 229–47.
- Henry, C., J. Quaghebeur and B. Tanguy, *Cartulaire de Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé* (Rennes, 2014).
- Hering, K., ‘Godfrey of Viterbo: Historical Writing and Imperial Legitimacy at the Early Hohenstaufen Court’, in *Godfrey of Viterbo and his Readers: Imperial Tradition and Universal History in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. T. Foerster (Farnham, 2015), pp. 47–66.
- Heslop, S., and J. Mitchell, ‘The Arts and Learning’, in *English Heritage Book of St Augustine’s Canterbury*, ed. R. Gem (London, 1997), pp. 67–89.
- Hill, B., ‘The History of Jesus College, Oxford MS. 29’, *Medium Aevum* 32 (1963), 203–13.
- ‘Oxford, Jesus College MS. 29: Addenda on Donation, Acquisition, Dating and Relevance of the “Broaken Leafe” Note to “The Owl and the Nightingale”’, *Notes and Queries* 22 (1975), 98–105.
- Hill, G., *A History of Cyprus*, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1940–52).
- Hill, T. D., ‘The Myth of the Ark-Born Son of Noah and the West Saxon Royal Genealogical Tables’, *The Harvard Theological Review* 80 (1987), 379–83.
- ‘Woden as “Ninth Father”: Numerical Patterning in Some Old English Royal Genealogies’, in *Germania: Comparative Studies in the Old Germanic Languages and Literature*, ed. D. G. Calder and T. C. Christy (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 161–74.
- Himsworth, K., ‘Dafydd ap Maredudd Glais: A Fifteenth-Century Aberystwyth Felon and Scribe’, *WHR* 28 (2016), 269–82.
- Howlett, D., ‘Two Irish Jokes’, in *Early Medieval Ireland and Europe: Chronology, Contacts, and Scholarship. A Festschrift for Dáibhí Ó Cróinín* (Turnhout, 2015), pp. 225–64.
- Hudson, B. T., ‘The Destruction of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn’, *WHR* 15 (1991), 331–50.
- Hughes, G. H., *Iaco ab Dewi 1648–1722* (Cardiff, 1953).
- ‘Iaco ab Dewi: Rhai Ystyriaethau’, *NLWJ* 3 (1943), 51–3.
- Hughes, K., ‘The A-text of *Annales Cambriae*’, in her *Celtic Britain*, ed. Dumville, pp. 86–100.

Bibliography

- 'British Library MS. Cotton Vespasian A. XIV (Vitae Sanctorum Wallensium): Its Purpose and Provenance', in her *Celtic Britain*, ed. Dumville, pp. 53–66; rev. by D. N. Dumville from *SEBC* 183–200.
- *Celtic Britain in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Scottish and Welsh Sources*, ed. D. N. Dumville (Woodbridge, 1980).
- 'Evidence for Contacts between the Churches of the Irish and the English from the Synod of Whitby to the Viking Age', in *England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. P. Clemoes and K. Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 49–67.
- 'The Welsh Latin Chronicles: *Annales Cambriae* and Related Texts', in her *Celtic Britain*, ed. Dumville, pp. 67–85; rev. by D. N. Dumville from *PBA* 59 (1973), 233–58.
- Hughes, N. G., 'Cadwaladr, "Sir" Rhys', in *DWB*.
- Hummer, H., *Visions of Kinship in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 2018).
- Hurlock, K., 'Counselling the Prince: Advice and Counsel in Thirteenth-Century Welsh Society', *History* 94 (2009), 20–35.
- Hutson, A. E., *British Personal Names in the Historia Regum Britanniae* (Berkeley, CA, 1940).
- 'Geoffrey of Monmouth', *THSC* (1937), 361–73.
- Huws, D., 'Yr Hen Risiart Langfford', in *Beirdd a Thywysogion: Barddoniaeth Llys yng Nghymru, Iwerddon a'r Alban*, ed. B. F. Roberts and M. E. Owen (Cardiff, 1996), pp. 302–25.
- 'Llyfr Coch Hergest', in *Cyfoeth y Testun. Ysgrifau ar Lenyddiaeth Gymraeg yr Oesoedd Canol*, ed. I. Daniel *et al.* (Cardiff, 2003), pp. 1–30.
- *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* (Cardiff and Aberystwyth, 2000).
- 'Morris [Morys], Roger (1551/2?–1597×1600)', *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/74046>>.
- *A Repertory of Welsh Manuscripts and Scribes* (Aberystwyth, forthcoming 2020).
- 'Wiliam Dafydd Llywelyn (b. 1525/6, d. in or after 1606)', *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/74048>>.
- Ifans, D., 'Wiliam Bodwrda (1593–1660)', *NLWJ* 19 (1975–6), 88–102 and 300–10.
- Innes, M., 'Teutons or Trojans? The Carolingians and the Germanic Past', in *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Y. Hen and M. Innes (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 227–49.
- Insley, C., 'Fact and Fiction in Thirteenth-Century Gwynedd: The Aberconwy Charters', *SC* 33 (1999), 235–50.
- 'Kings, Lords, Charters and the Political Culture of Twelfth-Century Wales', *ANS* 30 (2007), 133–53.
- 'The Wilderness Years of Llywelyn the Great', in *Thirteenth Century England IX: Proceedings of the Durham Conference, 2001*, ed. M. Prestwich, R. Britnell and R. Frame (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 163–73.
- Isaac, G. R., 'Cunedag', *BBCS* 38 (1991), 100–1.
- Jackson, K., 'The Britons in Southern Scotland', *Antiquity* 29 (1955), 77–88.
- ed., *Early Welsh Gnomie Poems* (Cardiff, 1935).
- *Language and History in Early Britain: A Chronological Survey of the Brittonic Languages, First to Twelfth Century A.D.* (Edinburgh, 1953).
- 'On the Northern British Section in Nennius', in *Celt and Saxon: Studies in the Early British Border*, ed. N. K. Chadwick, rev. ed. (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 20–62.
- 'Varia: II. Gildas and the Names of the British Princes', *CMCS* 3 (1982), 30–40.
- Jacobs, N., ed., *Early Welsh Gnomie and Nature Poetry* (London, 2012).
- James, B. Ll., ed., *Rice Merrick, Morganiae Archaigraphia: A Book of the Antiquities of Glamorganshire* (Barry Island, 1983).
- James, H., 'The Geography of the Cult of St David: A Study of Dedication Patterns in the Medieval Diocese', in *St David*, ed. Evans and Wooding, pp. 41–83.
- James, J. W., 'The Harleian Ms. 3859 Genealogy II: The Kings of Dyfed down to Arthur map Petr, died c. 586', *BBCS* 23 (1969), 143–52.
- James, M. R., *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge, 1903).
- *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1912).
- Jamroziak, E., 'Genealogy in Monastic Chronicles in England', in *Broken Lines*, ed. Radulescu and Kennedy, pp. 103–22.
- Jankulak, K., 'Alba Longa in the Celtic Regions? Swine, Saints and Celtic Hagiography', in *Celtic Hagiography and Saints' Cults*, ed. J. Cartwright (Cardiff, 2003), pp. 271–84.

Bibliography

- ‘Breton vitae and Political Need in the Cartulary of Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé’, in *Literature and Politics in the Celtic World: Papers from the Third Australian Conference of Celtic Studies*, ed. P. Ó’Neill and J. M. Wooding (Sydney, 2000), pp. 218–47.
- ‘Carantoc alias Cairnech? British Saints, Irish Saints, and the Irish in Wales’, in *Ireland*, ed. Jankulak and Wooding, pp. 116–48.
- ‘La matière de Bretagne que Geoffroy de Monmouth n’a pas utilisée: les mythes d’origine des royaumes gallois médiévaux’ in *Histoires des Breagnes. 1: Les mythes fondateurs*, ed. M. Coumert and H. Tétrel (Brest, 2010), pp. 59–81.
- *The Medieval Cult of St Petroc* (Woodbridge, 2000).
- and J. M. Wooding, ed., *Ireland and Wales in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 2007).
- Jarman, A. O. H., ed., *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin* (Cardiff, 1982).
- ed., *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin (o Lyfr Du Caerfyrddin)* (Cardiff, 1951).
- Jarvis, B., ‘Salesbury [Salisbury], Henry (b. 1560/61, d. in or after 1632)’, *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24537>>.
- Jaski, B., ‘The Genealogical Section of the Psalter of Cashel’, *Peritia* 17–18 (2003–4), 295–337.
- ‘“We are of the Greeks in our Origin”: New Perspectives on the Irish Origin Legend’, *CMCS* 46 (2003), 1–53.
- Jenkins, D., ‘*Bardd Teulu and Pencerd*’, in *Welsh King*, ed. Charles-Edwards, Owen and Russell, pp. 142–66.
- ‘Crime and Tort & the Three Columns of Law’, in *Tair Colofn Cyfraith*, ed. Charles-Edwards and Russell, pp. 1–25; transl. by T. M. Charles-Edwards from D. Jenkins, *Cyfraith Hywel*, 2nd ed. (Llandysul, 1976), ch. 6.
- ‘A Family of Medieval Welsh Lawyers’, in *Celtic Law Papers: Introductory to Welsh Medieval Law and Government*, ed. D. Jenkins (Brussels, 1973), pp. 123–33.
- ‘Iorwerth ap Madog: Gŵr Cyfraith o’r Drydedd Ganrif ar Ddeg’, *NLWJ* 8 (1953), 164–70.
- transl., *The Laws of Hywel Dda: Law Texts from Medieval Wales* (Llandysul, 1986).
- ‘Llawysgrif Goll Llanforda o Gyfreithiau Hywel Dda’, *BBCS* 14 (1951–2), 89–104.
- ‘A Second Look at Welsh Land Law’, *THSC*, new ser., 8 (2002), 13–93.
- ‘Yr Ynad Coch’, *BBCS* 22 (1968), 345–6.
- and M. E. Owen, ‘The Welsh Marginalia in the Lichfield Gospels’, *CMCS* 5 (1983), 37–66; 7 (1984), 91–120.
- Jenkins, P., ‘Regions and Cantrefs in Early Medieval Glamorgan’, *CMCS* 15 (1988), 31–50.
- John, E., ‘The Point of Woden’, *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 5 (1992), 127–34.
- Johnson, K., ed. and transl., *Hesiod: Theogony and Work and Days* (Evanston, 2017).
- Johnson, M. D., *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies: With Special Reference to the Setting of the Genealogies of Jesus*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1988).
- Johnston, D. R., ed., *Gwaith Iolo Goch* (Cardiff, 1988).
- ‘Iolo Goch and the English: Welsh Poetry and Politics in the Fourteenth Century’, *CMCS* 12 (1986), 73–98.
- Jones, A., ed. and transl., *The History of Gruffydd ap Cynan. The Welsh Text with Translation, Introduction and Notes* (Manchester, 1910).
- Jones, A. Ll., ‘Prophecy as Criticism: Ms Peniarth 50: Tradition and Translation’, *Translation Studies* 9 (2016), 137–51.
- Jones, B., ed., *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300–1541: Volume 11, the Welsh Dioceses (Bangor, Llandaff, St Asaph, St Davids)* (London, 1965) <<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/fasti-ecclesiae/1300-1541/vol11>> [accessed 19 August 2019].
- Jones, B. L., ‘Gwriad’s Heritage: Links Between Wales and the Isle of Man in the Early Middle Ages’, *THSC* (1990), 29–44.
- Jones, E. D., ‘The Brogyntyn Welsh Manuscripts, X’, *NLWJ* 7 (1951), 85–101.
- ‘Evans, Thomas, or Thomas ap Ifan (fl. 1596–1633)’, in *DWB*.
- ‘Howel Coytmor (Coetmor)’, *NLWJ* 8 (1954), 350–2.
- ‘Lloyd Family, of Dolobran, Mont.’, in *DWB*.
- ‘Vaughan, Sir Gruffudd (d. 1447)’, in *DWB*.
- Jones, E. M., with N. A. Jones, ed., *Gwaith Llywarch ap Llywelyn: ‘Prydydd y Moch’*, CBT 5 (Cardiff, 1991).
- Jones, F., ‘An Approach to Welsh Genealogy’, *THSC* (1948), 303–466.
- ‘Griffith of Penybenglog: A Study in Pembrokeshire Genealogy’, *THSC* (1938), 125–53.

Bibliography

- 'Hugh Thomas, Deputy Herald', *THSC* (1961), 45–71.
- 'Welsh Pedigrees', in *Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry*, ed. L. G. Pine, 17th ed. (London, 1952), pp. lxix–lxxvi.
- Jones, G. E., 'Idic uab Anarawt Walltgrwn: Cynweisiad', *BBCS* 25 (1972–4), 14–19.
- Jones, G. P., 'A List of Epithets from Welsh Pedigrees', *BBCS* 3 (1926), 31–49.
- 'Notes on the Political History of Early Powys', *Arch. Camb.* 85 (1930), 131–43.
- 'The Scandinavian Settlement in Ystrad Tywi', *Cy* 35 (1925), 117–56.
- Jones, J. G., ed., *The History of the Gwydir Family and Memoirs: Sir John Wynn* (Llandysul, 1990).
- Jones, J. M., ed., *The Life of Saint David and Other Tracts in Medieval Welsh from the Book of the Anchorite of Llanđewivrevi A.D. 1346* (Oxford, 1912).
- and J. Rhŷs, ed., *The Elucidarium and Other Tracts in Welsh from Llyvyr Agkyr Llandewivrevi A.D. 1346 (Jesus College MS. 119)* (Oxford, 1894).
- Jones, N. A., 'Ffynonellau Canu Beirdd y Tywysogion', *SC* 37 (2003), 81–125.
- 'Golwg Arall ar "Fawl Hywel ap Goronwy"', *LIC* 21 (1998), 1–7.
- 'Meilyr ap Gwalchmai – Rhithfardd!', *Dwned* 9 (2003), 23–36.
- and A. P. Owen, ed., *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr I*, CBT 3 (Cardiff, 1991).
- and A. P. Owen, ed., *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr II*, CBT 4 (Cardiff, 1995).
- Jones, O., E. Williams and W. O. Pughe, ed., *The Myvyrian Archaeology of Wales: Collected out of Ancient Manuscripts*, 2nd ed. (Denbigh, 1870).
- Jones, O. E., ed., 'Llyfr Coch Asaph: A Textual and Historical Study', 2 vols (unpubl. MA thesis, Univ. of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1968).
- Jones, O. W., 'Brut y Tywysogion: The History of the Princes and Twelfth-Century Cambro-Latin Historical Writing', *HSJ* 26 (2014), 209–27.
- 'Hereditas Pouoisi: The Pillar of Eliseg and the History of Early Powys', *WHR* 24 (2009), 41–80.
- 'O Oes Gwrtheyrn: A Medieval Welsh Chronicle', in *CMWM*.
- Jones, R. B., *William Salesbury* (Cardiff, 1994).
- Jones, R. M., 'Astudiaeth Destunol a Chymharol o Owain a Luned' (unpubl. MA thesis, Univ. of Wales, Cardiff, 1951).
- ed., 'Y Rhamantau Arthuriad', *BBCS* 15 (1952–4), 109–16.
- Jones, T., ed., *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec: sef Cyfeithiad Cymraeg Canol o'r "Promptuarium Bibliae"* (Cardiff, 1940).
- ed. and transl., *Brenhinedd y Saesson or The Kings of the Saxons: BM Cotton MS Cleopatra B v and The Black Book of Basingwerk, NLW MS. 7006* (Cardiff, 1971).
- transl., *Brut y Tywysogion or The Chronicle of the Princes: Peniarth MS. 20 Version* (Cardiff, 1952).
- ed. and transl., *Brut y Tywysogion or The Chronicle of the Princes: Red Book of Hergest Version*, 2nd ed. (Cardiff, 1973).
- ed., *Brut y Tywysogion: Peniarth MS. 20* (Cardiff, 1941).
- ed., "'Cronica de Wallia" and Other Documents from Exeter Cathedral Library MS. 3514', *BBCS* 12 (1946), 27–44.
- 'Lhuyd, Edward (1660–1709)', in *DWB*.
- 'Syr Thomas ap Ieuan ap Deicws a'i Gyfaddasiad Cymraeg o "Fasciculus temporum" Werner Rolewinck', *THSC* (1943–4), 35–61.
- 'Triawd Lladin ar y Gorlifiadau', *BBCS* 12 (1948), 79–83.
- Jones, Th., *A History of the County of Brecknock*, enlarged by J. R. Bailey, 4 vols (Brecon, 1909).
- Jones Pierce, T., 'Medieval Settlement in Anglesey', *AASFCT* (1951), 1–33; repr. in his *Medieval Welsh Society: Selected Essays*, ed. J. B. Smith (Cardiff, 1972), pp. 251–87 [references are to the former].
- Kaster, R. A., *Studies on the Text of Macrobius' Saturnalia* (Oxford, 2010).
- Kay, M., 'Prophecy in Welsh Manuscripts', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 26/27 (2006/7), 73–108.
- Kelleher, J. V., 'The Pre-Norman Irish Genealogies', *Irish Historical Studies* 16, no. 62 (1968), 138–53.
- Kempf, D., ed. and transl., *Paul the Deacon: Liber de episcopis Mettensibus* (Paris, 2013).
- Kenney, J. F., *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical. An Introduction and Guide* (New York, 1929).
- Ker, N. R., *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, 2nd ed. (London, 1964).
- *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 5 vols (Oxford, 1969–2002).

Bibliography

- 'Sir John Prise', *The Library*, 5th ser., 10 (1955), 1–24.
- Kermode, P. M. C., *Manx Crosses* (London, 1907; repr. with an introduction by D. M. Wilson, Balgavies, 1994).
- 'A Welsh Inscription in the Isle of Man', *ZcP* 1 (1897), 48–51.
- Keynes, S., 'Between Bede and the Chronicle: London, BL, Cotton Vespasian B. vi, fols. 104–9', in *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, ed. K. O'Brien O'Keeffe and A. Orchard, 2 vols (Toronto, 2005) I, 47–67.
- 'The Control of Kent in the Ninth Century', *Early Medieval Europe* 2 (1993), 111–31.
- 'Welsh Kings at Anglo-Saxon Royal Assemblies (928–55)', *HSJ* 26 (2014), 69–122.
- and M. Lapidge, transl., *Alfred the Great: Asser's 'Life of King Alfred' and Other Contemporary Sources* (Harmondsworth, 1983).
- Kidd, P., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of the Queen's College, Oxford* (Oxford, 2016).
- Kirby, D. P., 'British Dynastic History in the Pre-Viking Period', *BBCS* 27 (1978), 81–114.
- *The Earliest English Kings*, rev. ed. (London, 2000).
- 'Hywel Dda: Anglophile?', *WHR* 8 (1976), 1–13.
- Kitson, P., 'Old English Literacy and the Provenance of Welsh y', in *Yr Hen Iaith: Studies in Early Welsh*, ed. P. Russell (Aberystwyth, 2003), pp. 49–65.
- Klapisch-Zuber, C., *L'ombre des ancêtres: Essai sur l'imaginaire médiéval de la parenté* ([Paris], 2000).
- Koch, J. T., with J. Carey, ed. and transl., *The Celtic Heroic Age: Literary Sources for Ancient Celtic Europe and Early Medieval Ireland and Wales*, 4th ed. (Aberystwyth, 2003).
- *Cunedda, Cynan, Cadwallon, Cynddylan: Four Welsh Poems and Britain 383–655* (Aberystwyth, 2013).
- *The Gododdin of Aneirin: Text and Context from Dark-Age North Britain* (Cardiff, 1997).
- 'Llawr en asseð (CA 932) "The Laureate Hero in the War-Chariot": Some Recollections of the Iron Age in the *Gododdin*', *EC* 24 (1987), 253–78.
- 'The Loss of Final Syllables and Loss of Declension in Brittonic', *BBCS* 30 (1983), 201–33.
- Krusch, B., ed., 'Catalogi Regum Francorum Praetermissi', in *MGH: SS rer. Merov. VII: Passiones Vitaeque Sanctorum Aevi Merovingici cum Supplemento et Appendice*, ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison (Hanover and Leipzig, 1920), pp. 850–5.
- ed., *MGH: SS rer. Merov. II: Fredegarii et Aliorum Chronica. Vitae Sanctorum* (Hanover, 1888).
- de Laborderie, O., 'Genealogiae orbiculatae: Matthew Paris and the Invention of Visual Abstracts of English History', in *Thirteenth Century England XIV: Proceedings of the Aberystwyth and Lampeter Conference, 2011*, ed. J. Burton, P. Schofield and B. Weiler (Woodbridge, 2013), pp. 183–201.
- *Histoire, mémoire et pouvoir: Les genealogies en rouleau des rois d'Angleterre: 1250–1422* (Paris, 2013).
- 'A New Pattern for English History', in *Broken Lines*, ed. Radulescu and Kennedy, pp. 45–61.
- Lambert, P.-Y., 'À propos de la traduction galloise du ms. London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra B.V', in *L'Historia Regum Britannie et les "Bruts" en Europe. Tome I: Traductions, adaptations, réappropriations (xii^e-xv^e siècle)*, ed. H. Tétrel and G. Veyssière (Paris, 2015), pp. 81–103.
- Langton, J., 'Land and People in Late Sixteenth-Century Glyn Cothi and Pennant Forests', *WHR* 28 (2016), 55–86.
- Latham, R. E., D. R. Howlett and R. Ashdowne, ed., *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (London, 1975–2013) <<http://clt.brepolis.net/dmlbs>> [accessed 19 August 2019].
- Le Duc, G., 'Irish Saints in Brittany: Myth or Reality?' in *Studies in Irish Hagiography: Saints and Scholars*, ed. J. Carey, M. Herbert and P. Ó Riain (Dublin, 2001), pp. 93–119.
- Lewis, B. J., '*Bonedd y Saint, Brenhinedd y Saesson*, and Historical Scholarship at Valle Crucis Abbey', in *CMWM*.
- Lewis, C. P., 'Gruffudd ap Cynan and the Normans', in *Gruffudd ap Cynan: A Collaborative Biography*, ed. K. L. Maund (Woodbridge, 1996), pp. 61–77.
- Lewis, C. W., 'The Content of Poetry and the Crisis in the Bardic Tradition', in *A Guide to Welsh Literature: 1282–c. 1550, Volume II*, ed. A. O. H. Jarman and G. R. Hughes, rev. D. Johnston (Cardiff, 1997).
- Lewis, H., ed., *Brut Dingestow* (Cardiff, 1942).
- ed., *Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein o Lyfr Coch Hergest*, 2nd ed. (Cardiff, 1958).
- ed., *Hen Gerddi Crefyddol* (Cardiff, 1931).

Bibliography

- Lhuyd, E., *Archæologia Britannica, giving some account additional to what has been hitherto publish'd, of the languages, histories and customs of the original inhabitants of Great Britain. Vol I: Glossography* (Oxford, 1707).
- *Parochialia: Being a Summary of Answers to "Parochial Queries in Order to a Geographical Dictionary, etc., of Wales"*, ed. R. H. Morris, 3 pts, suppl. to *Arch. Camb.*, 6th ser., 9–11 (1909–11).
- Lindsay, W. M., ed., *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi etymologiarvm sive originvm libri XX*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1911).
- Lloyd, J. E., 'The Age of the Native Princes (400–1282 A.D.)', in *History of Carmarthenshire*, ed. Lloyd I, 113–200.
- 'Carmarthen in Early Norman Times', *Arch. Camb.*, 6th ser., 7 (1907), 281–92.
- ed., *A History of Carmarthenshire*, 2 vols (1935–9).
- *A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest*, 2 vols, 3rd ed. (London, 1939).
- 'Rhodri Mawr', *The Dictionary of National Biography* 48, ed. S. Lee (London, 1896), p. 85.
- *The Welsh Chronicles*, The Sir John Rhŷs Memorial Lecture, British Academy (London, 1928); also pr. as 'The Welsh Chronicles', *PBA* 14 (1928), 369–91 [references are to the former].
- Lloyd, J. Y. W., *The History of the Princes, the Lords Marcher, and the Ancient Nobility of Powys Fadog and the Ancient Lords of Arwystli, Cedewen, and Meirionydd*, 6 vols (London, 1881–7).
- Lloyd, N., 'A History of Welsh Scholarship in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century, with Special Reference to the Writings of John Jones, Gellilyfdy', 2 vols (unpubl. DPhil thesis, Univ. of Oxford, 1970).
- Lloyd-Morgan, C., 'Narratives and Non-Narratives: Aspects of Welsh Arthurian Tradition', *Arthurian Literature XXI: Celtic Arthurian Material*, ed. C. Lloyd-Morgan (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 115–36.
- Loomis, R. S., 'Edward I, Arthurian Enthusiast', *Speculum* 28 (1953), 114–27.
- Loth, J., 'Une généalogie des rois de Strathclyut remontant de la fin du IX^e au V^e siècle', *Revue celtique* 47 (1930), 176–83.
- Lynch, P. I., 'Court Poetry, Power and Politics', in *Welsh King*, ed. Charles-Edwards, Owen and Russell, pp. 167–90.
- Mac Airt, S., and G. Mac Niocaill, ed. and transl., *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131). Part I: Text and Translation* (Dublin, 1983).
- Macalister, R. A. S., *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum*, 2 vols (Dublin, 1945–9).
- ed. and transl., *Lebor Gabála Éirenn: The Book of the Taking of Ireland*, 5 vols, Irish Texts Society 34–5, 39, 41 and 44 (Dublin, 1938–56).
- MacLean, S., *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century: Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge, 2003).
- MacNeill, E., 'Notes on the Laud Genealogies', *ZcP* 8 (1911), 411–18.
- Maddan, F., et al., *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, 7 vols (Oxford, 1895–1953).
- Maître, L., and P. de Berthou, ed., *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé*, 2nd ed. (Rennes and Paris, 1904).
- Malamat, A., 'Tribal Societies: Biblical Genealogies and African Lineage Systems', *Archives européennes de sociologie* 14 (1973), 126–36.
- March, J., *Cassell's Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, rev. ed. (London, 2001).
- de la Mare, A. C., *Catalogue of the Collection of Medieval Manuscripts Bequeathed to the Bodleian Library, Oxford by James P. R. Lyell* (Oxford, 1971).
- Mason, J. F. A., 'Mortimer, Hugh de (d. 1181?)', *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19347>>.
- Matonis, A. T. E., 'Gutun Owain and his Orbit: The Welsh Bardic Grammar and its Cultural Context in Northeast Wales', *ZcP* 54 (2004–5), 154–69.
- Maund, K. L., 'Dynastic Segmentation and Gwynedd c. 950–c. 1000', *SC* 32 (1998), 155–67.
- *Ireland, Wales, and England in the Eleventh Century* (Woodbridge, 1991).
- McCone, K., *Pagan Past and Christian Present in Early Irish Literature* (Maynooth, 1990).
- McDonald, R. A., *Manx Kingship in its Irish Sea Setting, 1187–1229: King Rognvaldr and the Crovan Dynasty* (Dublin, 2007).
- McKee, H., *The Cambridge Juvenius Manuscript Glossed in Latin, Old Welsh and Old Irish: Text and Commentary* (Aberystwyth, 2000).
- 'The Circulation of Books between England and the Celtic Realms', in *Cambridge History*, ed. Gameson, pp. 338–43.

Bibliography

- 'Scribes and Glosses from Dark Age Wales: The Cambridge Juvenius Manuscript', *CMCS* 39 (2000), 1–22.
- 'St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury: Book-Production in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries' (unpubl. PhD thesis, Univ. of Cambridge, 1997).
- McKenna, C., 'Inventing Wales', in *Visions*, ed. Pohl, Gantner and Payne, pp. 137–52.
- *The Medieval Welsh Religious Lyric: Poems of the Gogynfeirdd, 1137–1282* (Belmont, MA, 1991).
- Meaney, A. L., 'Scyld Scefig and the Dating of *Beowulf* – Again', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 71 (1989), 7–40; repr. (with additional postscript) in *Textual and Material Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Thomas Northcote Toller and the Toller Memorial Lectures*, ed. D. Scragg (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 23–73 [references are to the former].
- Megaw, B. R. S., 'The Monastery of St. Maughold', *Proceedings of the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, new ser., 5.2 (1950), 169–80.
- Meyer, K., 'The Expulsion of the Dessi', *Cy* 14 (1901), 101–35.
- 'The Expulsion of the Déssi', *Ériu* 3 (1907), 135–42.
- Meyers, I., ed., *Sedulii Scotii carmina*, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis 117 (Turnhout, 1991).
- Meyrick, S. R., ed. and transl., *Heraldic Visitations of Wales and Part of the March Between the Years 1586 and 1613, Under the Authority of Clarencieux and Norroy, Two Kings at Arms. By Lewys Dwnn, Deputy Herald at Arms*, 2 vols (Llandoverly, 1846).
- Mierow, C. C., transl., *The Gothic History of Jordanes*, rev. ed. (Princeton, NJ and London, 1915).
- Migne, J.-P., ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, 221 vols (Paris, 1844–64).
- Miles, D., *The Lords of Cemais* (Haverfordwest, 1996).
- Miller, M., 'Bede's Use of Gildas', *EHR* 90 (1975), 241–61.
- 'Consular Years in the *Historia Brittonum*', *BBCS* 29 (1980), 17–34.
- 'Date-Guessing and Dyfed', *SC* 12/13 (1977/8), 33–61.
- 'Date-Guessing and Pedigrees', *SC* 10/11 (1975/6), 96–109.
- 'Final Stages in the Construction of the Harleian *Annales Cambriae*', *Journal of Celtic Studies* 4 (2004), 205–11.
- 'Forms and Uses of Pedigrees', *THSC* (1977), 195–206.
- 'The Foundation-Legend of Gwynedd in the Latin Texts', *BBCS* 27 (1976–8), 515–32.
- 'Historicity and the Pedigrees of the Northcountrymen', *BBCS* 26 (1974–6), 255–80.
- 'Royal Pedigrees of the Insular Dark Ages: A Progress Report', *History in Africa* 7 (1980), 201–24.
- Moisl, H., 'Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies and Germanic Oral Tradition', *JMH* 7 (1981), 215–48.
- Mommsen, Th., ed., *C. Iulii Solini Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, rev. ed. (Berlin, 1895).
- ed., *MGH: Auct. ant. V, pars prior: Iordanis Romana et Getica* (Berlin, 1893).
- Monroe, W. H., 'A Roll-Manuscript of Peter of Poitiers' Compendium', *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 65 (1978), 92–107.
- 'Two Medieval Genealogical Roll-Chronicles in the Bodleian Library', *Bodleian Library Record* 10 (1981), 215–21.
- Moore, P. S., *The Works of Peter of Poitiers, Master in Theology and Chancellor of Paris (1193–1205)* (Notre Dame, IN, 1936).
- Morgan, P., 'Glamorgan and the Red Book', *Morgannwg* 22 (1987), 42–60.
- Morgan, R., ed., 'A Powys Lay Subsidy Roll 1293', *Montgomeryshire Collections* 71 (1983), 91–112.
- 'The Territorial Divisions of Medieval Montgomeryshire', *Montgomeryshire Collections* 69 (1981), 9–44; 70 (1982), 11–39.
- Morris, J., *The Age of Arthur: A History of the British Isles from 350 to 650* (London, 1973).
- Mynors, R. A. B., R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, ed. and transl., *William of Malmesbury: Gesta regum Anglorum*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1998–9).
- Nelson, J. L., 'Inauguration Rituals', in *Early Medieval Kingship*, ed. P. H. Sawyer and I. N. Wood (Leeds, 1977), pp. 50–71; repr. in her *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1986), pp. 283–307.
- Nicholson, E. W. B., 'The Dynasty of Cunedag and the "Harleian Genealogies"', *Cy* 21 (1908), 63–104.
- *Keltic Researches: Studies in the History and Distribution of the Ancient Goidelic Language and Peoples* (London, 1904).
- Novokhatko, A. A., *The Invetives of Sallust and Cicero: Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (Berlin and New York, 2009).

Bibliography

- O'Brien, M. A., ed., with introduction by J. V. Kelleher, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae: Vol. 1* (Dublin, 1976).
- O'Brien O'Keefe, K., ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition. Volume 5: MS C* (Woodbridge, 2001).
- Ó Cathasaigh, T., 'The Déisi and Dyfed', *Éigse* 20 (1984), 1–33.
- Ó Corráin, D., 'The Book of Ballymote: A Genealogical Treasure', in *Book of Ballymote*, ed. R. Ó hUiginn (Dublin, 2018), pp. 1–31.
- *Clavis litterarum Hibernensium: Medieval Irish Books & Texts (c. 400 – c. 1600)*, 3 vols (Turnhout, 2017).
- 'Creating the Past: The Early Irish Genealogical Tradition', *Peritia* 12 (1998), 177–208.
- 'Historical Need and Literary Narrative', in *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Celtic Studies, Oxford 1983*, ed. D. E. Evans, J. G. Griffith and E. M. Jope (Oxford, 1986), pp. 141–58.
- 'Irish Origin Legends and Genealogy: Recurrent Aetiologies', in *History and Heroic Tale: A Symposium*, ed. T. Nyberg *et al.* (Odense, 1985), pp. 51–96.
- Ó Cróinín, D., *Early Medieval Ireland, 400–1200*, 2nd ed. (London and New York, 2017).
- 'The Irish as Mediators of Antique Culture on the Continent', in *Science in Western and Eastern Civilisation in Carolingian Times*, ed. P. Butzer and D. Lohrmann (Basel, 1993), pp. 41–52.
- O Daly, M., ed. and transl., *Cath Maige Mucrama: The Battle of Mag Mucrama*, Irish Texts Society 50 (London, 1975).
- Ó Muraile, N., 'Irish Genealogical Collections: The Scottish Dimension', in *Celtic Connections: Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Celtic Studies*, ed. R. Black, W. Gillies and R. Ó Maolalaigh, 2 vols (East Linton, 1999–2005) I, 251–64.
- 'The Irish Genealogies — An Overview and Some Desiderata', *Celtica* 26 (2010), 128–45.
- *Irish Genealogies: Irish History's Poor Relation?* (London, 2016).
- Ó Murchadha, D., 'Rawlinson B. 502: Dating the Genealogies', in *Cín Chille Cúile: Texts, Saints and Places: Essays in Honour of Pádraig Ó Riain*, ed. J. Carey, M. Herbert and K. Murray (Aberystwyth, 2004), pp. 316–33.
- Ó Riain, P., ed., *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Dublin, 1985).
- *Lebor Gabála Érenn: The Book of the Taking of Ireland. Part VI: Index of Names*, Irish Texts Society 63 (London, 2009).
- Oexle, O. G., 'Die Karolinger und die Stadt des heiligen Arnulf', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 1 (1967), 252–79.
- Oldfather, C. H., *et al.*, transl., *Diodorus of Sicily: The Library of History*, 12 vols (Cambridge, MA, 1933–67).
- Olson, L., *Early Monasteries in Cornwall* (Woodbridge, 1989).
- Owen, A. P., '"An Audacious Man of Beautiful Words": Ieuan Gethin (c.1390–c.1470)', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 34 (2014), 1–34.
- ed., *Gwaith Ieuan Gethin* (Aberystwyth, 2013).
- 'Mynegai i Enwau Priod ym Marddoniaeth Beirdd y Tywysogion', *LIC* 20 (1997), 25–45.
- Owen, D. H., 'Tenorial and Economic Developments in North Wales in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *WHR* 6 (1972), 117–42.
- and J. B. Smith, 'Government and Society 1283–1536', in *History of Merioneth. Volume II: The Middle Ages*, ed. J. B. Smith and L. B. Smith (Cardiff, 2001), pp. 60–136.
- Owen, E., *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Relating to Wales in the British Museum*, 4 vols (London, 1900–22).
- 'A Note on the Identification of the "Bleheris" of Wauchier de Denain', *Revue celtique* 32 (1911), 5–17.
- Owen, H., ed., *The Description of Penbrokeshire [sic] by George Owen of Henllys, Lord of Kemes*, 4 vols pag. as 2 (London, 1892–1936).
- *Old Pembroke Families in the Ancient County Palatine of Pembroke* (London, 1902).
- Owen, M. E., 'Noddwyr a Beirdd', in *Beirdd a Thywysogion: Barddoniaeth Llŷs yng Nghymru, Iwerddon a'r Alban*, ed. B. F. Roberts and M. E. Owen (Cardiff, 1996), pp. 75–107.
- 'Prolegomena i Astudiaeth Lawn o Lawysgrif NLW 3026c, Mostyn 88 a'i Harwyddocad', in *Cyfoeth y Testun: Ysgrifau ar Lenyddiaeth Cymraeg yr Oesoedd Canol*, ed. I. Daniel *et al.* (Cardiff, 2003), pp. 349–84.
- 'Royal Propaganda: Stories from the Law-Texts', in *Welsh King*, ed. Charles-Edwards, Owen and Russell, pp. 224–54.

Bibliography

- 'Y Trioedd Arbennig', *BBCS* 24 (1972), 434–50.
- Padel, O. J., 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and Cornwall', *CMCS* 8 (1984), 1–28.
- Palmer, A. N., *A History of Ancient Tenures of Land in North Wales and the Marches* (Wrexham, 1885).
- 'Welsh Settlements, East of Offa's Dyke, during the Eleventh Century', *Cy* 10 (1889), 29–45.
- and E. Owen, *A History of Ancient Tenures of Land in North Wales and the Marches*, 2nd ed. ([printed for the authors], 1910).
- Panayotova, S., 'Peter of Poitiers's *Compendium in Genealogia Christi*: The Early English Copies', in *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting*, ed. R. Gameson and H. Leyser (Oxford, 2001), pp. 327–41.
- Parry, B. R., 'Hugh Nanney Hên (c. 1546–1623), Squire of Nannau', *Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society* 5 (1967), 185–206.
- Parry, J. J., ed. and transl., *Brut y Brenhinedd: Cotton Cleopatra Version* (Cambridge, MA, 1937).
- Parry, T., *Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg hyd 1900*, 3rd ed. (Cardiff, 1953).
- Parry-Williams, T. H., 'Salesbury (Salisbury), Henry (1561–1637?)', in *DWB*.
- Payne, F. G., 'John Lewis, Llynwene, Historian and Antiquary', *The Radnorshire Society Transactions* 30 (1960), 4–16.
- Pearce, S. M., 'The Traditions of the Royal King-list of Dumnonia', *THSC* (1971–2), 128–39.
- Pender, S., 'Two Unpublished Versions of the Expulsion of the Déssi', in *Féilscribhinn Torna: Essays and Studies Presented to Professor Tadhg Ua Donnchadha (Torna) on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday, September 4th, 1944*, ed. S. Pender (Cork, 1947), pp. 209–17.
- Phillimore, E., ed., 'The *Annales Cambriae* and the Old-Welsh Genealogies from *Harleian MS.* 3859', *Cy* 9 (1888), 141–83.
- 'Errata, &c., in vol. ix', *Cy* 10 (1889), 246–8.
- ed., 'A Fragment from Hengwrt MS. No. 202', *Cy* 7 (1886), 89–154.
- 'Notes on Place-Names in English Maelor', *Bye-Gones Relating to Wales and the Border Counties*, 2nd ser., 1 (1889–90), 478–85 and 532–7.
- with J. G. Evans, ed., 'Pedigrees from Jesus College MS. 20', *Cy* 8 (1887), 83–92.
- 'Welsh Pedigrees', *Bye-Gones Relating to Wales and the Border Counties*, 1st ser., 8 (1886–7), 474–5.
- Phillips, T. O., 'Bywyd a Gwaith Meurig Dafydd (Llanisien) a Llywelyn Sion (Llangewydd)', 2 vols (unpubl. MA thesis, Univ. College of Wales, Cardiff, 1937).
- Piggott, S., 'The Sources of Geoffrey of Monmouth', *Antiquity* 15 (1941), 269–86 and 305–19.
- Pohl, W., 'Ethnic Names and Identities in the British Isles: A Comparative Perspective', in *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century: An Ethnographic Perspective*, ed. J. Hines (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 7–40.
- 'Genealogy: A Comparative Perspective from the Early Medieval West', in *Meanings of Community Across Medieval Eurasia*, ed. E. Hovden, C. Lutter and W. Pohl (Leiden, 2016), pp. 232–69.
- 'Introduction: Ethnicity, Religion and Empire', in *Visions*, ed. Pohl, Gantner and Payne, pp. 1–23.
- 'Introduction — Strategies of Identification: A Methodological Profile', in *Strategies of Identification: Ethnicity and Religion in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. W. Pohl and G. Heydemann (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 1–64.
- 'Telling the Difference: Signs of Ethnic Identity', in *Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300–800*, ed. W. Pohl and H. Reimitz (Leiden, 1998), pp. 17–69.
- , C. Gantner and R. Payne, ed., *Visions of Community in the Post-Roman World: The West, Byzantium and the Islamic World, 300–1100* (Farnham, 2012).
- Poole, R. L., and M. Bateson, ed., *Index Britanniae Scriptorum: John Bale's Index of British and Other Writers*, with an intro. by C. Brett and J. P. Carley (Cambridge, 1990).
- Poulin, J.-C., 'La circulation de l'information dans la vie ancienne de S. Samson de Dol et la question de sa datation', in *St Samson of Dol and the Earliest History of Brittany, Cornwall and Wales*, ed. L. Olson (Woodbridge, 2017), pp. 37–82.
- *L'hagiographie bretonne du haut Moyen Âge: répertoire raisonné* (Ostfildern, 2009).
- Powel, D., ed., *The Historie of Cambria, now called Wales: A Part of the Most Famous Yland of Brytaine* (London, 1584).
- Powel, T., ed., 'Ebostol y Sul', *Cy* 8 (1887), 162–72.
- Powell, N. M. W., 'Genealogical Narratives and Kingship in Medieval Wales', in *Broken Lines*, ed. Radulescu and Kennedy, pp. 175–202.

Bibliography

- Prestwich, M., *Edward I* (London, 1988).
- Pringle, K. D., 'The Kings of Demetia', *THSC* (1970–1), 70–6 and 140–4.
- Pryce, H., with C. Insley, ed., *The Acts of Welsh Rulers 1120–1283*, corrected ed. (Cardiff, 2010).
- 'British or Welsh? National Identity in Twelfth-Century Wales', *EHR* 116 (2001), 775–801.
- 'Chronicling and its Contexts in Medieval Wales', in *CMWM*.
- 'The Church of Trefeglwys and the End of the "Celtic" Charter Tradition in Twelfth-Century Wales', *CMCS* 25 (1993), 15–54.
- 'The Dynasty of Deheubarth and the Church of St Davids', in *St David*, ed. Evans and Wooding, pp. 305–16.
- 'Yr Eglwys yn Oes yr Arglwydd Rhys', in *Yr Arglwydd Rhys*, ed. N. A. Jones and H. Pryce (Cardiff, 1996), pp. 145–77.
- 'Lawbooks and Literacy in Medieval Wales', *Speculum* 75 (2000), 29–67.
- 'Patrons and Patronage among the Cistercians in Wales', *Arch. Camb.* 154 (2005), 81–95.
- 'The Prologues to the Welsh Lawbooks', *BBCS* 33 (1986), 151–82.
- Punt, J., 'Politics of Genealogies in the New Testament', *Neotestamentica* 47 (2013), 373–98.
- Quaghebeur, J., 'Aristocratie et monachisme autour de Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé aux XI^e et XII^e siècle', in *Sous le règne de saint Benoît: Structures monastiques et sociétés en France du Moyen Âge à l'époque moderne*, École pratique des hautes études, Hautes études médiévales et modernes 47 (Genève, 1982), pp. 199–211.
- 'Lieux de pouvoir, symbolique et mémoire institutionnelle en Cornouaille (IX^e–XII^e siècle)', in *Les lieux de pouvoir au Moyen Âge en Normandie et sur ses marges*, ed. A.-M. Flambard-Héricher, Tables rondes du CRAHM 2 (Caen, 2006), pp. 227–41.
- Quinn, J., 'From Orality to Literacy in Medieval Iceland', in *Old Icelandic Literature and Society*, ed. M. Clunies Ross (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 30–60.
- Radford, C. A. R., and W. J. Hemp, 'Pennant Melangell: The Church and the Shrine', *Arch. Camb.* 108 (1959), 81–113.
- Radulescu, R. L., and E. D. Kennedy, ed., *Broken Lines: Genealogical Literature in Late-Medieval Britain and France* (Turnhout, 2008).
- Rajsic, J., 'Britain and Albion in the Mythical Histories of Medieval England' (unpubl. DPhil thesis, Univ. of Oxford, 2013).
- 'Genealogies', in *The Encyclopaedia of Medieval British Literature*, ed. S. Echard and R. Rouse, 4 vols (Hoboken, NJ, 2017) II, 834–40.
- 'Looking for Arthur in Short Histories and Genealogies of England's Kings', *The Review of English Studies*, new ser., 68, no. 285 (2017), 448–70.
- "'Par ceste figure l'en poet savoer": Two Genealogical Roll Chronicles', in *Vernacular Literary Theory from the French of Medieval England: Texts and Translations, c. 1120–c. 1450*, ed. J. Wogan-Browne, T. Fenster and D. W. Russell (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 184–203.
- Redknapp, M., J. M. Lewis and N. Edwards, *A Corpus of Early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculpture in Wales*, 3 vols (Cardiff, 2007–13).
- Rees, W., *An Historical Atlas of Wales from Early to Modern Times* (Cardiff, 1951).
- Rees, W. J., ed. and transl., *Lives of the Cambro British Saints* (Llandover, 1853).
- Reeve, M. D., 'Editorial Opportunities and Obligations', *Revista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 123 (1995), 479–99.
- 'The Transmission of the *Historia Regum Britanniae*', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 1 (1991), 73–117.
- 'The Transmission of Vegetius's *Epitoma rei militaris*', *Ævum* 74 (2000), 243–354.
- 'Two Manuscripts at the Escorial', in *Actas del VIII Congreso Español de Estudios Clásicos*, 3 vols (Madrid, 1994) II, 829–39.
- and N. Wright, ed. and transl., *Geoffrey of Monmouth: The History of the Kings of Britain. An Edition and Translation of De gestis Britonum [Historia Regum Britanniae]* (Woodbridge, 2007).
- Reimitz, H., 'Anleitung zur Interpretation: Schrift und Genealogie zur Karolingerzeit', in *Vom Nutzen des Schreibens: soziales Gedächtnis, Herrschaft und Besitz*, ed. W. Pohl and P. Herold (Vienna, 2002), pp. 167–81.
- *History, Frankish Identity and the Framing of Western Ethnicity, 550–850* (Cambridge, 2015).
- 'The Providential Past: Visions of Frankish Identity in the Early Medieval History of Gregory of Tours' *Historiae* (Sixth–Ninth Century)', in *Visions*, ed. Pohl, Gantner and Payne, pp. 109–35.
- Rejhon, A. C., *Cân Rolant: The Medieval Welsh Version of the Song of Roland* (Berkeley, 1984).

Bibliography

- Remfry, P. M., 'Cadwallon ap Madog Rex de Delvain 1140–1179 and the Reestablishment of Local Autonomy in Cynllibwg', *The Radnorshire Society Transactions* 65 (1995), 11–32.
- *The Native Welsh Dynasties of Rhwng Gwy a Hafren, 1066 to 1282* (Castle Studies Research & Publishing, 2010).
- Reusens, E. H. J., *Éléments de paléographie* (Louvain, 1899).
- Reynolds, L. D., 'Appendix Sallustiana', in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L. D. Reynolds (Oxford, 1983), pp. 349–52.
- Reynolds, S., 'Medieval "Origines Gentium" and the Community of the Realm', *History* 68 (1983), 375–90.
- Rhŷs, J., 'The Irish Invasions of Wales and Dumnonia', *Arch. Camb.*, 5th ser., 9, no. 33 (1892), 56–73.
- 'Note on Guriat', *ZcP* 1 (1897), 52–3.
- and J. G. Evans, ed., *The Text of the Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest* (Oxford, 1890).
- Richards, M., 'The Carmarthenshire Possessions of Talylychau', in *Carmarthenshire Studies: Essays Presented to Major Francis Jones*, ed. T. Barnes and N. Yates (Carmarthen, 1974), pp. 110–21.
- 'Early Welsh Territorial Suffixes', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 95 (1965), 205–12.
- 'Gwrinydd, Gorfynydd and Llyswyrny', *BBCS* 18 (1958–60), 383–6.
- 'The "Lichfield" Gospels (Book of "Saint Chad")', *NLWJ* 18 (1973), 135–46.
- *Welsh Administrative and Territorial Units: Medieval and Modern* (Cardiff, 1969).
- Richter, M., *Giraldus Cambrensis: The Growth of the Welsh Nation* (Aberystwyth, 1972).
- 'A New Edition of the So-called *Vita Davidis Secundi*', *BBCS* 22 (1966–8), 245–9.
- Roberts, B. F., '*Breuddwyd Maxen Wledig*: Why? Where?', in *Heroic Poets and Poetic Heroes in Celtic Tradition: A Festschrift for Patrick K. Ford*, ed. J. F. Nagy and L. E. Jones, *CSANA Yearbook* 3–4 (Dublin, 2005), pp. 303–14.
- ed., *Breudwyd Maxen Wledic* (Dublin, 2005).
- ed., *Brut y Brenhinedd: Llanstephan MS. 1 Version* (Dublin, 1971).
- 'Fersiwn Dingestow o Brut y Brenhinedd', *BBCS* 27 (1976–8), 331–61.
- 'Glosau Cymraeg *Historia Regum Britanniae* Dulyn, Coleg y Drindod, llsgr. 515 (E.5.12)', *SC* 37 (2003), 75–80.
- 'Hopcyn ap Tomas ab Einion (fl. 1337–1408)', *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/48547>>.
- 'Pen Penwaedd a Phentir Gafran', *LIC* 13 (1980–1), 278–81.
- 'The Red Book of Hergest Version of Brut y Brenhinedd', *SC* 12/13 (1977/8), 147–86.
- 'The Treatment of Personal Names in the Early Welsh Versions of *Historia Regum Britanniae*', *BBCS* 25 (1973), 274–90.
- 'Un o Lawysgrifau Hopcyn ap Tomas o Ynys Dawe', *BBCS* 22 (1966–8), 223–8.
- 'Where Were the Four Branches of the Mabinogi Written?', in *The Individual in Celtic Literatures*, ed. J. F. Nagy, *CSANA Yearbook* 1 (Dublin, 2001), pp. 61–73.
- '*Ystoriaeu Brenhinedd Ynys Brydeyn*: A Fourteenth-Century Welsh Brut', in *Narrative in Celtic Tradition: Essays in Honor of Edgar M. Slotkin*, ed. J. F. Eska, *CSANA Yearbook* 8–9 (Hamilton, NY, 2011), pp. 215–27.
- Roberts, E. P., 'The Renaissance in the Vale of Clwyd', *Flintshire Historical Society Publications* 15 (1954–5), 52–63.
- 'Sion Brwynog (d. 1567?)', in *DWB*.
- Roberts, G., '"Wyrion Eden": The Anglesey Descendants of Ednyfed Vychan in the Fourteenth Century', *AASFACT* (1951), 34–72; repr. in his *Aspects of Welsh History* (Cardiff, 1969), pp. 179–214 [references are to the former].
- Roberts, T., 'Llawysgrifau Gutun Owain, a Thymor ei Oes', *BBCS* 15 (1952–4), 99–109.
- Robinson, J. A., ed., 'A Fragment of the Life of St Cungar', *Journal of Theological Studies* 20 (1918/19), 97–108.
- 'The Lives of St Cungar and St Gildas', *Journal of Theological Studies* 22 (1920/21), 15–22.
- Robinson, P. R., 'The "Booklet": A Self-Contained Unit in Composite Manuscripts', *Codicologica* 3 (1980), 46–69.
- Rodway, S., 'Cymraeg vs. Kymraeg: Dylanwad Ffrangeg ar Orgraff Cymraeg Canol?', *SC* 43 (2009), 122–33.
- 'A Dateable Development in Medieval Literary Welsh', *CMCS* 36 (1998), 71–94.
- *Dating Medieval Welsh Literature: Evidence from the Verbal System* (Aberystwyth, 2013).
- 'The Where, Who, When and Why of Medieval Welsh Prose Texts: Some Methodological Considerations', *SC* 41 (2007), 47–89.

Bibliography

- Rolfe, J. C., ed. and transl., *Suetonius*, 2 vols (London, 1914).
- Rooney, C. M., 'The Manuscripts of the Works of Gerald of Wales' (unpubl. PhD thesis, Univ. of Cambridge, 2005).
- Round, J. H., 'The Lords of Kemes', in his *Family Origins and Other Studies*, ed. W. Page (London, 1930), pp. 73–102.
- 'The Origin of the Carews', *The Ancestor* 5 (1903), 19–53.
- Rouse, R. A., 'Inscribing Lineage: Writing and Rewriting the Maude Roll', in *Migrations: Medieval Manuscripts in New Zealand*, ed. S. Hollis and A. Barratt (Newcastle, 2007), pp. 108–22.
- Rowland, J., 'An Early Old Welsh Orthographic Feature', *BBCS* 29 (1980–2), 513–20.
- ed. and transl., *Early Welsh Saga Poetry* (Cambridge, 1990).
- 'The Family of Cyndrwyn and Cynddylan', *BBCS* 29 (1981), 526–7.
- 'The Manuscript Tradition of the Red Book *Englynion*', *SC* 18/19 (1983/4), 79–95.
- Rowlands, E. I., 'Bardic Lore and Education', *BBCS* 32 (1985), 143–55.
- ed., with J. M. Williams, *Gwaith Rhys Brydydd a Rhisiart ap Rhys* (Cardiff, 1976).
- Ruffel, P., and J. Soubiran, 'Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite de Vitruve', *Pallas* 9 (1960), 3–154.
- Russell, P., *Celtic Word-Formation: The Velar Suffixes* (Dublin, 1990).
- 'The *Englyn* to St Padarn Revisited', *CMCS* 63 (2012), 1–14.
- 'Old Welsh *Dinacat*, *Cunedag*, *Tutagual*: Fossilised Phonology in Brittonic Personal Names', in *Indo-European Perspectives in Honour of Anna Morpurgo Davies*, ed. J. H. W. Penney (Oxford, 2004), pp. 447–60.
- '*Priuillegium Sancti Teliaui and Braint Teilo*', *SC* 50 (2016), 41–68.
- *The Prologues to the Mediaeval Welsh Lawbooks*, Basic Texts for Brittonic History 3 (Cambridge, 2004).
- 'Scribal (In)competence in Thirteenth-Century North Wales: The Orthography of the Black Book of Chirk (Peniarth MS 29)', *NLWJ* 29 (1995–6), 129–76.
- 'Scribal (In)consistency in Thirteenth-Century South Wales: The Orthography of the Black Book of Carmarthen', *SC* 43 (2009), 135–74.
- ed. and transl., *Vita Griffini filii Conani: The Medieval Latin Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan* (Cardiff, 2005).
- *Welsh Law in Medieval Anglesey: British Library Harleian MS 1796 (Latin C)* (Cambridge, 2011).
- 'What Did Medieval Welsh Scribes Do? The Scribe of the Dingestow Court MS', *CMCS* 37 (1999), 79–96.
- Sabeian, D., and S. Teuscher, 'Kinship in Europe: A New Approach to Long-term Development', in *Kinship in Europe: Approaches to Long-term Development (1300–1900)*, ed. D. W. Sabeian, S. Teuscher and J. Mathieu (Oxford, 2007), pp. 1–32.
- Schoene, A., ed., *Eusebi Chronicorum Libri Duo*, 2 vols (Weidmann, 1875).
- Scott, J., ed. and transl., *The Early History of Glastonbury: An Edition, Translation and Study of William of Malmesbury's De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie* (Woodbridge, 1981).
- Scowcroft, R. M., 'Leabhar Gabhála Part I: The Growth of the Text', *Ériu* 38 (1987), 81–142.
- 'Leabhar Gabhála Part II: The Growth of the Tradition', *Ériu* 39 (1988), 1–66.
- Shanzer, D., 'A New Edition of Sedulius Scottus' *Carmina*', *Medium Aevum* 63 (1994), 104–17.
- Sharpe, R., *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540* (Turnhout, 1997).
- 'The Setting of St Augustine's Translation, 1091', in *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints and Scholars 1066–1109*, ed. R. Eales and R. Sharpe (London, 1995), pp. 1–13.
- 'The Thriving of Dalriada', in *Kings, Clerics and Chronicles in Scotland, 500–1297: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson on the Occasion of Her Ninetieth Birthday*, ed. S. Taylor (Dublin, 2000), pp. 47–61.
- and J. R. Davies, ed. and transl., 'Rhygyfarch's *Life* of St David', in *St David*, ed. Evans and Wooding, pp. 107–55.
- Siddons, M. P., *The Development of Welsh Heraldry*, 4 vols (Aberystwyth, 1991–2006).
- 'Peter Bartrum', *SC* 43 (2009), 221–2.
- 'Using Peter Bartrum's *Welsh Genealogies*', in *Second Stages in Researching Welsh Ancestry*, ed. J. and S. Rowlands (Ramsbottom and Aberystwyth, 1999), pp. 134–46.
- *Welsh Genealogies A.D. 1500–1600* (Aberystwyth, 2017).
- *Welsh Pedigree Rolls* (Aberystwyth, 1996).
- 'Welsh Pedigree Rolls — Additions and Corrections', *NLWJ* 32 (2002), 433–42.

- ‘*Welsh Pedigree Rolls: Further Additions and Corrections*’, *NLWJ* 36 (2016), 266–70 <https://www.library.wales/fileadmin/fileadmin/docs_gwefan/amdanom_ni/cylchgrawn_llgc/cgr_erth_XXXVI_rhif3_2016_1.pdf> [accessed 19 August 2019].
- Sims-Williams, P., *The Book of Llandaf as a Historical Source* (Woodbridge, 2019).
- ed., *Buchedd Beuno: The Middle Welsh Life of St Beuno* (Dublin, 2018).
- *The Celtic Inscriptions of Britain: Phonology and Chronology, c. 400–1200* (Oxford, 2003).
- ‘Clas Beuno and the Four Branches of the Mabinogi’, in *150 Jahre “Mabinogion”: Deutsch-walisische Kulturbeziehungen*, ed. B. Maier and S. Zimmer (Tübingen, 2001), pp. 111–27.
- ‘Dating the Transition to Neo-Brittonic: Phonology and History, 400–600’, in *Britain 400–600: Language and History*, ed. A. Bammesberger and A. Wollmann (Heidelberg, 1990), pp. 217–61.
- ‘The Emergence of Old Welsh, Cornish and Breton Orthography, 600–800: The Evidence of Archaic Old Welsh’, *BBCS* 38 (1991), 20–86.
- ‘Historical Need and Literary Narrative: A Caveat from Ninth-Century Wales’, *WHR* 17 (1994), 1–40.
- *Irish Influence on Medieval Welsh Literature* (Oxford, 2011).
- ‘The Kings of Morgannwg and Gwent in Asser’s *Life of King Alfred*’, *CMCS* 74 (2017), 67–81.
- ‘Powys and Early Welsh Poetry’, *CMCS* 67 (2014), 33–54.
- ‘The Provenance of the Llywarch Hen Poems: A Case for Llan-gors, Brycheiniog’, *CMCS* 26 (1993), 27–63.
- *Rhai Addasiadau Cymraeg Canol o Sieffre o Fynwy*, Darlith Goffa J. E. Caerwyn a Gwen Williams 2010 (Aberystwyth, 2011).
- ‘The Significance of the Irish Personal Names in *Culhwch ac Olwen*’, *BBCS* 29 (1980–2), 600–20.
- ‘Some Functions of Origin Stories in Early Medieval Wales’, in *History and Heroic Tale: A Symposium*, ed. T. Nyberg et al. (Odense, 1985), pp. 97–131; repr. with the same pag. in his *Britain and Early Christian Europe: Studies in Early Medieval History and Culture* (Aldershot, 1995), chap. III.
- Sisam, K., ‘Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies’, *PBA* 39 (1953), 287–348; repr. in *British Academy Papers on Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. E. G. Stanley (Oxford, 1990), pp. 145–204 [references are to the former].
- Skene, W. F., *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1868).
- ed., *Johannis de Fordun Chronica Gentis Scotorum* (Edinburgh, 1871).
- Slack, W. J., ed., *The Lordship of Oswestry 1393–1607* (Shrewsbury, 1951).
- Smith, D. M., *The Heads of Religious Houses in England and Wales, III, 1377–1540* (Cambridge, 2008).
- Smith, J. Beverley, ‘The Biography of Gruffudd ap Cynan: Literary Form and Historical Interpretation’, *WHR* 29 (2019), 337–76.
- ‘The “Cronica de Wallia” and the Dynasty of Dinefwr’, *BBCS* 20 (1964), 261–82.
- ‘Dynastic Succession in Medieval Wales’, *BBCS* 33 (1986), 199–232.
- ‘Historical Writing in Medieval Wales: The Composition of *Brenhinedd y Saesson*’, *SC* 42 (2008), 55–86.
- ‘The Kingdom of Morgannwg and the Norman Conquest of Glamorgan’, in *Glamorgan County History. Volume III: The Middle Ages*, ed. T. B. Pugh (Cardiff, 1971), pp. 1–43.
- *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd: Prince of Wales*, new ed. (Cardiff, 2014).
- ‘The Middle March in the Thirteenth Century’, *BBCS* 24 (1970–2), 77–93.
- ‘The Origins of the Revolt of Rhys ap Maredudd’, *BBCS* 21 (1964–6), 151–63.
- *The Sense of History in Medieval Wales / Yr Ymwybod â Hanes yng Nghymru yn yr Oesoedd Canol* (Aberystwyth, 1989).
- ‘The Succession to Welsh Princely Inheritance: The Evidence Reconsidered’, in *The British Isles, 1100–1500: Comparisons, Contrasts and Connections*, ed. R. R. Davies (Edinburgh, 1988), pp. 64–88.
- and B. H. St. John O’Neill, *Talley Abbey, Carmarthenshire* (London, 1967).
- Smith, J. Byron, *Walter Map and the Matter of Britain* (Philadelphia, 2017).
- Smith, L. T., ed., *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1536–1539*, 5 vols (London, 1964).
- Smith, Ll. B., ‘A Contribution to the History of *Galanas* in Late-medieval Wales’, *SC* 43 (2009), 87–94.
- ‘Family, Land and Inheritance in Late Medieval Wales: A Case Study of Llannerch in the Lordship of Dyffryn Clwyd’, *WHR* 27 (2014), 417–58.

Bibliography

- Smith, R., ed., 'The Extent of Anglesey, 1284', *AASFCT* (2009), 70–118.
- Sowerby, R., 'A Family and its Saint in the *Vita Prima Samsonis*', in *St Samson of Dol and the Earliest History of Brittany, Cornwall and Wales*, ed. L. Olson (Woodbridge, 2017), pp. 19–36.
- Spiegel, G. M., 'Genealogy: Form and Function in Medieval Historical Narrative', *History and Theory* 22 (1983), 43–53; repr. as 'Genealogy: Form and Function in Medieval Historiography', in her *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore and London, 1997), pp. 99–110.
- Squibb, G. D., 'The Deputy Heralds of Chester', *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society* 56 (1969), 23–36.
- Stacey, R. C., 'King, Queen, and *Edling* in the Laws of Court', in *Welsh King*, ed. Charles-Edwards, Owen and Russell, pp. 29–62.
- Stackpole, E. S., *History and Genealogy of the Stackpole Family*, 2nd ed. (Lewiston, 1920).
- Stanclicke, C., 'The Irish Tradition in Northumbria after the Synod of Whitby', in *The Lindisfarne Gospels: New Perspectives*, ed. R. Gameson (Leiden, 2017), pp. 19–42.
- Stephenson, D., *The Aberconwy Chronicle*, Kathleen Hughes Memorial Lectures on Medieval Welsh History 2 (Cambridge, 2002).
- 'Entries Relating to Arwystli and Powys in the Welsh Chronicles, 1128–32', *Montgomeryshire Collections* 99 (2011), 45–51.
- "'Greater Arwystli" in the Early Twelfth Century: Evidence and Implications', *Montgomeryshire Collections* 97 (2009), 1–8.
- 'Mawl Hywel ap Goronwy: Dating and Context', *CMCS* 57 (2009), 41–9.
- *Medieval Powys: Kingdom, Principality and Lordships, 1132–1293* (Woodbridge, 2016).
- *Political Power in Medieval Gwynedd* (Cardiff, 2014).
- 'The Politics of Powys Wenwynwyn in the Thirteenth Century', *CMCS* 7 (1984), 39–61.
- 'The "Resurgence" of Powys in the Late Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries', *ANS* 30 (2007), 182–95.
- review of *AWR*, *Montgomeryshire Collections* 92 (2004), 149–51.
- 'The Rulers of Gwynedd and Powys', in *Monastic Wales: New Approaches*, ed. J. Burton and K. Stöber (Cardiff, 2013), pp. 89–102.
- 'Welsh Chronicles' Accounts of the Mid-Twelfth Century', *CMCS* 56 (2008), 45–57.
- 'Welsh Lords in Shropshire: Gruffydd ap Iorwerth Goch and his Descendants in the Thirteenth Century', *Shropshire History and Archaeology* 77 (2002), 32–7.
- Stevenson, W. H., ed., *Asser's Life of King Alfred, together with the Annals of St Neots Erroneously Ascribed to Asser*, with additional article by D. Whitelock (Oxford, 1959).
- Stone, E. L. G., ed., *Anglo-Scottish Relations 1174–1328: Some Selected Documents*, repr. with corrections (Oxford, 1970).
- Stubbs, W., ed., *De gestis regum anglorum libri quinque: Historiae novellae libri tres*, 2 vols (London, 1887).
- Suppe, F., 'Interpreter Families and Anglo-Welsh Relations in the Shropshire-Powys Marches in the Twelfth Century', *ANS* 30 (2007), 196–212.
- 'Who was Rhys Sais? Some Comments on Anglo-Welsh Relations before 1066', *HSJ* 7 (1995), 63–73.
- Tahkokallio, J., 'Monks, Clerks, and King Arthur: Reading Geoffrey of Monmouth in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries' (unpubl. PhD thesis, Univ. of Helsinki, 2013).
- Tanguy, B., 'D'Anaurot à Kemper Ellé – La *Vita sancti Gurthierni*', in *L'abbaye Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé des origines à la Révolution*, ed. B. Tanguy (Brest, 1999), pp. 17–33.
- ed. and transl., 'De la vie de saint Cadoc à celle de saint Gurtiern', *EC* 26 (1989), 159–85.
- Tanner, T., *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica* (London, 1748).
- Tatlock, J. S. P., 'Caradoc of Llancarfan', *Speculum* 13 (1938), 139–52.
- 'The Dates of the Arthurian Saints' Legends', *Speculum* 14 (1939), 345–65.
- *The Legendary History of Britain: Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae and its Early Vernacular Versions* (New York, 1950).
- Taylor, S., ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition. Volume 4: MS B* (Cambridge, 1983).
- Tebbit, S., 'Papal Pronouncements on Legitimate Lordship and the Formulation of Nationhood in Early Fourteenth-Century Scottish Writings', *JMH* 40 (2014), 44–62.
- Thackeray, H. St J., ed. and transl., *Josephus in Nine Volumes. IV: Jewish Antiquities, Books I–IV*, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1930).

Bibliography

- Thomas, C., *And Shall these Mute Stones Speak? Post-Roman Inscriptions in Western Britain* (Cardiff, 1994).
- Thomas, G. C. G., *The Charters of the Abbey of Ystrad Marchell* (Aberystwyth, 1997).
- 'From Manuscript to Print: I. Manuscript', in *A Guide to Welsh Literature c. 1530–1700, Volume III*, ed. R. G. Gruffydd (Cardiff, 1997), pp. 241–62.
- Thomas, Rebecca, 'Remembering the "Old North" in Ninth- and Tenth-Century Wales', *Peritia* 29 (2018), 179–99.
- Thomas, Richard, 'Wilkins', in *DWB*.
- Thomson, D., 'Cistercians and Schools in Late Medieval Wales', *CMCS* 3 (1982), 76–80.
- Thomson, D. S., ed., *Branwen uerch Lyr* (Dublin, 1961).
- Thomson, R. L., ed., *Owein: or, Chwedyl Iarlles y Ffynnwawn* (Dublin, 1968).
- Thomson, R. M., *William of Malmesbury*, rev. ed. (Woodbridge, 2003).
- Thornton, D. E., 'Brychan and Welsh Genealogy' (unpubl. MA thesis, Univ. College of North Wales, Bangor, 1988).
- 'The Death of Hywel Dda', *WHR* 20 (2001), 743–9.
- 'The Genealogy of Gruffudd ap Cynan', in *Gruffudd ap Cynan: A Collaborative Biography*, ed. K. L. Maund (Woodbridge, 1996), pp. 79–108.
- 'Glastonbury and the Glastening', in *The Archaeology and History of Glastonbury Abbey: Essays in Honour of the Ninetieth Birthday of C. A. Raleigh Radford*, ed. L. Abrams and J. P. Carley (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 191–203.
- 'Kings, Chronicles and Genealogies: Reconstructing Medieval Celtic Dynasties', in *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 23–40.
- *Kings, Chronologies and Genealogies: Studies in the Political History of Early Medieval Ireland and Wales* (Woodbridge, 2003).
- ed., 'A Neglected Genealogy of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd', *CMCS* 23 (1992), 9–23.
- 'Orality, Literacy and Genealogy in Early Medieval Ireland and Wales', in *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies*, ed. H. Pryce (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 83–98.
- 'Power, Politics and Status: Aspects of Genealogy in Medieval Ireland and Wales', (unpubl. PhD thesis, Univ. of Cambridge, 1991).
- 'Predatory Nomenclature and Dynastic Expansion in Early Medieval Wales', *Medieval Prosopography* 20 (1999), 1–22.
- 'Who was Rhain the Irishman?', *SC* 34 (2000), 131–48.
- Thurneysen, R., 'Zu Wilhelm von Malmesbury', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 20 (1896), 316–20.
- Tyson, D., 'The Adam and Eve Roll: Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 98', *Scriptorium* 52 (1998), 301–16.
- Vaughan, H. F. J., 'Welsh Pedigrees', *Cy* 10 (1889), 72–156.
- Vendryes, J., ed., 'Le poème du Livre Noir sur Hywel ab Gronw', *ÉC* 4 (1948), 275–300.
- Vinogradoff, P., and F. Morgan, ed., *The Survey of the Honour of Denbigh, 1334* (London, 1914).
- Voth, C., 'An Analysis of the Anglo-Saxon Manuscript London, British Library, Royal 12. D. xvii' (unpubl. PhD thesis, Univ. of Cambridge, 2015).
- Wadden, P., 'The Frankish Table of Nations in Insular Historiography', *CMCS* 72 (2016), 1–31.
- Wade-Evans, A. W., 'Achau'r Saint, A / Achau'r Saint, B', *ÉC* 1 (1936), 281–91.
- 'Beuno Sant', *Arch. Camb.* 85 (1930), 315–41; repr. in his *VSBG* (2013) 337–63 [references are to the former].
- ed., 'Bonedd y Saint, D', *Revue celtique* 50 (1933), 24–9.
- ed., 'Bonedd y Saint, E', *Arch. Camb.* 86 (1931), 158–75.
- ed., 'Bonedd y Saint, F; Bonedd y Saint, G; Bonedd y Saint, H', *Revue celtique* 50 (1933), 363–87.
- ed. and transl., 'Brychan Brycheiniog', *The Transactions of the Brecknock Society* 1 (1930), 7–24.
- ed. and transl., 'The Brychan Documents', *Cy* 19 (1906), 18–48.
- ed. and transl., 'An Essay on the Primitive Saints of Cardiganshire', in *The Church Plate of Cardiganshire*, ed. J. T. Evans (Stow-on-the-Wold, 1914), pp. 128–42.
- 'The Origin of Glastonbury', *Notes and Queries* 193 (1948), 134–5.
- ed. and transl., *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae: The Lives and Genealogies of the Welsh Saints*, new ed., ed. S. Lloyd (Cardiff, 2013).

Bibliography

- Wagner, A. R., *A Catalogue of English Mediaeval Rolls of Arms* (London, 1950).
- and G. Squibb, 'Deputy Heralds', in *Tribute to an Antiquary: Essays Presented to Marc Fitch*, ed. F. Emmison and R. Stephens (London, 1976), pp. 229–64.
- Waitz, G., ed., 'Genealogiae Karolum', in *MGH: SS XIII*, ed. G. Waitz (Hanover, 1881), pp. 242–8.
- ed., 'Gotifredi Viterbiensis opera', in *MGH: SS XXII*, ed. G. H. Pertz (Hanover, 1872), pp. 1–338.
- Wall, A., ed. and transl., *Handbook to the Maude Roll, being a XVth Century MS. Genealogy of the British and English Kings from Noah to Edward IV., with a Marginal History* (Auckland, 1919).
- Walters, D. B., 'Comparative Aspects of the Tractates on the Laws of Court', in *Welsh King*, ed. Charles-Edwards, Owen and Russell, pp. 382–99.
- Warntjes, I., *The Munich Computus: Text & Translation. Irish Computistics between Isidore of Seville and the Venerable Bede and its Reception in Carolingian Times* (Stuttgart 2010).
- Weber, L. J., 'The Historical Importance of Godfrey of Viterbo', *Viator* 25 (1994), 153–95.
- Weber, R., and R. Gryson, *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, 5th ed. (Stuttgart, 2007).
- Weiskittel, S. F., and L. D. Reynolds, 'Vitruvius', in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L. D. Reynolds (Oxford, 1983), pp. 440–5.
- West, M. L., ed., *Hesiod: Theogony* (Oxford, 1966).
- Westermann, C., *Genesis 1–11: A Commentary*, transl. J. J. Scullion (London, 1984).
- William, A. Rh., ed., *Llyfr Iorwerth* (Cardiff, 1960).
- Williams, A., and G. H. Martin, ed., *Domesday Book: A Complete Translation* (London, 2002).
- Williams, D. H., *Atlas of Cistercian Lands in Wales* (Cardiff, 1990).
- Williams, G., 'Sir John Pryse of Brecon', *Brycheiniog* 31 (1998/9), 49–63.
- Williams, G. A., 'Owain, Gutun [Gruffudd ap Huw ab Owain] (fl. c. 1451–1498)', *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/20982>>.
- Williams, G. J., *Iolo Morgannwg* (Cardiff, 1956).
- 'Traddodiad Llenyddol Dyffryn Clwyd a'r Cyffinau', *Transactions of the Denbighshire Historical Society* 1 (1952), 20–32.
- *Traddodiad Llenyddol Morgannwg* (Cardiff, 1948).
- 'Tri Chof Ynys Prydain', *LIC* 3 (1954–5), 234–9.
- and E. J. Jones, ed., *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid* (Cardiff, 1934).
- Williams, H., ed. and transl., *Two Lives of Gildas: By a Monk of Ruys, and Caradoc of Llancarfan* (Felinfach, 1990); repr. from H. Williams, ed., *Gildas*, 2 vols (London, 1899–1901) II, 315–420.
- Williams, I., ed., *Canu Aneirin* (Cardiff, 1938).
- ed., *Canu Llywarch Hen* (Cardiff, 1935).
- 'Cyfeiriad at y Brawd Fadawg ap Gwallter?', *BBCS* 4 (1927–9), 133–4.
- ed., 'Dwy Gân o Lyfr Coch Talgarth', *BBCS* 2 (1923), 118–30.
- ed., 'Ymddiddan Arthur a'r Eryr', *BBCS* 2 (1923), 269–86.
- and T. H. Parry-Williams, ed., 'Englynion y Clyweit', *BBCS* 3 (1926–7), 4–21.
- Williams, I. W., 'Wiliam Llyn', *Y Traethodydd* (July 1980), 123–36.
- Williams, J. E. C., with P. I. Lynch and R. G. Gruffydd, ed., *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd a'i Ddisgynyddion*, CBT 1 (Cardiff, 1994).
- Williams, P., *The Council in the Marches of Wales under Elizabeth I* (Cardiff, 1958).
- Williams, S. J., and J. E. Powell, ed., *Llyfr Blegywryd*, 2nd ed. (Cardiff, 1963).
- Williams, W. R., *The History of the Great Sessions in Wales 1542–1830* (Brecon, 1899).
- Williams-Jones, K., ed., *The Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll 1292–3* (Cardiff, 1976).
- Wilson, D. M., *Manx Crosses: A Handbook of Stone Sculpture 500–1040 in the Isle of Man* (Oxford, 2018).
- Wilson, R. R., *Genealogy and History in the Biblical World* (New Haven and London, 1977).
- Winterbottom, M., ed. and transl., *Gildas: The Ruin of Britain and Other Works* (London, 1978).
- Wood, I., 'Defining the Franks: Frankish Origins in Early Medieval Historiography', in *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. S. Forde, L. Johnson and A. V. Murray (Leeds, 1995), pp. 47–57.
- 'Genealogy Defined by Women: The Case of the Pippinids', in *Gender in the Early Medieval World: East and West, 300–900*, ed. L. Brubaker and J. M. H. Smith (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 234–56.
- Wood, J., 'Maelgwn Gwynedd: A Forgotten Welsh Hero', *Trivium* 19 (1984), 103–17.
- Woolf, A., 'Caedwalla Rex Brettonum and the Passing of the Old North', *Northern History* 41 (2004), 5–24.
- 'The Expulsion of the Irish from Dyfed', in *Ireland*, ed. Jankulak and Wooding, pp. 102–15.

Bibliography

- *From Pictland to Alba 789–1070* (Edinburgh, 2007).
- ‘The “Moray Question” and the Kingship of Alba in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries’, *SHR* 79 (2000), 145–64.
- ‘Pictish Matriliny Reconsidered’, *The Innes Review* 49 (1998), 147–67.
- Wright, C. E., *Fontes Harleiani: A Study of the Sources of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts Preserved in the Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum* (London, 1972).
- Wright, N., ed., *The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth. II: The First Variant Version: A Critical Edition* (Cambridge, 1988).
- Wright, T., *Feudal Manuals of English History: A Series of Popular Sketches of our National History, Compiled at Different Periods, from the Thirteenth Century to the Fifteenth, for the Use of the Feudal Gentry and Nobility* (London, 1872).
- Wynne, W., *The History of Wales, Comprehending the Lives and Succession of the Princes of Wales, from Cadwalader the Last King, to Llewelyn the Last Prince, of British Blood. With a Short Account of the Affairs of Wales, under the Kings of England* (London, 1697).
- Wynne, W. W. E., ‘MSS. Missing from the Hengwrt Collection’, *Arch. Camb.*, 4th ser., 2, no. 6 (1871), 129–37.
- Yates, W. N., ‘The “Age of the Saints” in Carmarthenshire: A Study of Church Dedications’, *The Carmarthenshire Antiquary* 9 (1973), 53–81.
- Yorke, B., ‘The Kingdom of the East Saxons’, *ASE* 14 (1985), 1–36.

GENERAL INDEX

- Aberconwy, Cistercian abbey of 216–17,
220–1, 229–30, 311 n. 148
probable location for the compilation of the
Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies 44,
157, 160, 222–3, 227–8, 231, 266
- Aberdyfi, council of 41, 118, 129, 216
- Aberffraw 35, 45 n. 239, 258 n. 143
cantref of 214–15, 304
- Abergele, *clas* church of 43, 58, 78–9
- Abergwili 104, 107, 126–9
- Achau Brenhinoedd a Thywysogion*
Cymru 47, 159, 161
- achau'r mamau* 24–5, 46
- Achau'r Saint* 47
- Adam 12, 23, 32, 43, 203, 226, 233, 235, 236,
240, 242, 243, 245, 248, 249–50, 253–5,
264, 316
- Adam Usk, chronicle of 257
- Aeneas 32, 33, 236–7, 240, 248, 252, 283,
326–7
- Aergol Lawhir 33 n. 152, 93, 106
- Æthelwold Moll, king of Northumbria 29, 30
- Æthelwulf, king of the West Saxons 38, 250
- aetiology 49
- Afan, St 108 n. 61, 137–8, 140 n. 215, 294
- Agnoman of the Greeks 238–40 *see also*
Annun Ddu (Antonius)
- Airgialla 18
- Alan(e)us 14, 236–7
- Alba 26, 28, 29–30
- Alclud 202
dynasty of 62
kings of 79, 246
pedigree of the kings of 26, 61, 100
- Aldfrith, king of Northumbria 29
- Aldudd ab/ferch Owain 312
- Alexander III, king of Scots 36–7
- Alfred the Great, king of the
Anglo-Saxons 71
- Alfred, king of Northumbria 26–7, 29, 30
- Amalech 39 n. 186
- Amor ap Morudd* 61
- Anarawd ap Rhodri Mawr, king of Gwynedd
33 n. 151, 71–2, 75, 119–20, 203, 205, 255
- Angharad ferch Maredudd 33 n. 152, 41–2,
175, 202–3, 226
- Angharad ferch Meurig 64, 107, 114–16, 226,
291
- Angharad ferch Owain 202, 208 n. 248
- Anglesey 69–70, 73, 123, 215 n. 282, 221 *see*
also Môn (Anglesey) line of *under* Gwynedd
called *Moin Conain* by the Irish in the ninth
and tenth centuries 239
Expulsion of the Irish by Cadwallon Lawhir
from 208, 214
land-holding kin-groups of 9, 208–9, 213–15
- Anglian collection of royal genealogies and
regnal lists 17–19, 21, 24 n. 127, 26, 27,
29, 30, 38 n. 181, 62–3 *see also* Anglo-Saxon
genealogy *under* England
- Anglo-Normans 42, 85, 121, 269 *see also*
Normans
- Anglo-Saxon genealogy *see under* England
- Anhuniog 108, 239 n. 31, 295
- Anna, wife/mother of Beli Mawr 26, 37, 80,
82–3, 87–8, 106, 110–13, 115, 142–3, 234,
274–5, 279, 289
- Annun Ddu (Antonius) 83, 246, 258–60, 263,
264, 272, 274, 290, 292–3, 329
probably based on Agnoman of the Greeks
236–40
- Antonius *see* Annun Ddu (Antonius)
- Ardudwy 139, 173, 186, 212, 229, 322
Uwch Artro 209, 212, 311
See also Dunoding
- Arfon 73, 222
Gwŷr Arfon 209, 221–2
Uwch Gwyrfaei 44, 209, 310
- Arllechwedd 73
Gwehelyth Arllechwedd Uchaf 177, 180, 295
n. 97
Uchaf 209, 295 n. 97, 308
- Arnulf, bishop of Metz 16
- Arnulf the Great, count of Flanders, genealogy
of 15 n. 74
- Arthial ap Dyfnwal, king of Alclud 61–2, 79
- Arthur, king 90–1, 96–7, 143, 148–9, 201,
244–5, 246, 276, 285
age of 201, 206, 208, 228
Arthurian genealogies 187 n. 154, 230, 244,
432
- Arwystli 71, 75, 208, 313 n. 161

General Index

- dynasty of 136
 pedigrees of 206–7, 220, 313
See also Cedewain
- Asaph, St 66
 Asser's Life of King Alfred 38, 71
 Augustine, St 55–6
Auraicept na nÉces (The Scholars' Primer) 13,
 38 n. 183, 236
 Avallon 97
- Bamberg cryptogram 70
Bangar m. Gardan 108, 139–41, 295
 Bangor 170
 Bardsey, abbot of 43
 Basingwerk, Cistercian abbey of 162, 308 n.
 135
- Beli Mawr
 extended Galfridian pedigree of 230, 233,
 258–63, 319, 328–31
 father of Caswallon 110–11, 204, 284
 Lleision pedigree to 202–3
 marker of royalty in Brittonic pedigrees 13
 pedigree of 32, 226, 233, 235–43, 245, 246,
 247, 249–50, 255, 258, 260, 263, 264, 300,
 316–19
 pedigree of Coel Hen to 40, 80, 83, 110, 124
 n. 127, 142–3, 202–3, 226, 244, 255, 274
 pedigree of Cunedda Wledig to 26, 37, 80,
 106, 111–12, 115, 202–3, 226–7, 233–4,
 275, 289
 pedigree of Tudur Trefor to 212
 revised pedigree of (through Kamber)
 246–7, 258, 260, 264, 328–9
See also under Geoffrey of Monmouth,
Historia Gruffud vab Kenan, Llywelyn ab
 Iorwerth genealogies, pseudo-Rhodri Mawr
 recension, *Vita Griffini filii Conani*
- Bernard, bishop of St Davids 121 *see also*
 bishops of *under* St Davids
- Bernicians 66, 79 *see also* Northumbria
- Bible 1, 12, 13, 16, 19, 21, 22–3, 31, 241
 biblical ancestry 14, 240–1, 252 n. 107, 253,
 255–6
 biblical genealogy 12, 20 n. 104, 21–2, 23,
 31, 32, 49 n. 272, 243 n. 59, 255, 265
 biblical *genuit* formula 15, 21, 81
 biblical history 31, 251–2, 255, 264
 biblical mythology 233
 biblical name 39 n. 186
 Tree of Jesse 251–2, 256
- Bleddrus ap Griffri, conflation with Moelyn ab
 Aelan 214–15, 307
- Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, king of Gwynedd 35–6,
 41, 191, 202–3, 219, 226, 305–6, 307 n. 130
 dynasty of 40, 119 n. 97, 120, 136, 202, 215
 Bleddyn ap Meurig, nobleman of Gwynedd
 309
- Bleddyn Fardd 35–6, 39
 Bleiddudd ap Caradog, king of Dunoding 61,
 64, 76, 108, 114, 322
- Blithild 16, 23
 Bodmin 94–6, 98
- Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd* 47, 230–1, 246, 427
Bonedd Henrri Saithved 46, 263
Bonedd y Saint 42, 47, 431
 Alphabetical *Bonedd y Saint* 105, 195
 Bonedd Saint Cymru ar ôl pedwar copi
 195–6, 198, 199–200
 extended pedigree of St David in copies of
 262
 presence in copies of the Llywelyn ab
 Iorwerth genealogies 164–5, 170, 184,
 188, 193–4, 198–9, 200, 216–17, 300, 302
 relationship with the Ceredig Tract 137,
 139–42, 143 n. 221, 157, 294–6
 relationship with the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth
 genealogies 161–2, 200–1, 216–17
- Bonedd yr Arwyr* 47, 159, 161
- Brân ap Llŷr Llediaith (Bendigeidfran) 204,
 206, 236–7
- Brecon 123, 184
 Benedictine priory of 83, 130, 136
- Breconshire 187, 188
- Brenhinedd y Saesson* 200, 261
 source of the Gutun Owain recension of the
 Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies 230
- Brenhinllwyth Morgannwg* 146, 236–8, 303,
 345, 432, 435–7
- Breudwyt Maxen Wledig* (The Dream of Maxen
 Wledig) 111, 113, 204–5
- Briafael ap Llywarch 148
- Britain 18, 70, 82, 87, 110–11, 151, 233,
 235–6, 239 n. 34
 early medieval 4, 13 n. 57, 18
 foundation of 251 n. 104
 legendary kings of 204, 246, 250, 255,
 256–8 *see also* Geoffrey of Monmouth
 list of cities of 58
 name of 250, 251 n. 104
 northern 17, 26, 51, 60, 62, 67, 68, 116 n. 88
 single kingship of 246–7
 western 17, 58, 72, 96
- Brittany 23, 86–90
 settlement of 87, 98, 151
- Britto 13, 236 *see also* Brutus
- Britons 19, 20, 24, 96, 151, 239–40, 247 n. 79,
 250, 265
 Britto, common ancestor of 13
 Brittonic identity 17 n. 87, 62
 Brittonic king 17
 Brittonic pedigrees 13
 Brittonic personal names 88
 Brittonic pseudo-history 233
 Brittonic-speaking regions 58, 60

- Brittonic dynasties 51
 genealogical collections of 16, 17, 18, 19, 24, 26
 genealogists 30
 history of the 58
 language of the 18, 97, 119, 155
 northern 17 n. 87, 51, 79 *see also* Men of the North and Old North
 of Wales 4, 17 n. 87, 58, 60
 True Cross sent to the 110–12
 Brochfael ap Meurig, king of Gwent 60 n. 58, 61
 Broughton, Richard 189–90, 192, 219
Brusc son of *Briscethach* 80, 82, 273
Brut Ieuan Brechfa 184, 186, 299
Brut y Brenhinedd 103, 113, 230, 240, 246, 252, 258, 316–17, 319, 326, 328, 353
 Cotton Cleopatra version 260–1, 328–31
 Dingestow version 225, 283–5, 316–17, 328–31, 427, 429
 Llanstephan I version 225, 283–5
 Peniarth 44 version 283–5
 Red Book version 103 n. 23, 282, 283–6
 source for the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies 222, 225
See also De gestis Britonum under Geoffrey of Monmouth
Brut y Tywysogyon 41, 184, 200, 222, 228–30, 353
 Brutus 172, 217, 227, 239 n. 34, 240, 246, 259, 283 *see also* Britto
 claims to be the heir of 246–8
 genealogies of 236–8, 240, 248–9, 252–3, 254–5, 256 n. 132, 258, 263 n. 165, 316–18, 328–31, 435
 name of 250
 Brychan Brycheiniog 82–3, 106, 110, 130–2, 149, 165, 239, 292–3
 children of 82, 91 nn. 219–20, 101, 102–3, 106, 130–6, 165, 191, 195, 196, 200, 223, 277 n. 25, 292–3
 pedigrees of 80, 82, 132, 238–9, 273–4, 293
 Brychan Tract 42, 47, 183, 191, 223, 238–9, 273, 292, 421–2
 date of the archetype of the 133–6
 interrelationships between versions of the 130–3
 source for the St Cadog genealogies 82–3, 85, 143, 157
See also Cognacio Brychan, De situ Brecheniauc, Llyma Frychan Brycheiniog a'i blant, Plant Brychan, Plant Brychan group under Jesus 20 genealogies, *Sarth Marthin gynt, ynawr Brycheiniawc*
 Brycheiniog 106, 108, 127, 130, 133–4, 136, 149, 293
 dynasty of 146
 kingdom of 71–2
 kings of 71, 77, 107 n. 57
 pedigree of the kings of 38, 61, 100, 106, 146, 153, 156
 pedigrees of 220, 315
See also Brycheiniog group *under* Jesus 20 genealogies
Buchedd Beuno 148 n. 241
Buchedd Dewi 234
Buchedd Llawddog 238 n. 23, 239 n. 30
 Buellt 127
 dynasty of 60
 kingdom of 69, 155
 kings of 155
 pedigree of the kings of 22, 39, 60, 106–7, 150, 154–6
 pedigrees of 220, 315
 Cadell ap Brochfael, king of Powys 33, 61, 226, 289
 Cadell ap Rhodri Mawr, king of Dyfed 72, 75 n. 134, 119–20, 202–3, 205, 255, 291, 312 n. 155
 Cadell Dyrnllug 25, 33, 63, 68, 290
 Cadelling 65, 208, 213
 of Cegidfa 208
 Cadog, St 80, 82–3, 92, 93, 94–6, 98, 106, 110–12, 136, 142–3, 150, 151–3, 272–5, 297 n. 107
 Caradog of Llancarfan's Life of 95–6, 98, 269, 271 *see also* Caradog of Llancarfan composite Life of 270–1, 431
 Lifris's Life of 42, 43, 52, 81, 83, 85, 89–90, 92, 95, 98, 103, 135, 142–3, 269–71, 297
 St Cadog genealogies 37 n. 175, 42, 47, 52, 79–81, 88, 91, 95, 98, 113, 116, 130, 136, 142–3, 148, 149, 150–3, 234, 245 n. 73, 276 n. 23, 277 n. 27, 278 n. 38, 333
 analogues to the 272–5
 date of the 83, 85, 98
 manuscripts of the 269–71, 431
 sources of the 81–3, 100, 136
See also Cadog Sant group *under* Jesus 20 genealogies
 Cadrod Hardd, father of Sanddef, Iddon and Arthen 215, 305 n. 120
 Cadwaladr Fendigaid, king of Gwynedd 74, 226, 249, 312 n. 155, 285–6, 288
 Cadwallon ap Cadfan, king of Gwynedd 74, 204, 285, 288
 Cadwallon ap Madog of Maelienydd 207–8, 243, 244 n. 63
 Cadwallon Lawhir 33, 107, 115, 118, 201, 204, 208, 214, 279, 289
 Cadwallon Lyw 61, 66 n. 79
 Cadwgon ap Cathen 93, 147
 Caelius 237, 240, 242–3, 248, 252, 264, 325

- Caereinion 25, 314 n. 171
 parson of 192, 219
 pedigree of the kings of 61, 65, 100
 pedigrees of 220, 314
- Cafflogion 209, 306, 311
- de Camville, Lucy 11
- Canterbury 252 n. 107 *see also* Christ Church,
 Canterbury and St Augustine's, Canterbury
- Caradog ap Brân 204, 236–7, 435
- Caradog ap Meirion, king of Gwynedd 61, 77,
 323
- Caradog Hardd 215, 304–5
- Caradog of Llancarfan 52, 91–2, 95–9,
 129–30, 135, 142
- Carannog, St 84, 137, 142, 275, 295
 Life of 52, 74 n. 129, 79, 81, 88, 91, 92,
 100, 116, 148, 150, 234, 276 n. 23, 277 n.
 27, 333
 insertion of genealogical material into the
 84–5, 98–9
- Carew, genealogy of the lords of 249
- de Carew, William 11
- Carmarthenshire 104, 125 n. 134, 181
- Carolingians
 genealogy 15–16, 20, 23
 kings/emperors 15 n. 74, 16, 18, 23
- Caswallon 110–11, 204, 285
- Causantín mac Cuilén, king of Alba 26, 28, 29
- Caw of Prydyn/Twrcelyn, children of 139 n.
 206, 201
- Cedewain 206 n. 243
 originally a part of Arwystli 206 n. 243
- Cegidfa (Guilsfield) 220, 314 *see also* of
 Cegidfa under Cadelling
- Celeinion ferch Tudwal 115–16, 226, 290
- Cemais (cantref in Anglesey) 214–15
- Cemais (cantref in Dyfed) 84–5, 91
- Cenau Menrudd 64, 107, 114, 126–7
- Cerdic 38
- Ceredig ap Cunedda 72, 76–7, 82, 108, 130,
 137, 139, 142, 234, 275, 291, 294–5
- Ceredig Tract 42, 66, 85, 130, 143, 157
 interrelationships between versions of the
 137–42, 294–6
See also Plant Ceredig group under Jesus 20
 genealogies and Progenies Keredic
- Ceredigion 71–2, 73, 75, 84–5, 91, 104, 137,
 138 n. 196, 142, 187 n. 152, 234, 239 n. 31,
 294–5
 kingdom of 68–9, 77, 119 n. 99
 kings of 75–8, 84, 119 n. 99, 137
 kingship of 77
 pedigree of the kings of 61, 64, 76–9, 100,
 107–8, 114–16, 118, 129, 139, 226, 291
- Ceri, pedigrees of 220, 315
- Cethim (Kittim) 240–1, 243, 248–9, 253, 264,
 325
- Cethri Prímchenêla Dáil Riata* 26
- Chaloner, Thomas, deputy herald 170, 173–4,
 189–90, 194, 350, 390
- Charlemagne 16, 242
- Charles the Fat 16
- charters, genealogies in 10
- Chester 198 n. 204, 225, 310 n. 145, 312 n.
 153, 316
 battle of 65
- Christ, Jesus, genealogies of 12, 20, 23
- Christ Church, Canterbury 56, 57 n. 31
- chronicles 20, 43, 58–9, 184, 216–17, 228,
 249, 257, 353
- Cistercian monasteries 43, 217–23, 228–30, 266
- clas churches 43, 266
- Cloten (Clydno), king of Cornwall 258–63,
 277, 330
- Clud (Radnor Forest), pedigree of the kings of
 61
- Clydog ap Cadell 72, 119 n. 99, 228
- Clynnog Fawr, clas church of 42, 44
- Coel Hen (Godebog) 33 n. 151, 203–6
 descendants of 62, 64, 66–7, 246
 pedigree of 40, 65–6, 80, 83, 110, 124 n.
 127, 142, 148 n. 241, 203, 226, 228, 234,
 235, 244, 274, 300
 pedigree traced to 40, 62, 64–7, 80, 83, 90,
 107, 110, 116–17, 122, 124 n. 127, 129,
 142, 203, 212–13, 226, 235, 244, 274, 288
- Coenwulf, king of the Mercians 17, 63, 69
- Cognacio Brychan* 130–5, 223, 292, 353, 421
see also Brychan Tract
- Colion 10, 208
- Constans son of Constantine 95, 153, 272
- Constantine the Great 81, 87, 89, 94–5, 98,
 106, 110–12, 151–3, 204, 272, 279 n. 39,
 285–6
- Constantius Chlorus 106, 110–12, 151–2, 285
- Constantius son of Constantine 81, 87, 89,
 151–3, 272
- Conwy, river 222
 battle of the 71, 75, 222, 228
- Cornwall 94–5, 135
 pedigrees of 48 n. 269, 106
 Welsh pedigree of the Galfreidian kings/dukes
 of 259–60, 329–30
- Crete 240–3, 248–9, 264, 325
- Cretus (Cres) 237, 240–3, 248–50, 252–3, 255,
 325
- crux Guriat 69, 117 n. 91 *see also* Gwriad ab
 Elidyr
- Cuelyn ap Bleiddudd, king of Dunoding 61,
 64, 76, 322
- Culhwch ac Olwen* 201, 353
- Cunedda Wledig 142, 205–6, 214
 children of 60, 67, 72–9, 82, 84, 100, 106,
 114–15, 137, 208

General Index

- descendants of 2, 63–4, 73 n. 126, 74, 76, 85, 96, 205, 214
 origin legend 60–1, 67–8, 72–9, 84–5, 208, 214, 229, 265 *see also* origin legends
 pedigree of 26, 82, 84, 91, 106, 111–12, 114–17, 203, 226–7, 233–5, 244, 255, 275, 289
 pedigree traced to 24–5, 26, 63–4, 66–7, 72, 78, 107–8, 114–15, 142, 148, 203, 214, 226, 233–5, 244, 288–9, 291, 294–6, 322–3
See also Cunedda Wledig group *under*
 Jesus 20 genealogies, version of Cunedda
 Wledig's pedigree *under* pseudo-Rhodri
 Mawr recension, version of Cunedda
 Wledig's pedigree *under* St Davids
 Cwm Tawe 105, 156
Cwtta Cyfarwydd genealogies 236, 431–3, 435
 Cydweli 107 n. 57, 126–7, 297–8
 Cyfnerth ap Morgenau 221, 310
 Cynan ab Eudaf Hen 87, 89, 110–11, 151–3, 204
 Cynan Dindaethwy 73, 77, 205, 239 n. 34, 255–6, 288, 299, 312 n. 155
 Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr 33, 310 n. 147, 312 n. 156
 Cynddylan ap Cyndrwyn 65
 Cyndrwyn, children of 224
 Cyfeiliog, pedigree of 313
 Cynfelyn, St 108, 139–42, 295
 Cyngen ap Cadell, king of Powys 33, 39, 61, 68, 69, 79, 116, 289
 Cyngen Glodrydd 25, 33, 290
 Cynidr, St 108 n. 62, 138, 294
 Cynlas Goch 34, 73
 Cynog, St 106, 130–2, 165, 273, 292–3
 Cyprius 237, 240–1, 243, 248–50, 251 n. 104, 252 n. 111, 253, 255, 325
Cyprius quidam filius Ieuan (Exeter 3514 'text 3') 250–2, 255, 256 n. 132, 324–7
 Cyprus 240–1, 243, 248–9, 264, 325

 Dafydd ap Hopcyn of Ynysdawy 44
 Dagobert I, genealogy of 15
 Dál Riata 21, 26, 28, 29–30
 Dares Phrygius 249, 252, 327
 David, St 93, 108, 142
 pedigree of 42, 137, 227, 234, 244, 262, 263 n. 168, 294, 302
 Rhygyfarch's Life of 42, 82, 135
De situ Brecheniauc 82, 85, 103, 129–36, 137, 223, 292, 353, 421 *see also* Brychan Tract
 Dee, river 72–3, 76–7
 Deheubarth 33, 40, 41, 62, 118, 119, 122–3, 125, 129, 131–3, 136, 216, 229
 dynasty of 118, 129, 135–6, 202, 206–7, 265
 kingdom of 72, 135
 kingship of 144
 kings/princes of 23, 32, 51, 60, 63 n. 72, 119, 122 n. 116, 123, 136, 144, 202, 208
 pedigree of the kings of 61, 100, 107, 109, 114, 207, 243
 Denbigh 168, 196
 Denbighshire 104, 169
 Dindaethwy 209, 306–8, 310
 Dinmael 102, 208
Disgyniad Pendefigaeth Cymru 175 n. 81
distain (court steward) 212–13, 215, 313 nn. 161–4
 Dogfeiling 108
 pedigrees of 139, 177 n. 94, 226–7, 234, 296
 Domnall mac Donnchada, king of Osraige 14, 236 n. 19
 Dream of Maxen Wledig *see* *Breudwyt Maxen Wledig*
 Dunod Fwr 61, 64, 67, 90, 107, 114, 279
 Dunoding 76 n. 137
 pedigree of the kings of 61, 64, 76–7, 100, 108, 114, 139, 173, 186, 322
 Dunuallo Molmutius (Dyfnwal Moelmud) 91, 258–61, 277, 283, 330
 Dwnn, Lewys 183, 244 n. 63, 305 n. 120
 Dyfed 23, 75, 79, 84, 108, 119, 153
 dynasty of 40, 65, 77, 208
 kingdom of 60, 68, 71–2, 75, 93, 119 n. 99
 kings of 13, 23, 60, 63, 71, 84, 93
 Merfynion conquest of 40, 71–2, 75, 84–5, 119
 pedigree of the kings of 19, 38, 39, 48 n. 269, 61, 78, 82, 91, 92–3, 94–5, 98, 100, 106, 112, 147, 150–3, 156, 173
 Dyfnwal Hen 26, 29, 62, 202, 231
 adoption into pedigree traced back to Kamber 246, 259–60, 329
 Dyffryn Clwyd 10
 Dyfrig, St 90, 92–3, 148–9
 Life of 148–9
 Dyfwn ferch Glywys 83, 143, 298
 dynasties, branches of 11, 20, 21–2

 East Saxons 13
 Ebraucus 91
 ecclesiastical influence on Welsh genealogy 42–3, 266
 Edeirnion 73, 102, 314 n. 168
Edictus Rothari 14, 22
 Ednyfed Fychan 209, 211–13, 215, 231 n. 390, 309
 Ednywain Bendew 304
 Edward I 210, 221, 250
 appeals to Geoffrey of Monmouth's historical narrative 233, 246–8
 conquest of native Wales 9, 44, 214, 223, 255
 Edward IV, genealogies of 253, 254 n. 120, 256–8

General Index

- Edward VI, genealogies of 217–18, 300
Edward ap Roger of Rhiwabon 170, 178–9,
262 n. 161, 263 n. 168, 390, 435–6
Edward the Confessor, pedigree of 231
Egri of Talybolion 201, 221
Eifionydd 209–10, 212, 310–11
Einion ap Gwalchmai 209–10, 306
Bonedd y Llwythau reordered to begin with
167, 181
Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies composed
for or by 33 n. 156, 44, 160, 213–16,
221–2, 231
pedigrees of 24–5, 213
Einion ap Madog 209, 221, 310
Einion Yrth 26, 33, 72–4, 76, 275, 289, 323
Elen Luyddog 87–9, 94–5, 98, 106, 110–13,
151–2, 225–6, 272, 279
Elfael 127
Is Mynydd, pedigree of 315
pedigrees of 220, 243–4
Uwch Mynydd, pedigrees of 315
England 19, 53–4, 56, 79, 94, 241, 251 nn.
103–4, 252 n. 107, 257–8
Anglo-Saxon 16–17, 32, 257, 265
Anglo-Saxon genealogy 13, 17–19, 21, 26,
27, 29, 38, 62–3, 250
genealogies of the later medieval kings of
230–1, 233, 248, 249, 255
kingdom of England as continuation of
Geoffrey of Monmouth's kingdom of
Britain 246–8, 255
Welsh manuscripts exported to 58–9
See also Anglian collection of royal genealo-
gies and regnal lists *and* fifteenth-century
English *under* rolls, genealogical
englyn poetry 106, 138 n. 196, 201, 281, 353
source for the Gutun Owain recension of the
Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies 230
source for the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies
222, 224–5
Eóganachta 18
eponyms 12, 13, 97, 221, 225, 240–3, 246,
249, 264, 316
dynastic 14, 21, 33, 96
of *gwelyau/gafaelion* 9, 210, 214
of Welsh territories 73, 82, 103, 130, 137,
142, 146, 234, 295 n. 98, 297
representing polities/ethnic groups 12–15,
37, 236, 240
Ergyng, pedigree of 106, 148–9
Esyllt ferch Cynan Dindaethwy 23, 73, 115,
203, 205, 233, 255, 288, 312 n. 155
relationship with Merfyn Frych and Rhodri
Mawr 226, 234, 245, 288
ethnicity 12–14, 15 n. 73, 17, 18, 24, 31, 40,
46, 265
common descent 13, 17
Eudaf Hen 87, 89, 106, 110–13, 152–3, 204,
206, 237, 285
Euddogwy, St 92–3
Life of 93
Evans, Evan 171, 174–5, 181–2, 184, 189–90,
193 n. 179, 195
Fénius Farsaid 13
feud (*galanas*) 7–9
Ffernfael ab Ithel, king of Glywysing 60 n.
58, 90
Fir Bolg 238–9
Flanders 15 n. 74, 57 n. 32
Flintshire 179
Fourth Lateran Council 4
France 56
French genealogy 18, 20 n. 104
Francia 16, 18
Francio 15
Frankish Table of Nations 14, 15, 236
Franks 15–16
gafaelion *See under* land-holding
gender 23–4, 266–7 *see also* transmission
through female line *under* kingship *and* claim
through female line *under* status
increased emphasis on male-line descent
124, 263
Geneddog 82, 87–8, 117, 148, 234–5, 275, 289
Generatio sancti Egwini 138 n. 198
gentry, Welsh 9, 44, 45–6, 172, 185, 265
Geoffrey of Monmouth 103, 111, 204 n. 229,
230
De gestis Britonum 92, 112–13, 149,
249–50, 252, 264
account of the ancestry of Brutus 236–8
British kings from 236 n. 14, 240, 246–8,
252 n. 107, 255–6, 257 n. 140, 258–63,
283–7, 328–31 *see also* legendary kings
of *under* Britain
drew on the Harleian recension of the
Historia Brittonum 74 n. 129
drew on the St Davids recension 52, 79,
81, 90–3, 95, 98–100, 276–80, 333
First Variant version of 249–50, 287
names from *De gestis Britonum* rendered
into Welsh 225, 240, 316
Second Variant version of 286–7
source for the Beli Mawr pedigree 32,
43, 124 n. 127, 225, 233, 235, 240, 246,
316–19
source for the extended Galfridian
pedigree 258
source for the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth geneal-
ogies 204, 225–6
variant version of the Gwynedd
pedigree 34, 244–5

- relationship with Caradog of
Llancarfan 91–2, 95, 98
See also appeals to Geoffrey of Monmouth's
historical narrative *under* Edward I and
extended Galfridian pedigree of *under* Beli
Mawr
- Gerald of Wales 32–5, 40, 43, 120, 125, 130
Descriptio Cambriae 5, 32, 118–21, 124
Itinerarium Cambriae 121 n. 112
- Germanus, St 17 n. 85
- Gildas, Life of St 92, 97, 98
- Glamorgan 45, 81, 144, 146, 185, 269, 271,
297
bishop of 81
Jesus 20 probably written in 44, 101, 102–4
lordship of 431–2
pedigrees of 432–3
- Glastening 65, 96–7, 100, 229
- Glastonbury Abbey 92, 94, 96–7, 98
- Gloucester 107, 155–6
St Peter's Abbey 81, 92, 98, 138 n. 198
- Glyn Cothi, forest of 184
- Glywys Glywysing 80, 94–5, 103, 106,
110–11, 151–2, 272
lists of sons of 103, 106, 143, 297–8
- Glywysing 79, 83, 143, 146, 149
dynasty of 60, 83, 95, 142
kingdom of 71–2
kings of 43, 60, 71, 92–3, 142–4, 146
pedigrees of the kings of 48 n. 269, 61, 68,
92 n. 235, 150, 229 n. 374
- Godfrey of Viterbo 242–3
- Gododdin 66 n. 83, 74
Manaw 60, 67, 72, 74
pedigree of the kings of 61
- Goídel Glas 13–14, 37, 38 n. 183
- Gower 44, 101, 103 n. 23, 144 *see also* Gŵyr
(commote)
- Gruffudd ap Cynan, king of Gwynedd 33, 107,
109, 121, 123, 203, 205–6, 211, 213 n. 270,
255–6, 310 n. 145, 320–1
daughters of 6, 109, 202, 208
dynasty of 40, 206
Life of *see Historia Gruffud vab Kenan and
Vita Griffini filii Conani*
royal status of 6, 23, 124
sons of 40, 43, 85, 91, 123–4, 202
- Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn 215–16, 313, 314
n. 171
- Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ab Iorwerth 35–6, 255
n. 124
- Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ap Seisyll, king of Wales
126–7, 144, 168 n. 51, 255, 305 n. 119
genealogical legitimacy of 41–2, 202 n. 224
- Gruffudd ap Rhys 119, 123–4, 207
dynasty of 40
sons of 40, 85, 123–4
- Gruffudd ab yr Ynad Coch 221, 310
- Gruffudd Hiraethog 198
association with William Salesbury 186 n.
144
citations of other manuscripts 170 n. 59, 176
n. 89, 178–9, 183, 192, 218, 219
genealogical manuscripts of 170, 176, 178,
179, 180, 186, 263 n. 168, 312 n. 153, 351,
421–3, 433, 435–6
pupils of 178
references to 130, 194, 292–3, 436
- Gruffydd, Thomas 180, 182, 187–8, 351, 421,
423, 427
- Guines, genealogy of the counts of 4 n. 8
- Gurgustius (Grwst) 240, 259, 262, 277, 283,
316–18, 328–9
- Gurheden *see* Life of *under* Gurthiern, St
- Gurthiern, St 86–9, 98
Life of 52, 79, 95, 100, 204, 235 n. 8, 333
composition of the 86–90
derivation of genealogical material from
Llancarfan 89–90, 151–3
- Guto'r Glyn 45
- Gutun Owain 35 n. 164, 180, 184, 191, 304 n.
116, 435
approach to the genealogies 45–6, 171–3
drew on English pedigree rolls 231, 252 n.
111
drew on *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* 319
familiarity with Latin 262
genealogical manuscripts of 45 n. 239,
162–3, 166, 168, 170–5, 177–8, 181, 186,
188, 189, 190–2, 194, 212, 219–20, 231,
240, 260–2, 317, 328, 350–1, 390–1
involvement with the extended Galfridian
pedigree 233, 261–4, 328
links to Cistercian monasteries 43, 45,
217–20, 266
lost 1498 manuscript of 168, 177–8, 180,
194, 351
other manuscripts of 230, 252 n. 111,
260–1, 328
references to 171, 178, 180, 193–5, 199
role in the commission to discover Henry
VII's pedigree 217–18, 263
sections of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealo-
gies composed by 160–1, 171–2, 219–20,
230–1, 262, 352
version of *Bonedd y Saint* 162
See also Gutun Owain recension *under*
Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies
- Gwaithfoed of Gwent 431–2
- Gwalchmai ap Meilyr 25, 33–4, 70 n. 104,
216, 306 n. 122
- Gwallog ap Llenog 61, 64, 66, 107, 114, 279
- Gwaun, river 84–5
- Gwawl 80, 82, 205, 244 n. 67, 275

General Index

- Gwehelyth Morgannwg* 82, 101, 111–12, 113, 116, 146, 185, 234, 266, 301, 345, 436
 manuscripts of 345, 436–7
 relationship with the Jesus 20
 genealogies 147–50
 sources of 150–7
See also Morgan ab Owain group *under* Jesus 20
 genealogies *and* Morgan ab Owain genealogies *under* Morgan ab Owain, king of Morgannwg
- gwelyau see under* land-holding
- Gwent 79, 144, 297
 dynasty of 60
 kingdom of 68, 71–2
 kings of 60, 71, 92–3, 144
 pedigrees of 61, 68, 92 n. 235, 207, 229 n. 374
- Gwenwynwyn, prince of Southern Powys 211, 215–16, 219–20, 313 n. 164, 314 n. 171
- Gwerthrynion 207–8
 dynasty of 60
 kingdom of 69, 155
 kings of 155
 pedigrees of 22, 39, 60, 207
- Gwgon ap Cenau Menrudd 126–7
- Gwgon ap Meurig, king of Ceredigion 61, 64, 75–9, 107 n. 56, 108 n. 65, 116, 291
- Gwgon Sais 126–8
- Gwilym Tew 45, 433
- Gwladus, St 80, 82, 273–4
- Gwladus Ddu, daughter of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth 256–8
- Gwriad ab Elidyr, father of Merfyn Frych 69, 117, 288, 290
- Gwriad ap Rhodri Mawr 70, 228
- Gwrgi ab Eliffer Gosgorddfawr 61, 65, 67, 90–1, 279
- Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenau *see* Vortigern
- Gwydir 193
- Gwyn ab Ednywain, *distain* of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth 212–13, 215, 311
- Gwyn ap Gruffudd of Cegidfa 25, 208, 306, 314 n. 167
- Gwynedd 33, 60, 67, 79, 217, 221, 295 n. 97
 dynastic history of 40–1, 68–72, 73–4, 119–20, 122–4
 dynasties of 23, 24, 44, 129, 135–6, 202, 205, 233, 235, 256–7, 264, 265
 Gwynedd collection of genealogies 37, 40, 43, 50, 52, 91, 99, 101, 122, 124, 125, 139, 208, 289 n. 92, 333
 date of 72–9
 relationship with the Harleian genealogies, the Jesus 20 genealogies and the *Historia Brittonum* 64–8, 113–18, 123, 126, 128–9, 157
- Is Conwy 222
- kingdom of 60, 67, 68–9, 72, 73, 121, 135
 kings/princes of 23, 30, 32, 33, 35 n. 164, 41, 52, 60, 62–3, 64, 69–72, 73–4, 76–8, 85, 119–20, 124, 127, 136, 144, 204, 208, 233
 kingship of 23, 40, 62–3, 68–9, 74, 77, 78
 land-holding kin-groups of 22, 201, 205, 208–11, 213, 304–12
 law-book of 205, 221–2
 legendary rulers of 204–5
 Môn (Anglesey) line of 61, 73–4, 100
 noblemen of 212, 221–2, 309 n. 137
 pedigrees of the kings of 34, 37, 38, 39, 48 n. 269, 50, 61, 91, 100, 106–7, 109, 114–15, 148, 150, 156, 226, 233–64, 266, 277 n. 27, 288–9
 Rhos line of 34, 61, 62, 73
 texts composed in 67–8, 78–9, 113, 116 n. 88, 129, 205, 211, 231
 Uwch Conwy 311 n. 148
See also Gwynedd group *under* Jesus 20 genealogies
- Gwynllŵg 83, 94, 143, 211, 297
- Gwynllyw, St 80, 82, 94–5, 106, 108, 110–11, 143 n. 221, 151–2, 272, 275, 295, 297
 Life of 98
- Gŵyr (commote) 107 n. 57, 126–7, 298 *see also* Gower
- hagiography *see under* saints
- Harallt Harfagyr 36
- Harleian chronicle 53, 58–9, 62, 67, 78, 92, 99, 228, 230, 280 n. 51
- Harleian genealogies 17, 23, 40, 46, 49, 50, 51–2, 53, 74, 84, 88, 90–1, 99, 186, 214, 278 n. 38, 280 n. 46, 289 n. 92, 353
 comparison with pedigrees of the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension 115–18, 226–7, 288–91
 derive from the Gwynedd collection of genealogies 64–8, 72, 78–9, 113–15
 genealogies of the 37, 39–40, 60–8, 76, 77, 78 n. 142, 111–12, 139, 229 n. 374, 266
 relationship with the *Historia Brittonum* and Harleian chronicle 58–9, 73, 150–1
 representative of the St Davids recension 72, 122, 146 n. 237, 153, 229 n. 374, 233–4, 322–3, 333
 structure of 26, 29, 30, 60–3
- Helen ferch Llywarch 23, 60, 61, 78
- Helena, St *see* Elen Luyddog
- Hen Lwythau Gwynedd a'r Mars* 47, 159, 161, 208, 214–15, 304 n. 111
- Hengwrt 33 *see* X-branch *under* Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies
- Henry I 40, 107 n. 57, 126–7
- Henry II 85, 124, 222

General Index

- Henry III 118, 250
 Henry VI, genealogies of 253–7
 Henry VII 213, 261
 genealogies of 180, 218, 231 n. 390, 261–3, 302
 See also Tudor, Owen *and* Tudor dynasty
 Henry VIII, pedigrees of 189, 192, 194, 300
 Henuinus (Henwyn), duke of
 Cornwall 259–60, 263, 329
 heralds 105, 164, 173, 194, 345
 heraldic tract 187 n. 154
 Hereford, bishopric of 2
Historia Brittonum 13, 14, 19, 22, 43, 58, 246, 277 n. 26, 280 n. 51
 Anglo-Saxon genealogies in 17–18, 20–1
 Cunedda origin legend in 72–4 *see also*
 origin legend *under* Cunedda Wledig
 Harleian recension of 56, 58–9, 72 n. 129, 78, 154–5
 manuscripts of 53, 55–6, 58
 pedigree of the kings of Buellt and
 Gwerthrynion in 22, 39, 60, 68–9, 154–6
 relationship with the Gwynedd collection of
 genealogies 64–8, 79
 relationship with the Harleian chronicle and
 Harleian genealogies 58–9, 78–9, 88, 92, 96–9, 150
 source for the Life of St Gurthiern 87–8
 Vatican recension of 154
 witness to an early genealogical
 scheme 235–40
 See also Frankish Table of Nations *and* Lebor
 Bretnach
Historia Gruffud van Kenan 49, 353
 Beli Mawr pedigree in 225, 236–8, 240, 249
 n. 93, 316–17, 319
 Gwynedd pedigree in 234–5, 288–9
 influence of 234, 258, 316, 319
 Rhodri Mawr's patriline in 117, 288
 source for the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies
 122–3, 157, 202, 204, 222, 227–8, 320–1
 terminus ante quem 227
 used by Richard Longford in NLW
 732B 168–9, 319
 See also Vita Griffini filii Conani
 Hopcyn ap Tomas of Ynysforgan 105–6
 Hwfa ap Cynddelw 181, 213–14, 304
 Hyfaidd ap Bleddri, king of Dyfed 71, 75, 84
 Hywel ap Caradog, king of Gwynedd 30, 61,
 62–3, 64–5, 69, 73, 76–7, 107, 114, 239 n.
 34, 323
 Hywel ap Goronwy 83 n. 164, 107, 108,
 125–9, 136, 157 *see also* Hywel ap Goronwy
 group *under* Jesus 20 genealogies
 Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd, prince of
 Gwynedd 33
 Hywel Dda, king of Deheubarth 40, 41, 59, 60,
 61, 64, 72, 75, 79, 107–8, 108–9, 114, 122 n.
 117, 144, 203, 291, 312 n. 155
 epithet of 72 n. 118
 overlordship of Merfynion lands 72
 Hywel Fychan 105–6, 140, 156, 281–2
- Iago ap Geneddog 82, 87, 148, 234–5, 275,
 289
 Iago ab Idwal Foel, king of Gwynedd 72, 144
 Iâl 304 n. 116
 Icelandic *langfeðgatal* 233, 252–3
 Idwal ap Tudwal, probably king of Man 30,
 61, 63, 76, 116, 290
 Idwal Foel, king of Gwynedd 33 n. 152, 72,
 120, 122, 144, 228
 Iestyn ap Gwrgan, dynasty of 144–6, 435
 Ieuan ap Madog ap Rhys 166–7, 169–70,
 174–7, 179, 261, 319, 328, 350–1, 390
 Ieuan Brechfa 104, 160, 180–8, 217, 219, 437
 approach to the genealogies 46, 181, 183–5
 common exemplar of Llanstephan 12 and
 Brogyntyn I. 15 45 n. 239, 147, 149,
 185–6, 299–301, 345
 genealogical manuscripts of 180–3, 200,
 263, 351, 435–7
 lost black parchment book for Sir Rhys ap
 Thomas 183
 lost manuscript of 1513 176, 187
 pedigree of Henry VII by 263
 references to 178, 181
 See also Brut Ieuan Brechfa, Llyma enwau y
 nawryn, southern tradition *under* Llywelyn
 ab Iorwerth genealogies
Indarba na nDéisi (The Expulsion of the Déisi)
 19, 39
 Iolo Goch 44–5, 258 n. 143
 Iolo Morganwg 184
 Iorwerth ap Llywelyn ap Tudur, pedigree of 44
 Iorwerth ap Madog 44, 221–2
 Iorwerth Drwyndwn 35–6
 Iorwerth Goch 314 n. 170
 pedigree of 206–7, 219
 Iorwerth Hirflawdd 131–2, 135–6
 Ireland 37, 39, 70, 106, 204, 227 n. 359, 273,
 292–3
 early medieval 16–17, 32, 265
 Irish genealogical poems 14, 39, 236 n. 19
 Irish genealogy 10 n. 42, 12, 13–14, 17–19,
 21–2, 26, 28, 29–30, 38, 39 n. 187, 236,
 238–40
 Irish pseudo-history 233, 238–40
 place of origin of the Insular tradition of
 literary genealogy 19, 265
 Irish Sea 70
 Ishmael, St 93
 Isidore of Seville 19, 241–3
 Italy 10, 14, 53–4, 236

General Index

- Ithel ab Athrwys 60 n. 58, 61
Iuthael son of *Aidan* 87, 89–90
 Iwerydd ferch Cynfyn 33 n. 152, 202 n. 225
- Japheth 13–14, 237, 241, 248, 251 n. 104, 252, 254–5, 256 n. 132, 325
 Javan 236 n. 17, 237, 240–1, 243, 248–9, 253, 325
 Jesus 20 genealogies 44, 46, 50, 52, 74, 76, 77, 101–57, 185, 234, 266, 282, 338, 353
 Brycheiniog group 109, 129, 153 *see also* Brychan Tract
 Cadog Sant group 109, 129, 142–3, 156 *see also* Cadog, St
 Cunedda Wledig group 109, 114–15, 128 *see also* Cunedda Wledig
 derivation of genealogies from Llancarfan 83, 129–30, 136, 142–3, 146–7, 150–3, 156, 204
 final redactor of the 101, 110–13, 115, 129, 131, 136, 139, 147, 156–7
 Gwynedd group 109, 114, 128
 Hywel ap Goronwy group 108, 109, 126, 128–9
 Morgan ab Owain group 109, 129, 142–3, 144, 146–7, 149, 156 *see also* *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* and Morgan ab Owain genealogies *under* Morgan ab Owain, king of Morgannwg
 Old North group 109, 114, 126, 128–9 *see also* Old North, pedigrees of the
 Plant Brychan group 109, 110, 129–34, 136, 137, 143, 156, 223, 421 *see also* Brychan Tract
 Plant Ceredig group 109, 129–30, 137–42, 143, 156, 294–6 *see also* Ceredig Tract
 pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension pedigrees in 113–18, 122, 226–7, 235, 288–91, 322–3
 relationship with the Gwynedd collection of genealogies 40, 64–8, 72, 79, 113–18, 123, 126, 128, 229
 Rhodri Mawr group 41, 109, 114–16, 118, 128, 146
 Rhys Gryg group 41, 108–9, 113, 118, 122, 126, 128, 216
 See also relationship with the Jesus 20 genealogies *under* *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* and Jesus 20 king-list *under* king-lists
- Jesus College, Oxford 104–5
 John, king 45 n. 239, 257, 264, 300–1
 John of Tynemouth 84, 271
 John Powys, Sir, lost 1514 manuscript of 183, 190, 192, 195, 196, 219
 Jones, John, of Gellilyfdy 46 n. 252, 160, 161, 162–3, 165–6, 166–8, 170, 189–90, 194, 211, 216, 269–71, 349–51, 431
 orthography of 349–50
- Jones, Thomas, of Tregaron 345, 435–7
 Jupiter (Zeus) 237, 241–3, 248, 325
- Kamber 237, 246–7, 255–6, 258–60, 263, 264, 328–9 *see also* revised pedigree of (through Kamber) *under* Beli Mawr and adoption of Kamber as ancestor *under* Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, prince of Wales
- Kells 12 n. 56
 Kent 17, 18–19, 56
 king-lists 15, 16, 20, 37–9, 282
 Jesus 20 king-list 282, 283–7, 338
 Pictish 38–9
 kingship 18, 40, 144
 eligibility 6, 23
 inauguration 36–9
 king's pedigree 12–13, 17
 legitimacy 13, 16, 29, 39, 40, 41, 118–20, 122, 143, 204, 207, 246–7, 250, 256
 plurality of 16–17
 succession 6–7, 73 n. 126, 205, 248
 transmission through female line 16, 41–2, 205 *see also* claim through female line *under* status
 See also overlordship
- Lambert of Cambrai 4 n. 6
 land-holding 9, 210
 gwelyau and *gafaelion* 9, 210–11, 304–12
 partible inheritance 7, 10
 See also land-holding kin-groups of *under* Gwynedd
- languages of the genealogies 18, 22, 51, 131, 133, 211, 244
 law, Welsh 6–7, 205, 210, 266
 manuscripts of 44, 221–2, 312 n. 155
 lawyers 43–4, 73 n. 126, 221–2
Lebor Bretnach 154
Lebor Gabála Érenn 236 n. 19, 238–9
 Leil (Lliwelydd, Lleon) 225, 258, 259, 283, 316–19, 329
 Leinster (Laigin) 14, 21, 39
 Leland, John 5
 Lewis, John, of Llynwene 164–5, 187 n. 154
 lost manuscript of 163
 Lhwyd, Edward 104–5, 164, 186, 193 n. 175, 421
 Lifris of Llancarfan *see* Lifris's Life of *under* Cadog, St
 Llanbadarn Fawr, *clas* church of 43, 135, 138 n. 196, 229–30
 Llancarfan, *clas* church of 43, 52, 79–100, 101, 106, 113, 129, 136, 143, 146–7, 150–1, 153, 156–7, 266
 collection of genealogies 101, 143, 156–7, 204
 See also Cadog, St

- Llandaf
 bishopric of 42 n. 214, 92–3, 128
 Book of 52, 72 n. 118, 81, 90, 95, 98, 100,
 104, 128, 135, 138 n. 199, 144, 155 n. 271,
 345, 436
 use of the pedigree of the kings of Dyfed
 92–3
 cathedral church of 147, 149, 157
 charters 90, 92, 144, 148, 155 n. 271
 Llandeilo Fawr, *clas* church of 125–6, 128,
 156–7
 Llanddewibref, *clas* church of 108, 142, 294
 Llanforda manuscript 44
 Llan-gors, *clas* church of 83, 136
 Llanilltud Fawr (Llantwit Major), *clas* church
 of 43, 146, 157
 Llifton 209, 213–14, 304–5
Llyma Dalm o Weheliaethau a Llwythau
Cymru 159, 191–5, 198–9, 219–20, 303,
 313–15, 414
Llyma enwau y nawny 184, 186, 187, 299
Llyma Frychan Brycheiniog a'i blant 131–3,
 191, 198, 223, 421–3 *see also* Brychan Tract
 Llŷn 73, 120, 311 n. 148
 Llŷr Llediaith 204, 283
 pedigree of 236–8
 Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, prince of Wales 185 n.
 39, 223, 255, 265
 adoption of Kamber as ancestor 246–7, 255,
 260, 264
 homage offered to 314 nn. 171–2
 pedigree of 33, 226, 227 n. 363, 233,
 243–51, 255–6, 258, 264, 429
 Llywelyn ab Iorwerth (Llywelyn Fawr), prince
 of Gwynedd 34, 35–6, 39, 43, 44, 45 n. 239,
 120, 185 n. 139, 205–8, 258 n. 143, 264
 hegemony of 41, 118, 122, 265–6
 noblemen of 24, 44, 160, 212–15, 221, 308
 n. 132, 308 n. 135, 312 n. 153
 patronage of Aberconwy Abbey 223
 pedigrees of 39, 41–2, 107, 108–9, 118, 129,
 146, 201–3, 211, 213, 226–8
 texts composed during reign of 205, 209,
 211–16, 231
See also Aberdyfi, council of, Gwladus Ddu,
 Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies
 Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies 22, 24, 33
 n. 156, 35, 39, 41, 44, 45, 46, 47, 50, 63, 65,
 74, 76–7, 120, 131, 133, 140 n. 210, 141, 146,
 151, 159–231, 234, 244, 257, 266–7, 349–54,
 421, 435
 additional sections of 160–1, 166–7, 171 n.
 68, 212–13, 215, 218–20, 354
 Beli Mawr's pedigree in copies of the
 225–6, 240, 316–19
 Gutun Owain recension 45, 159, 162, 167,
 170–80, 181 n. 118, 186, 190–2, 212–13,
 217, 219, 231, 262, 313, 318–19, 328–31,
 351, 390–1, 414, 427, 432
 sources of 230–1, 427
 Henry Salesbury recension 160, 195–200,
 421
 influence of 159, 234, 258, 345
 Peniarth 127i recension 160, 167, 172, 179,
 181–3, 188–95, 212, 421
 pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension pedigrees in
 117, 121, 122, 204, 226–8, 235, 288–91
 relationship with the Jesus 20 genealogies via
 the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension
 113–14, 122–3, 139, 157, 226–7, 229 n.
 373
 sources of the 66, 223–30, 258, 320–1
 southern tradition 160, 164, 165 n. 35, 167,
 169, 172, 180–8, 190, 198, 200, 319, 427
 n. 6
 X-branch 160, 161–7, 172, 181–3, 185, 186,
 212, 216–17, 221, 350
 Hengwrt 33 43, 160, 162–6, 168, 171–2,
 176 n. 84, 181, 186, 198, 200, 211,
 212–13, 216–17, 266, 318–19, 350
 manuscript A 160, 163–5, 171, 181, 184
 n. 132, 186, 212, 216
 Y-branch 160, 162–3, 166–80, 186, 212,
 216–17, 218–19, 350
 manuscript Y 160, 161–2, 164, 166–8,
 170, 171, 172–3, 183, 186, 200, 211–13,
 216–17, 218–19, 318–19, 349–50
 manuscript Δ 160, 166–70, 171, 172–3,
 177, 179, 181, 186, 192, 200, 211–13,
 217, 218–19, 318–19, 350–1
 manuscript Π 160, 167, 213, 215, 219
 manuscript Σ 160, 166–7, 171, 181–3,
 185, 186, 190–2, 217, 218–20, 350–1,
 414
 Π sub-branch 166–70, 171–2, 181–2, 190,
 212, 215, 218–20
See also Aberconwy, Cistercian abbey of,
Bonedd y Saint, *Brut y Brenhinedd*, Einion
 ap Gwalchmai, englyn poetry, *De gestis*
Britonum under Geoffrey of Monmouth,
 Gutun Owain, *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*,
Plant Brychan, St Davids recension under
 St Davids, *Vita Griffini filii Conani*
 Llywelyn ap Seisyll, king of Gwynedd 41,
 126–7
 Llswyrmy (Llsworney, Llys Ronwy) 102
 Llywarch ap Brân 205 n. 240, 228
 sons of 209, 308
 Llywarch Hen
 children of 117, 201–3, 224–5, 230, 288
 presence in Rhodri Mawr patriline 116–17,
 203, 227, 288
 Locrinus 237, 246–8, 250, 251 n. 104, 255,
 258–9, 283, 317–18, 328–9

General Index

- Lombards 14, 22
 Longford, Richard 166–70, 174, 177, 193, 218, 319, 350
 Louis the Pious 16
 Low Countries 53
- Mabinogi, Four Branches of the 202, 204–5
 Macrobius 55, 57–8
 Madog ap Maredudd, king of Powys 35–6, 76, 109, 124, 203, 207–8, 215, 313 n. 162, 314 n. 174
 pedigree of 243
 Madog Coch Ynad 221, 310
 Maelgwn Gwynedd, king of Gwynedd 33, 34, 67, 73, 74, 136, 143, 201, 204, 244–5, 255, 285–6, 289
 Maellienydd 127, 207–8
 pedigrees of 243–4
 Maelor 209
 Maenordeilo 126, 128
 Magnus Maximus (Maxim Wledig, Maximianus, Maxen Wledig) 110
 according to Geoffrey of Monmouth 112–13, 225–6, 285
 ancestor of the kings of Man 107, 238–9, 290
 in genealogies deriving from Llancarfan 80, 87, 89, 95, 98, 110–13, 151–3, 272
 in stories about the settlement of Brittany 110–11, 151, 204–5
 marker of Brittonic royalty 13, 239
 Malltraeth 209, 214, 304–6
 Man, Isle of 74, 239–40
 dynasty of 63
 kings of 30, 35–6, 52, 63, 69–70, 79
 kingship of 78
 pedigree of the kings of 48 n. 269, 61, 63, 107, 114–16, 118, 129, 238–40, 290
 See also from the Isle of Man *under* Merfyn Frych *and* probably ruled the Isle of Man *under* Rhodri Mawr
- Manaw Gododdin *see* Gododdin
 Marared ferch Madog, mother of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth 36, 109, 202–3, 215, 226
 Marchell ferch Tewdrig 80, 83, 142, 149, 238–9, 274, 292–3
 Maredudd ap Bleddyn, king of Powys 35–6, 109, 203, 206–7, 314 n. 169
 Maredudd ab Owain, king of Deheubarth 41, 122, 202–3
 Maredudd ap Rhobert of Cedewain 173, 206–7
 Maredudd ap Tewdos, king of Dyfed 61, 150
 Margam 144
 cantref of 103, 298
 Cistercian abbey of 103
 marriage 4–6
 alliances through 24, 211
 prohibited degrees 4–5, 9, 11
 Martianus Capella 58
 Mary, Virgin 32, 87–8, 110–13
 Mawl Hywel ap Goronwy 129 n. 151
 Mechain 192, 219
 Is Coed, pedigree of 313
 Uwch Coed 314
 Meilyr Brydydd 209, 216, 307
 Meilyr Meilyrion 208, 213–14
 Meirionydd 209, 312
 pedigree of 315
 pedigree of the kings of 61, 64, 77, 100, 108, 114, 139, 229, 322
 Men of the North 67, 205
 pedigrees of 48 n. 269, 76, 201–2, 225, 230–1, 246, 427
 See also northern *under* Britons *and* Old North
- Menai (commote) 209, 306, 308
 Mercia
 ealdorman of 71
 kings of 17, 62–3, 69, 204
 kingship of 63
 overlordship over Welsh kingdoms 69, 71
 pedigrees of the kings of 62–3
 Merfyn ap Rhodri Mawr 119–21
 Merfyn Frych, king of Gwynedd 35–6, 73, 74, 117, 203–5, 226, 233, 288–90, 345
 accidentally omitted from the pedigree of the kings of Gwynedd in the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension 226
 dynasty of 62–3, 67, 69
 eponym of the Merfynion 33, 67, 69
 from the Isle of Man 35, 63, 69, 74
 presence in fifteenth-century English genealogical rolls 256
 reign of 69–70
 See also Eysyllt ferch Cynan Dindaethwy *and* Merfynion
- Merfynion 33, 39, 40, 41, 68, 69, 71–2, 74–5, 77, 79, 84–5, 122–3, 124, 129, 233–4, 265
 Merovingians
 genealogy 14, 15
 kings 15, 16, 18, 23
 Metz, bishops of 15–16
 Meurig ab Enynny 80, 83, 142–3, 144, 274
 Meurig ap Tewdrig 148 n. 243, 149, 274
 Miniogud Senchusa Fher nAlban 21–2
 Mochnant Uwch Rhaeadr 307 n. 131
 Moelyn ab Aelan *see* Bleddrus ap Griffri, conflation with Moelyn ab Aelan
- Monmouth, St Mary's priory 81, 129, 136 n. 185, 157, 269, 271
 Monmouthshire 257, 431
 Morgan ap Coleddog 61, 64, 66, 107, 114, 231 n. 387
 Morgan ab Owain, king of Morgannwg 60,

General Index

- 103, 106–7, 142–8, 153, 154, 234, 345
dynasty of 143–6
Morgan ab Owain genealogies 43, 142–57
See also Gwehelyth Morgannwg and Morgan
ab Owain group *under* Jesus 20 genealogies
- Morgannwg
eponym of 103, 146
kings of 43, 143–6
pedigrees of 48 n. 269, 106–7, 173, 207,
229, 435–7
- Morris, Lewis 171, 174, 175 n. 81, 189–90,
193, 195
- Morris, Roger, of Coed-y-Talwrn 183, 188–90,
192, 194–5, 196, 198, 219, 350–2, 435–7
- Morris, William 189–90, 195
- Mortimer family 189, 207, 256–8, 264
genealogies of the 233, 256–8
- Mostyn genealogies 33, 44, 50, 226, 233,
243–5, 353, 429
- Mynogan (Manogan, father of Beli Mawr) 230,
237, 246, 260–1, 331
- Nantconwy 209, 308–9
pedigree of 315
- Nemed 238–40
- Nest ferch Cadell 115–16, 226, 289
- Noah 12, 13–14, 15, 228, 237, 242–3, 250, 251
n. 104, 252 n. 111, 254–5, 325
Noah genealogical rolls 253–6, 324
- Normandy 53, 250, 257
- Normans 81, 85, 123, 133, 135, 144
genealogy of Norman dukes of Normandy and
kings of England 250
monks 57
Norman Conquest 96
See also Anglo-Normans
- Northumbria 19 *see also* Bernicians
kings of 29, 69
pedigrees of the kings of 26–7, 29
- O Oes Gwrtheyrn* 216–17, 220–2, 228
- Oed yr Arglwydd* 165, 216–17
- Offa, king of the Mercians 69
- Old North, pedigrees of the 61, 64, 65, 90, 100,
107, 114 *see also* Men of the North, northern
under Britons and Old North group *under*
Jesus 20 genealogies
- oral transmission 31, 32, 34–5, 39, 45, 47, 117
- origin legends 13 n. 59, 13 n. 64, 97, 127, 134,
143 *see also* origin legend *under* Cunedda
Wledig, eponyms, origin legend *under* Rhodri
Mawr
- orthography 159
- Old Welsh 59, 133, 134 n. 170, 135, 137–8,
149
- Welsh 88, 113, 137–8, 139–40, 142, 165,
168, 216, 349–52, 390, 422
- Osraige 14, 236 n. 19
- Ostrogoths 14
- Oswestry, lordship of 307 n. 131, 313 n. 165,
314
- overlordship 40, 69, 71, 72–8, 84, 144, 146 *see*
also kingship
- Owain ap Hywel Dda, king of Deheubarth 63,
122, 144, 203
- Gwynedd collection of genealogies not
composed during the reign of 63, 68, 75,
78
- pedigrees of 23, 26, 30, 59, 60–2, 76–7,
78–9, 115, 124, 208, 228–9, 234
- St Davids recension redacted during the
reign of 40, 51, 59, 62–3, 68, 72, 75, 79,
115–16, 122, 146 n. 237
- Owain Glyndŵr 44–5, 185, 254, 299–301
- Owain Goch 35–6, 39
- Owain Gwynedd, prince of Gwynedd 33–4,
35–6, 121, 123–4, 202–3, 211, 229, 308 n. 133
children of 45, 202, 215
warriors of 305 n. 118, 310 n. 147, 312 n.
156
- Padarn Peisrudd 82, 91, 226, 234, 244, 255,
275, 276 n. 23, 277 n. 27, 289
- Padstow 94–5
- Pasgen ab Urien 126–9
- Patrick, St 17 n. 85, 239–40
- Paul the Deacon 15–16
- pedigree growth 39–40
- Peibio Glafrog 148–9
- Penllyn 209
Is Treweryn 312
Llwyth Penllyn 209
pedigree of the kings of 61, 65, 100, 185,
229, 278 nn. 30–2
- Penmon, abbot of 43
- Pennant, Huw 162–3, 350
- Peredur ab Eliffer Gosgorddfawr 61, 65, 67,
90–2, 279
- performativity of genealogy 35–9
- Peter of Poitiers 248, 251–2, 254–6
- Petroc, St 93–6, 98, 297–8
genealogy of 52, 81, 93–6, 98, 100
Lives of St 94
- Phylip ap Madog ab Ieuan 45 n. 239, 163, 300
- Pillar of Eliseg 39, 69
- Plant Brychan
in manuscripts of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth
genealogies 164–5, 170, 171, 177, 180,
181, 183–5, 193–4, 196, 198–9, 300, 302
Peter Bartrum's edition of 47, 159, 161
relationship with *Llyma Frychan Brycheiniog*
a'i blant 421–2
relationship with other witnesses to the
Brychan Tract 131–3, 223

General Index

- role in the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies 161, 200–1
See also Brychan Tract
Plant yr Arghwydd Rhys 46, 179, 181 n. 121, 299
 poets 24, 44–6, 49, 70 n. 104, 104, 160, 178, 181, 198, 209, 210, 213, 216, 217, 222 n. 321, 231, 251 n. 103, 310 n. 141, 432–3, 435
 books of 43–4, 266
 families in Gwynedd associated with literary activity 221
 knowledge of genealogy 32–7, 43, 244–5
See also Bleddyn Fardd, Cynddelw, Einion ap Gwalchmai, Einion ap Madog, Gruffudd ab yr Ynad Coch, Gruffudd Hiraethog, Gutun Owain, Gwalchmai ap Meilyr, Gwilym Tew, Ieuan Brechfa, Iolo Goch, Meilyr Brydydd, Prydydd y Moch, Simwnt Fychan, Wiliam Llŷn
 Powel, David 218, 263
 Powys 40, 79, 119, 132, 314 n. 167, 314 n. 171
 dynasties of 24, 40, 65, 135–6, 202
 kingdom of 68–9, 191
 kings of 36, 39, 68, 119–20, 124, 132, 136, 153, 208, 215, 292–3
 kinship of 75 n. 134, 119
 pedigrees of the kings of 38, 48 n. 269, 61, 68, 79, 107, 109, 114–16, 118, 129, 207, 226, 243, 266, 289–90, 318 n. 193
 princes of northern 45
 southern (Powys Wenwynwyn) 191, 211, 215–16, 218–20, 266
 pedigree of the rulers of 215, 218–19, 313
 Priam of Troy 15, 253, 327
 Prise, Sir John 130, 133
Progenies Keredic 47, 82, 85, 130, 137–42, 143 n. 221, 294–6 *see also* Ceredig Tract
 Prydydd y Moch 34, 70 n. 104, 215 n. 286, 308 n. 132
 pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension 40–1, 50
 date and purpose of 118–25
 pedigree of Beli Mawr constructed as part of 226, 233, 235, 240, 316–17
 pedigrees of 115–18, 122, 226–8, 236, 244, 245, 246, 263, 264, 288–91, 319
 source for the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies 204, 226–8
 transmission to the Jesus 20 genealogies 126, 128–9, 139, 157
 transmission to the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies 139, 157, 226–7
 version of Cunedda Wledig's pedigree 148, 233–5, 244
 See also patriline of *under* Rhodri Mawr
Pump Brenhinllwyth Cymru 435
 Quimperlé, Benedictine abbey of Sainte-Croix de 86–9, 98
 cartulary of 86, 89, 92, 153 *see also* Life of *under* Gurthiern, St
 Radnorshire 164
 Regau daughter of King Leir 124 n. 127, 259–60, 263, 317–18, 329
Rhandiroedd Powys 46, 191
 Rhanillt, mother of Gruffudd ap Cynan 35–6, 202, 320–1
 Rhirid Flaidd 209, 307, 311
 Rhiwallon ap Cynfyn 41
 Rhodri ap Hyfaidd 71, 75, 84
 Rhodri Mawr 33, 69–71, 84, 201
 age of the sons of 201, 206, 208, 228
 children of 40, 71, 75, 107, 115, 118, 119–21, 204–6, 208, 228, 234, 291
 descendants of 40–1, 119, 122, 202 n. 224, 204–6
 dynasties descending from 22, 40, 108–9, 118, 122–4, 146
 epithet of 70 n. 104
 Gwynedd collection of genealogies created during the reign of 40, 52, 75–6, 78–9, 113–16
 origin legend 118–21, 124, 125, 217, 300
 see also origin legends
 patriline of 40, 114, 116–18, 122, 124, 129, 146 n. 237, 226–8, 235, 244, 288
 pedigrees of 30, 32, 43, 101, 107, 114–18, 121–2, 124, 129, 203, 226, 235, 255, 288–91, 312 n. 155
 presence in fifteenth-century English genealogical rolls 255–6
 probably ruled the Isle of Man 63, 69
 Welsh poems about 299
 See also Epyllt ferch Cynan Dindaethwy, pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension, Rhodri Mawr group *under* Jesus 20 genealogies
 Rhos 73, 77, 168, 209, 218
 Is Dulas 209, 309, 312
 noblemen of 212–13
 pedigree of the kings of 64, 107, 114, 139, 229, 323
 Uwch Dulas 309, 312
 See also Rhos line of *under* Gwynedd
 Rhufon ap Cunedda 72, 78
 Rhufoniog 22, 168, 218
 kingdom of 68–9, 77–8
 pedigree of the kings of 61, 65–6, 100, 108, 139, 229, 294, 323
 Uwch Aled 209, 312
 Rhun ab Arthial, king of Strathclyde 61–2, 79
 Rhun ap Neithon 61, 65, 91
 Rhun Hir 33, 34
 Rhwng Gwy a Hafren
 dynasty of 127, 136
 pedigrees of 107

General Index

- Rhydderch ab Iestyn, dynasty of 144–6
 Rhydderch Hen, king of Alclud 61, 66
 Rhys ap Gruffudd (the Lord Rhys) 33, 118–20, 124, 125, 207–8, 229
 descendants of 76, 118, 207, 216
 Exeter 3514 genealogy on the children of 125 n. 131, 249
 pedigree of 207, 243
 Rhys ap Maredudd 255
 Rhys ap Tewdwr, king of Deheubarth 5, 119, 120, 123, 205, 315 n. 186
 dynasty of 206
 Rhys ap Thomas, Sir 183, 187–8, 263
 Rhys Gryg 41–2, 107, 108–9, 118, 120, 122, 125–6, 128–9, 146, 157 *see also* Rhys Gryg group *under* Jesus 20 genealogies
 Rhys Sais 25, 209, 311
 Rochester, cathedral priory of St Andrew 56
 Roger of St Albans genealogical rolls 254–6, 324
 Rǫgnvaldr Guðrøðarson, king of Man and the Isles 35 n. 164, 211
 Roiantdreh 23
 rolls, genealogical
 fifteenth-century English 231, 252 n. 111, 253–8, 264, 324–7
 of Edward I's reign 248–9, 253
 of Peter of Poitiers's *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi* 252 n. 107, 254 n. 120
 Welsh 183, 231, 259–63, 328–31, 435–7
 Romans 15, 151, 276
 Roman emperors, list of 65, 81–2, 91, 100, 151–2, 270, 272–3
 Rome 87, 110–11, 189, 227, 277 n. 28
 Rothari, king of the Lombards 14, 22 *see also* *Edictus Rothari*
 royal inauguration *see under* kingship
 Rud Hudibras (Rhun Baladr Bras) 225, 258, 259, 283, 316–19, 329
 saints 142
 genealogies of 12, 17 n. 85, 42, 79–90, 93–6, 98–9, 129–42, 200, 234, 239–40, 431
 hagiography 16, 42, 81–90, 91–2, 93–6, 98–9, 129, 134, 135, 142–3, 148, 223, 292–3, 294 n. 95
 Salisbury, Henry, of Dôl Belydr 160, 195–9, 302–3, 421, 423, 435
 Salisbury, William 186, 196, 198
 lost book of 160, 163–4, 182, 186, 196, 198, 200, 351
 Sallust (pseudo-) 55–6
 Samson, St 42
 Sanddef ap Caradog Hardd 304–5
Sarth Marthin gynt, y nawr Brycheiniawc 130, 223, 273, 292–3, 421 *see also* Brychan Tract
 Scotland 26, 37, 127, 246, 247 n. 79
Seaxnet 13
 Sedulius Scottus 70
 Seisyll ap Llywelyn of Buellt 107, 108, 126–7, 129
 Selyf Sarffgadau 25, 61, 65, 226, 290
 Severn, river 155–6
 Simwnt Fychan 46 n. 252, 169, 170, 174–7, 178–80, 188, 195, 351, 390
 Sisillius (Seisyll/Seirioel) 230, 236 n. 14, 240, 246, 258–60, 262, 264, 277, 283, 316–19, 328–9
 Snorri Sturluson 253
 Solinus 54–5
 Square minuscule 58
 St Augustine's, Canterbury 52, 54, 56–9, 68, 79, 157
 St Davids 229
 archiepiscopal claims of 121
 bishopric of 92–3, 128
 bishops of 58 n. 41, 59, 93, 121, 125–6, 128
 cathedral church of 124–5, 126, 130, 181
 chronicling tradition of 59, 71, 228–30
 clas church of 43, 58 n. 41, 59–60, 62, 68, 72, 113, 125, 157, 266, 333
 St Davids recension 43, 50, 51–2, 60 n. 52, 72, 75, 77, 115–16, 122, 124, 125, 146 n. 237, 333
 circulation in the twelfth century in texts connected to Llancarfan 52, 79–100, 151–3, 157, 270, 276–80
 creation of 51, 59, 68, 79
 pedigrees of the 78, 139 n. 205, 245, 322–3
 possible influence on the Morgan ab Owain genealogies 150–3, 156–7
 relationship with the pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension 114, 123, 128
 source for the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies 66, 208, 228–30
 version of Cunedda Wledig's pedigree 233–4
 witnessed by the Harleian genealogies 51–2, 68, 122
 See also *De gestis Britonum* *under* Geoffrey of Monmouth, Gwynedd collection of genealogies *under* Gwynedd, Harleian genealogies, St Davids recension
 redacted during the reign of *under* Owain ap Hywel Dda, pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension
 St Peter's Abbey, Ghent 53
 de Stackpole, Richard 11
 status 11, 13, 24, 60
 claim through female line 23–4, 60, 124
 see also transmission through female line *under* kingship
 noble 6, 9, 120, 208

General Index

- royal 6, 13, 21, 23–4, 29, 60, 124, 144, 146,
 205, 208, 228 n. 367, 265
 Strata Florida, Cistercian abbey of 43, 228–30
 Strata Marcella, Cistercian abbey of 45,
 219–20, 266, 414
 abbot of 313 n. 166
 grants to 314 n. 168
 witnesses to grants to 220, 313 nn. 161–2,
 313 n. 164, 314 nn. 170–1
 Strathclyde
 dynasty of 62
 kings of 79
 pedigree of the kings of 26, 61, 79, 100
 Swansea 105

 Talybolion 209, 214, 304–6, 308 *see also* Egri
 of Talybolion
 Tallylchau (Talley), Premonstratensian abbey of
 125–6, 128, 156–7
 Tangwystl ferch Owain 23
 Tegeingl 124
 Tegeryn ap Carwed 9, 305 n. 118
 Teifi, river 72–3, 75, 76–7, 84–5
 Teilo, St 92–3
 Tewdrig ap Teithfallt 80, 83, 274, 293
 Tewdwr ap Griffri 106, 146, 153
 Tewdwr Mawr, king of Deheubarth 33 n. 152
 Theoderic the Great 14
 Theudomer 15
 Thomas, Hugh 105, 162–4, 193 n. 175, 199,
 345, 421–3, 436–7
 Thomas ab Ieuan ap Deicws, Sir 160, 186–7,
 188–93, 218, 231, 351, 414, 421, 423
 Thomas ap Llywelyn ab Ithel of Bodfari 170,
 178–9, 188, 190, 193–4, 435–6
 Trahaearn ap Caradog, king of Gwynedd 41,
 136, 202 n. 224
 triads 46, 185 n. 141, 193, 204–5, 235, 299,
 301, 339 n. 18
 Trojans 233
 ancestry 236 n. 17, 240–1, 250, 253, 255
 descent from 15, 250
 story of the 238, 252, 264, 325–7
 Tudor, Owen 218, 261, 263, 331 *see also*
 Henry VII and Tudor dynasty
 Tudor dynasty 233, 261, 263–4, 266 *see also*
 Henry VII and Tudor, Owen
 Twrcelyn 209, 214–15, 305, 307–8 *see also*
 Caw of Prydyn/Twrcelyn

 Urien Rheged 61, 64, 66, 126–8, 202, 225, 279

 Valle Crucis, Cistercian abbey of 43, 45, 165,
 200, 216–18, 220–2, 231, 266

 renowned as a centre of genealogical
 learning 217–18
 Vaughan, Robert 162, 166–8, 183, 218, 269,
 271, 304 n. 115
 Vegetius 53–5, 57
 vikings 69–71
Vita Griffini filii Conani 43, 168 n. 51, 202,
 209, 320–1 *see also* *Historia Gruffud van*
Kenan
 Beli Mawr pedigree in 226–8, 235, 240, 249
 n. 93, 316–17, 319
 date of 121
 Gwynedd pedigree in 148, 227–8, 234–5,
 288–9
 presentation of Gruffudd ap Cynan's ancestry
 6, 12, 23, 124
 pseudo-Rhodri Mawr recension pedigrees in
 41, 121–2, 235, 288–9
 relationship with the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth
 genealogies 122–3, 157, 227–8
 Rhodri Mawr patriline in 117, 122, 227–8,
 235, 288
terminus ante quem for creation of Rhodri
 Mawr patriline and Beli Mawr pedigree
 122, 124–5, 235, 243, 252 n. 111, 316
terminus ante quem for translation into Welsh
 227
 Vitruvius 53–6
 Vortigern (Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenau) 22, 25, 39,
 88, 106–7, 110, 154–5, 213, 279 n. 41, 285,
 290

 Wales *see* Britons
 Wars of the Roses 253, 261
 West Saxons 17 n. 86, 20, 38, 69, 231, 250
 Whitland, Cistercian abbey of 10–11, 243
 Wigmore, Augustinian abbey of 257
 William Llŷn 170, 177 n. 93, 178–9, 181, 217,
 262 n. 161, 435–6
 Wiliems, Thomas 130, 166–7, 169–70, 173–4,
 176, 188, 190, 193, 195, 292
 Wilkins, Thomas 104–5
 William of Malmesbury 53, 91–2, 96–7, 231,
 250
De antiquitate Glastonie ecclesie 52, 81,
 96–7, 98, 100, 333
 Winwaloe, St 23
 Woden 13, 26, 27, 38, 231, 253
 Wrdisten, abbot of Landévennec 23
 Wynn, John, of Y Tŵr 170, 178–9, 390

Y Bibyl Ynghymraec 233, 251–2, 256 n. 132,
 324–7
 Ynysdawy 44
 Ystrad Tywi 71, 101, 107 n. 57, 108, 125–8

INDEX OF GENEALOGIES

Note on lenition: Lenition is not consistently applied to all epithets: thus it never applied to the epithet of Rhodri Mawr (never Rhodri Fawr) whereas it is always applied to the epithet of Merfyn Frych (never Merfyn Brych). Wherever possible, the forms in this index follow the sources. Similarly, lenition is not consistently applied to the names of fathers in the patronymics of women: thus one finds both *Angharat ferch Maredyd* (LIIG 11.1.4) and *Angharad ferch Faredyd* (LIIG 12.2.4). For ease of cross-reference, the names of fathers in women's patronymics are never lenited below.

Note on the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies: Most sections of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies (LIIG) are reproduced in Gutun Owain's recension of the text (LIIG (GO)). Similarly, sections of several versions of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, including Gutun Owain's recension, are reproduced in *Llyma Dalm Weheliaethau a Llwythau Cymru* (*LID*). Since the repeated sections in the editions of LIIG (GO) and *LID* carry section numbers that are cross-referenced to their sources, it has been deemed superfluous to provide separate references to the repeated sections below: thus LIIG (GO) G3.1/1.1 is not mechanically listed alongside LIIG 1.1. Consequently, readers are advised to consult the corresponding sections in LIIG (GO) and *LID* when following references to LIIG. However, wherever the repeated sections of LIIG (GO) and *LID* contain names that vary significantly from, or are additions to, their source sections, separate references to LIIG (GO) and *LID* have been provided.

Dynasties

Brenhinllwyth Bleddyn ap Cynfyn	LIIG (GO) G81.2	Iorwerthion	LIIG 1.3.2
Brenhinllwyth Caradog ab Iestyn	LIIG (GO) G81.4	Llwyth Aelan	LIIG 49
Brenhinllwyth Elystan Glodrydd	LIIG (GO) G81.5	Llwyth Braint Hir	LIIG 61; LIIG (GO) G79.2
Brenhinllwyth Gruffudd ap Cynan	LIIG (GO) G81.1	Llwyth Cillin	LIIG 48, 48.6, 49.5
Brenhinllwyth Rhys ap Tewdwr	LIIG (GO) G81.3	Llwyth Cilmin Troed-Ddu	LIIG (GO) G79.8
Cadelling	LIIG 40, 57	Llwyth Collwyn	LIIG 56
Coeling	<i>BGG</i> 7	Llwyth Ednywain Bendew	LIIG (GO) G79.3
Cynferchyn	<i>BGG</i> 7	Llwyth Edryd	LIIG 54
Cynwydion	LIIG A4.1; LIIG (GO) G9.6, G65.1, G69; <i>BGG</i> 3, 7	Llwyth Edwin ap Goronwy	LIIG (GO) G79.3
Glastening	HG 25; LIIG 39 [<i>Glastyniaid</i>]	Llwyth Einudd	LIIG (GO) G79.10–11
		Llwyth Gollwyn ap Gellan	LIIG (GO) G79.7
		Llwyth Gweirudd ap Rhys Goch	LIIG (GO) G79.1
		Llwyth Hedd ab Olwynog	LIIG (GO) G79.2
		Llwyth Hwfa ap Cynddelw	LIIG (GO) G79.1.2
		Llwyth Maelog Crwm	LIIG (GO) G79.9
		Llwyth Marchudd	LIIG A4; LIIG (GO) G79.2

Index of Genealogies

Llwyth Marchweithion LIIG (GO) G79.2
 Llwyth Nefydd Hardd LIIG (GO) G79.4
 Llwyth Owain ap Bradwen LIIG (GO) G79.6
 Llwyth Rhirid Flaidd LIIG (GO) G79.5

Madogion LIIG 11.1.2, 51; LIIG (GO) G75
 Meilyrion LIIG 48.1, 49.1; LIIG (GO) G74.1

Selyfion *see under* People

Wyrion Cynfyn LID T41
 Wyrion Ednyfed ap Llywarch Goch LIIG (GO) G79.3.1
 Wyrion Ednyfed Fychan LIIG (GO) G79.1.2
 Wyrion Llywarch ap Brân LIIG (GO) G79.1.2
 Wyrion Rhys ap Marchan LID T41
 Wyrion Sanddef Hardd LID T41

Epithets

adran (division?) LIIG 9.3.2
 ail ton (son of the wave) LIIG 10.2
 annwyn (unpleasant) CC 2
 archenad (shoe, footwear) LID T26.2 *see also*
Achanet under People
 arf-finiog (sharp-weapon) LID T33.1
 arglwydd (lord) LID T23.1
 astrus (abstruse, intractable, cunning) LIIG 9.3

bach (small) LIIG 42
 baglog (lame) LIIG 1.3.7; LIFB 3.14
 barfdrwch (cut-beard) HC 18; JC 3.3
 [*bramdrut*], 41 [*vrabdruth*], 51; LIIG 1.3.4,
 42; LIIG (GO) G1.2; LIFB 3.23
 barf-fehinog (greasy-beard) LIIG 44
 barfog (bearded) LIIG 38.2, 60.2, 61
 barfsych (dry-beard) LIIG 11.1.1, 32.1, A3.6;
 LIIG (GO) G2.2, G78.2; MG 3
 bastard LIIG (GO) G12.2.1, G12.4.2, G12.5,
 G40.2.1
 bawd filwr (soldier's thumb) LIFB 3.18; BM
 bendigaïd (blessed) JC 13, 22, 51; GM 2–3;
 LIIG 11.1, 21, 38.1–2; LIIG (GO) G1.8,
 G12.4.10, G78.1; MG 1; CC 6
 blaidd (wolf) LIIG 49.6.3–4, 58.1–2; LIIG
 (GO) G79.5; LID T18
 blaidd rhudd (red wolf) LIIG A3.2 *see also*
 Cillin y Blaidd Rhudd *under* People
 bongam (crooked-legs) LID T2
 bradog (treacherous) JC 3.16; LIIG 1.3.9; BGG
 11
 braisg JC 13; GM 3; LIIG 38.1–2
 breichfras (strong-arm) JC 9; LID T23.2
 brenin da (good king) LID T19.2
 brenin helgwr (ON *veidikonungr*, hunting king)
 LIIG 16.1
 brych (freckled) JC 17, 42; GM 2; LIIG 11.1.4,
 19, 27.3, 40.1, 49.1.5, A4.1.1; LIIG (GO)
 G1.2, G30, G73; LID T34; MG 1–2; BM
 brych cadarn, y (the strong freckled man) LID
 T22.3

brych-hir (long-spot) JC 51
 brydig (resolute?) JC 10; GM 5
 bwch (gap, flaw, defect) HG 10; JC 37 [*uull*];
 LIIG (GO) G9.8
 bychan (younger) LIIG 13.4, 28.1.1, 32.1,
 35.2, 54.1, 55.1, A4.1; LIIG (GO) G12.2,
 G16.2, G23.2.9–11, G40.2.2, G41.1, G41.5–6,
 G72.2, G73.2, G77.1, G79.1.2; LID T8, T10,
 T12, T13.1–2, T19.3, T23.1, T28.1, T28.3
 cadarn (strong) LIIG (GO) G1.2; LID T40.4
 cadgaddug (battle-fog) LIIG (GO) G9.6; LIFB
 3.11
 cadwyl (battle-seeing?) LIFB 3.5
 caled (hard, cruel) LID T7
 cam (crooked) LIIG 11.1.2, 17, 51, 55.2.2, 57;
 LIIG (GO) G41.6, G60.1.3, G73.1–2, G73.4,
 G75, G76.1–4, G79.11
 carnhwch (sow-foot) LIIG 47.13
 cawr (giant) LIIG (GO) G55 *see also* garw
 cethin (dark, swarthy, brown) LIIG (GO)
 G16.2, G23.2.9; LID T15; CC 3
 chinbein (ON *hvitbeinn*, whiteshanks) LIIG
 16.1
 clafrog (leprous) JC 10
 clodrydd (famous) LIIG 19, 49.1.5; LIIG (GO)
 G13.6.5, G44.1, G46.2.1, G77.1.3, G81.5;
 LID T11.1, T19.1, T19.3, T20.1, T21.2,
 T22.1–3, T30.1.1
 cloff (lame) HG 9; LIIG 7.3, 28.5; LIIG (GO)
 G33
 coch (red) LIIG 13.2, 34.1, 44, 48.4, 49.2–3,
 49.4.3, 50.2.1; LIIG (GO) G12.4.11, G40.2.1,
 G67.1, G77.2, G79.1.1, G79.3.1; LID T2, T8,
 T11.2, T12, T28.3
 coch ynad (red judge) LIIG 55.3
 coed (forest) LIIG (GO) G57; LID T33.1 *see*
 also coch
 coeg (vain, arrogant; blind, one-eyed) LIIG
 48.5.2; LID T28.4; CC 3
 coetmor LID T28.3

- confessor (confessor) LIIG (GO) G12.1
 cosgorddfawr (great-retinue) HG 12; LIIG 1.3.5, 7.4; LIIG (GO) G9.7; *BGG* 5
 creulon (bloody, cruel) *LID* T18
 crupl (cripple) LIIG (GO) G16.5
 crwm (crooked) LIIG (GO) G79.9
 cryg (hoarse) JC 24–5, 27, 29; LIIG (GO) G16.2, G16.4–5, G23.2.9, G23.2.11; *LID* T21.3
 crysfan (high-shirt) HG 3
 crys-halog (dirty-shirt) LIIG 44
 cul (lean) LIIG 11.1.2, 11.1.4, 17, 51; LIIG (GO) G75
 cwn, y (of the dogs) LIIG 28.1.2
 cyfedd (feast, companion) *LID* T23.2
 cylchef LIIG 38.2
- da (good) JC 24, 27, 31, 42; LIIG 11.1.4, 12.2.4, 30.1, 48.1–6; LIIG (GO) G12.2, G13.1, G23.2, G74.1, G78.1; *MG* 2
 danwyn (white-tooth) HG 3; JC 39; LIIG 44
 dau freuddwyd (of the two dreams) LIIG 11.1.1, 31.1, 32.1, 33.1, A3.6; LIIG (GO) G2.2, G78.2; *MG* 3–4
 diofn (fearless) LIIG (GO) G12.2.1, G12.5
 diriaid (evil) LIIG 9.3.1
 distain (steward) *LID* T5.3
 drwyndwn (broken-nose) LIIG 11; LIIG (GO) G12.4.10, G15.1, G16.5, G25.1, G40.1–3; *LID* T15, T28.3; *CC* 8
 du (black) HG 16; JC 1; LIIG 1.1, 12.5, 16.1, 22, 28.1.3, 48.1, 49.1, 49.5; LIIG (GO) G12.4.10–11, G40.2.1, G74.1
 dynllug (light-fist) HG 22; LIIG 40.1, 49.1.5, 57; LIIG (GO) G30, G73 *see also* teyrnllug
- eryr gwŷr gorsedd (eagle of the men of the throne/court) LIIG 48.1, 49.1; LIIG (GO) G74.1
 eurdorchog (wearing a gold torque) LIIG 51
- galofydd (enemy-subduer) LIIG 9.3.2 [*galonyd*]
gamle (ON *gamli*, old) LIIG 16.1
 garthwys LIIG 7.1.1
 garw (rough, harsh, cruel) LIIG 42
 garwyn (white-shank) JC 18; LIIG 19, 22, 40.1, 49.1.5
 gefell (twin) LIIG (GO) G77.5.1–2; *LID* T16–17
 genhir (long-jaw) LIIG (GO) G9.6; *BGG* 3
 glas (blue, green) LIIG 39, 46.1–2 *see also* Glas *under* People
 glew (courageous, valiant) LIIG 11.1.1, 31.1, 32.1, 33.1, A3.6; LIIG (GO) G78.2; *MG* 3
 glewddigar (courageous-fierce) LIIG 61
 gloywddigar (bright-fierce) LIIG (GO) G71; *LID* T33.2
- godebog (protector) LIIG 11.1.2, 11.1.4, 27.1–2, A4.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2–3, G9.1, G9.3–6, G9.7.1, G9.7.3, G33, G65.1, G75; *MG* 1 *see also* Godebog *under* People
golwtheu LIIG 3
 gwalchgrwn (round-hawk) JC 19; LIIG 20 [*gallgrwm*]
 gwallthir (long-hair) JC 15; LIIG 28.5
 gwâr (gentle, courteous) LIIG (GO) G1.2
 gwefllhwch (sow-lip) LIIG 38.2
 gwenwaun (white-heath) LIIG 31.1; *MG* 4
 gwisg (clothing, armour) *LID* T28.4
 gwisgi (nimble, fair) LIIG 55.3
 gwlad lydan (broad land) LIIG (GO) G2.2; *MG* 3
 gwledig (lord, king) HG 2, 4–5; JC 4–5, 7, 13, 16, 19, 21–2, 39–46, 47b, 48, 49c, 50–1; *GM* 2–3; LIIG 1.3.8, 1.5, 9.1, 9.3.1, 11.1, 11.1.1, 18, 20, 27.2, 31.1, 32.1, 33.1, A3.6, 38.1, 42–4, 46.2, 47, 48.1, 49.1; LIIG (GO) G1.1.1, G1.4, G1.7–8, G2.2, G10.3, G74.1, G78.2; *LIFB* 3.9; *BGG* 11, 13; *MG* 1, 3, 6
 gwyn (white) LIIG (GO) G23.2.12
 gwyndod (completely-white?) LIIG 49.4.5; LIIG (GO) G16.5
 gwr (husband; suitor?) LIIG 40.2; LIIG (GO) G72.1–2
 gwrthenau (very-slim) JC 14–16, 18; *GM* 4; LIIG 19, 40.1, 49.1.5, A4.1.1; LIIG (GO) G1.5, G73; *LID* T26.2, T41
 Gwyddel (Irishman) JC 1; LIIG 47.14
 Gwyddeles (Irish woman) LIIG 12.9
 gyrrh (strong, mighty) HG 1, 3, 32; JC 7, 22, 39; *GM* 2; LIIG 11.1, 44, 47.11; LIIG (GO) G1.7–8; *MG* 1
- hael (generous) JC 9, 19; LIIG 9.2, 9.3.1; LIIG (GO) G10.1–2, G10.4; *BGG* 8
 hardd (handsome, fair) LIIG 48.2; LIIG (GO) G74.1, G79.4; *LID* T35, T41
harfagyr (ON *hárfagri*, fairhair) LIIG 16.1
 hen (old) HG 5–12, 16, 19; JC 5, 7–8, 11, 17, 34–8, 40; *GM* 1; LIIG 1.3.6, 6, 9.1, 9.3, 11.1, 11.1.2, 11.1.4, 17, 48.6, 51; LIIG (GO) G1.2, G1.4, G8.2, G10.1–3, G11.1, G12.1, G75; *LID* T21.1, T22.2–3; *LIFB* 3.21; *BGG* 2, 8–12; *MG* 1; *CC* 5
 hilfawr (great-seed, great-progeny) *LID* T7, T14
 hir (tall) JC 22; *GM* 2; LIIG 12.5, 61; LIIG (GO) G79.2; *CC* 7, 9
 hirdref (?of the extensive town) LIIG 49.5.3, 49.6, 58.1.1
 hirflawdd (long-terror) JC 3.2, 30; LIIG 1.3.2, 12.1, 31.1, 33.1; *LID* T28.4; *LIFB* 3.12
 hirflawr (long-grey) *MG* 4

Index of Genealogies

- hirymladd (long-fighting) *LID* T20.1
 hwylyfawr (long-journey) *LIIG* 8
- ieuanc (young) *LIIG* (GO) G16.3, G16.5,
 G23.2.12, G40.3; *LID* T21.3
 iwrch (roe buck) *JC* 22; *GM* 2; *LIIG* 11.1; *LIIG*
 (GO) G12.4.10, G78.1; *MG* 1
- krwchbak* (crouchback) *LIIG* (GO) G12.4.19
- llawddeog (ardent-hand) *LIIG* 11.1.1, 32.1,
 A3.6; *LIIG* (GO) G2.2, G78.2
 llawfeddog (of the strong ruling hand) *MG* 3
 llawgyffes (skilful-hand) *LIIG* 10.2
 llawhir (long-hand) *HG* 1; *JC* 12–13, 22–3;
GM 2–3; *LIIG* 11.1, 26, 38.1 [*ap Llawhir*],
 47.14; *LIIG* (GO) G1.7–8; *MG* 1
 llediaith (half-speech) *JC* 51; *LIIG* 27.1; *LIIG*
 (GO) G1.1; *MG* 5; *CC* 6, 9
 lledlwm (ragged) *JC* 5; *LIIG* 11.1.2, 11.1.4,
 17, 51; *LIIG* (GO) G75; *BGG* 1–2 *see also*
Lledlwm under People
 llew (lion) *LIIG* (GO) G2.2 *see also* *glew*
 lluyddog (of the host, of the army) *HG* 2; *JC* 4;
GM 3; *LIIG* 9.1; *LIIG* (GO) G10.3
 llwyd (grey) *LID* T14
 llydanwyn (broad-white) *JC* 17; *LIIG* 1.3.6,
 7.5, 11.1.2, 11.1.4, 17, 51; *LIIG* (GO) G75;
LIFB 3.21; *BGG* 2
 llym (sharp, fierce) *GM* 1
 llyngwyn (white-fleet) *BM*
 llŷr (sea) *LIIG* (GO) G54
 llyth (soft, feeble, ill) *LIIG* 11.1.2, 17, 51; *LID*
 T28.6
 llyw (leader, ruler) *HG* 19
- mab claf (sick boy) *LIIG* (GO) G8.1
 magnus (great) *HG* 1, 2, 16 *see also* *mawr*
 manach (monk) *JC* 51
 marchog (knight) *LID* T8
marsial (OF *martel*, hammer) *LIIG* (GO) G12.2
mawr (great) *JC* 4–5, 13, 17–20, 24, 26, 42;
GM 1–3; *LIIG* 11.1, 11.1.1, 11.1.4, 12.1,
 12.2.4, 16.2.1, 18, 20, 27.3, 28, 30.1, 31.1,
 32.1, 33.1, A3.6, 35.1, 37, 46.2, 48.5.1, 50.1,
 A4.1.1; *LIIG* (GO) G1.2, G1.5, G1.7, G2.2,
 G12.4.10, G13.2, G23.2.5–7, G30–1, G73,
 G78.1, GA6, G78.2; *LID* T21.1, T21.3, T28.4;
MG 1–3; *CC* 8 *see also* *magnus*
mearch (OI *méránach*, *meránach*) *LIIG* 16.1
 mechyll *LIIG* (GO) G16.4–5, G23.2.11–12;
LID T21.3
 meiniad *LIIG* (GO) G59.1.1, G67.1, G78.2 *see*
also *Neiniad ap Gwaithfoed under People*
 melyn (yellow) *LIIG* 15.2; *LIIG* (GO) GA4.2;
LID T2
 menrudd (red-spot) *JC* 33–4
- merini *LID* T23.2
milde (ON *mildi*, generous) *LIIG* 16.1
 moel (bald) *JC* 26, 37; *LIIG* 11.1, 28.1.1,
 47.12; *LIIG* (GO) G12.4.10, G28.1, G73.2;
LID T5.4, T7, T40.2; *MG* 1
 moelyn, y (the bald-headed man) *LID* T22.2
 moelfud (bald-mute) *HG* 10; *LIIG* (GO) G1.2
 molwynog *JC* 22; *GM* 2 [*malwynawg*]; *LIIG*
 11.1 [*malwynnawg*]; *LIIG* (GO) G12.4.10,
 G78.1; *MG* 1 [*maelŷynawc*]
mus *HG* 16
 mwyndyrch (torques; cf. OI *muintorc*) *LIIG*
 53, A4.1 [*ap Mwyntyrch*], 59; *LIIG* (GO)
 G59.4.1, G65.1
 mwynfawr (wealthy) *JC* 24–5; *GM* 1–5; *LIIG*
 9.1–2; *BGG* 12; *BM*
 myngan (white-maned) *LIIG* 40.1, 49.1.5;
LIIG (GO) G30 [*mynan*]
 myngfras (thick-maned) *JC* 3.10 [*Mengfrac*]
- pair llaw Eiddyn *LIFB* 3.5
 paladr bras (thick spear) *LIIG* 11.1; *LIIG* (GO)
 G1.2
 pefr (bright, gleaming) *JC* 3.15; *LIIG* 1.3.10;
LIIG (GO) G76.3
 peisrudd (red-coat) *HG* 1; *JC* 6; *GM* 2; *LIIG*
 11.1, 27.2, 46.2; *LIIG* (GO) G1.7; *MG* 1
 penddraig (chief-dragon) *JC* 51
 pendew (thick-topped) *LIIG* 12.2.2, 34.1.1,
 48.1.1, 49.2.1; *LIIG* (GO) G67.1, G77.2.1,
 G78.2, G79.3
 pendragon (chief-dragon) *MG* 6
 pengoch (red-headed) *LID* T22.1
 penisel (low-head) *HG* 19; *LIIG* (GO) G1.2
 penllydan (broad-head) *LIIG* 56.1
 pennog (chief, head) *LIIG* 49.4; *LID* T23.2
 penuchel (high-head) *JC* 3.5; *LIIG* (GO)
 G9.7.1; *BGG* 4
 plantagenet *LIIG* (GO) G12.2
 post Prydain (pillar of Britain) *HG* 19; *JC* 38;
LIIG (GO) G9.7; *BGG* 4
 priodor (proprietor) *LIIG* 9.1; *BGG* 12
 pryd engyl (angel's face) *LIIG* 11.1.2, 17, 51;
LIIG (GO) G75
 prydydd (bard) *LIIG* 49.4.2
- rhudd (red) *LIIG* (GO) G1.2
 rhudd baladr (red spear) *LIIG* 11.1.1, 31.1,
 32.1, 33.1, A3.6; *LIIG* (GO) G2.2, G78.2;
MG 3
 rhyfeddfawr (wonderful, wealthy) *LIIG* 23
ris (ON *hrísi*, bastard) *LIIG* 16.1
ruthyn (le Réchin) *LIIG* (GO) G12.2
- Sais (Englishman) *LIIG* 49.1.3, 57; *LIIG* (GO)
 G41.4, G73.1–2, G73.4, G76.1–4; *LID* T7,
 T21.3

Index of Genealogies

- sarff gadau (serpent of battles) LIIG 19, 49.1.5
scaplaut HG 16
sur (ON *sýr*, sow) LIIG 16.1
- tarianlas (green-shield) JC 51; LIIG (GO) G1.2
 teg (fair, handsome) LID T16
 teirnoe (of the three vessels) LIIG 48.1, 49.1;
 LIIG (GO) G74.1
 tew (fat) LIIG (GO) G12.2.1, G12.5
 teyrnllug (bright-prince) JC 16, 18 [*deyrllloch*];
 LIIG 1.3.3, 19, 40.2, A4.1.1; LIIG (GO) G72.1;
 LID T11.1, T34; LIFB 3.11 *see also* dyrnllug
 traws (wicked, oppressive) JC 44; LIIG 25.1
 tremrudd (red-eye) JC 2.2, 8, 16
 troed-ddu (black-foot) LIIG (GO) G66.1,
 G66.5, G79.8
- trwsgl (awkward, clumsy) LIIG (GO) G9.6;
BGG 3
trydelic LIIG 38.1
 tudglyd (Clyde-people) JC 19 [*Tuclith*]; LIIG
 9.2; *BGG* 8
- varia* (*nerra*, black) LIIG (GO) G12.2
- ynad (judge) LID T23.1
 ynfyd (foolish, mad) LIIG 48.1, 49.1, 49.5;
 LIIG (GO) G74.1
 ysgithrog (tusked) JC 3.10, 18; LIIG 1.3.3, 19,
 40.1, 49.1.5; LIIG (GO) G32; LIFB 3.11
 ysgwydhir (long-shield) LIIG 11.1
 ysgwydwyn (white-shield) JC 51; LIIG 11.1;
 LIIG (GO) G1.2

Places

- Aberedw (Radnorshire) LID T21.2
 Abergwili JC 33
 Abertanat (Llanyblodwel, Shropshire) LID T10
 Afloegion JC 7
Aldud LIIG 39
 Allington *see* Trefalun
 Anglesey (Môn) JC 3.23; LIIG 1.2.7, 1.3.20,
 47.14; LIIG (GO) G6–7, G23.2.9, G23.4, G41.5,
 G59.2.1, G74.1.1, G79.1; LIFB 2.10, 3.24
 Anjou LIIG (GO) G12.2
 Ardudwy LIIG 43, 47.4; LIIG (GO) G79.7
 Arfon LIIG 10.1, 55; LIIG (GO) G79.8
 Arllechwedd LIIG (GO) G79.9
 Arllechwedd Uchaf LIIG (GO) G43
 Arwystli LIIG 33, 47.2; LID T5.1–3
 Badlesmere LIIG (GO) G12.4.6
 Banadlfa LIIG 1.2.1
 Bardsey *see* Enlli
 Beddgelert LIIG 56.7.2
 Bodolwyn LIIG (GO) G71; LID T33.2 *see also*
 Bodrychwyn
 Bodrychwyn (Llanfair Talhaearn, Denbighshire)
 LIIG 61
 Britain HG 2, 16, 19, 33; JC 4, 9, 38; *GM* 5;
 LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G9.7; *BGG* 4
 Brittany (Llydaw) LIIG 7.2
 Brogyntyn (Porkington) LIIG (GO) G77.3
 Brycheiniog *GM* 1; LIIG 1.1; LIIG (GO)
 G3.2.1; LID T23.1–2; LIFB 1–2, 4
 Bryn (Llanyblodwel, Shropshire) LIIG 49.1.1
 Buellt JC 14, 33, 44; *GM* 4; LID T22.1–3
 Burgedin (Cegidfa/Guilsfield) LID T11.2
 Burton (Gresford) LIIG (GO) G59.2, G74; LID
 T41
- Cadwnfa (Cadwynfaen, Llanfihangel-yng-
 Ngwynfa, Montgomeryshire) LID T16
 Cae Hywel LIIG (GO) G77.2
 Cao LID T2
 Caer Glydog LIFB 2.3
 Caer Hawystl LIFB 3.6
 Caereinion LIIG 47.11, 49.1.4; LID T13
 Caergodolawr LIIG (GO) G3.3.16
 Caerleon (Caerllion-ar-Wysg) LIIG (GO) GA2
 Caernarfon LIIG (GO) G12.3–4
 Caerwedros LIIG 48.5.1
 Calchfynydd LIIG 1.3.7, 53, A4.1, 59; LIIG
 (GO) G9.6, G59.4.1, G65.1; LIFB 3.14; *BGG* 3
 Cambridge LIIG (GO) G12.4
 Camwri LIIG (GO) G39.1.1 *see also* Leinster
 Cantref Tewdos JC 12
 Castell Caereinion (Castle Caereinion) LIIG
 49.1.4
 Castile (Castell y Llew) LIIG (GO) G12.4.16
 Cedewain LID T30
 Cegidfa (Guilsfield) LIIG 40; LID T9.1.1,
 T11.1–2
 Ceiriog *see* Coed Ceiriog
 Celyddon *see* Llech Gelyddon
 Cemaes (Monmouthshire) CC 4
 Ceredigion JC 7; LIIG 1.2.12, 47.3; LIFB 2.8,
 2.15
 Ceri LID T19.1–3
 Chartley LIIG (GO) G12.4.9, G12.4.12
 Cheshire (Swydd Gaer) LID T41
 Chester LIIG 13.3; LIIG (GO) G40.2.2
 [Kaerlleon]; LIFB 4 [Kaer Lleon]
 Chirk *see* Swydd y Waun
 Cloghran (Co. Dublin) LIIG 12.12

Index of Genealogies

- Clud (Radnorshire) *LID* T21.2; MG 4
Coed Ceiriog (Ceiriog forest) *LIIG* 12.10.1
Colion *LIIG* 47.7
Constantinople HG 2; JC 4
Conwy, river *LIIG* 14, 28.5
Cornwall JC 2.10; *LIIG* 1.2.8, 1.3.1 [*Gorneu*],
3 [*Korneu*]; *LIIG* (GO) G1.2, G1.6; *LIFB*
2.16, 3.1; *BGG* 13 [*Corneu, Kernyl*]
Cornwy (Llanfair-yng-Nghornwy) *LIIG* 5
Creuddyn *LIIG* (GO) G77.2
Crickheath (Oswestry) *LID* T18
Croesfaen *see* Ruyton-XI-Towns
Croesoswallt *see* Oswestry, lordship of
Cydweli JC 3.21, 5
Cyfeiliog JC 2.8, 7; *LIIG* 12.1, 13.1, A3.6,
36.1.1; *LIIG* (GO) G15.2, G16.2, G22, G77.1;
LID T4.1, T6, T40.4
Cynllaith *LIIG* (GO) G77.5
- Dee, river HG 33
Deheubarth *LIIG* 1.2.2, 30, A3.1; *LIIG* (GO)
G81.3; *LIFB* 2.2
Denmark *LIIG* (GO) G12.2.1, G12.5
Deuddwr *LIIG* (GO) G76.4
Dindaethwy JC 22; *GM* 2; *LIIG* 11.1, 27.3;
LIIG (GO) G12.4.10, G23, G78.1; MG 1
Dinmael *LIIG* 47.6; *LIIG* (GO) G77.3
Dogfeiling *LIIG* 46.2, 47.8
Dôl (Tre'r-ddôl, Edeirnion) *LIIG* 55.2.2
Dre-wen, Y *see* Whittington
Dublin (Dinas Dulyn) *LIIG* 12.12, 16.1.3
Dudleston (Dudlyst-yn-y-Traean, Dudlyston-
yn-y-Traean, Shropshire) *LIIG* (GO) G76.2;
LID T37.2
Dunoding JC 7; *LIIG* 47.4
Dyfed *LIIG* 38; *LIIG* (GO) G13.6.3; *LID*
T5.3–4, T9.1; *LIFB* 2.17
Dyffryn Clwyd *LIIG* (GO) G21.7–8, G58,
G72, G79.10; *LIFB* 2.14
Dyffryn Elwy *LIIG* 60.1.2
- Edeirnion JC 7; *LIIG* 47.5, 55.2.2; *LIIG* (GO)
G77.3
Edinburgh HG 7; *LIIG* (GO) G9.6; *LIFB* 3.5;
BGG 3
Egypt JC 4
Eifionydd (Eiddionydd) *LIIG* 47.4, 49.5.4;
LIIG (GO) G2.2.4
Elfael Is Mynydd *LID* T21.1
Elfael Uwch Mynydd *LID* T21.2–3
Emlyn JC 3.22; *LIIG* 1.3.19; *LIFB* 3.15
England *LIIG* 28.5; *LIIG* (GO) G12.1, G12.2.1,
G12.4–5, G40.2.1, G78.1.1; *LIFB* 2.3
Enlli (Bardsey) *LIIG* 12.2
Erddlys (Erlas, Wrexham) *LIIG* (GO) G76.1
Eutun (Eyton, Erbistock) *LIIG* (GO) G76.1
- Falaise *LIIG* (GO) G12.5.1
France JC 2.11; *LIIG* 1.2.9; *LIIG* (GO)
G3.3.21, G12.2.1, G12.4.18, G12.5, G13.6.4;
LIFB 2.18
- Galedyn* *LIIG* 1.2.6
Generdinlle *see* Kinnerley
Gest (Eifionydd) *LIIG* 49.5.4, 58.1.1; *LIIG*
(GO) G2.2.4
Glamorgan JC 3.4, 3.24
Glan Tywi *see* Tywyn
Gloucester (Caer Loyw) JC 15
Glyn-bwch (Glyn Fach, Breconshire) *LID*
T21.1
Glyndyfrdwy *LIIG* (GO) G23.2.12
Gododdin *see* Manaw Gododdin
Greece JC 1; *LIIG* 1.1
Grug Gorsafael *LIIG* 1.3.15 [*Grug*
Gorsabawl]; *LIFB* 3.22 [*Kraic Orseddol*]
Guilsfield *see* Cegidfa
Gwent *LIIG* 36; *LIIG* (GO) G3.3.12
Gwent Is Coed *LIFB* 2.6
Gwent Uchaf *LIIG* (GO) GA3
Gwerthrynion *LIIG* 31
Gwynedd JC 22, 28, 51; *GM* 2; *LIIG* 11.1, 12,
25.1, 27, 28.5, 47.1, 50.2; *LIIG* (GO) G1.7–8,
G2.1, G2.2.1, G7, G12.4.10, GA5.1, G22,
G24, G27, G38.1, G40.1, G77.1.2, G79, G81;
LID T6.1.2, T28; *LIFB* 3.11; MG 1
Gwynllŵg *LID* T26
- Hasgen* *see* Llanhesgyn
Haverfordwest (Hwlffordd) *LID* T2
Hereford (Henffordd) *LID* T19.1, T21.2,
T30.1.1
Hiraddug (Cwm, Flintshire) *LIIG* 28.1.3
- Iâl *LIIG* 15.2; *LIIG* (GO) GA4.2
Ireland JC 1; *LIIG* 1.1, 16.1.1–3, 16.2.1; *LIIG*
(GO) G12.4.7
- Jerusalem HG 2; JC 4
- Kent *LIIG* (GO) G12.4.3
Kinnerley (Generdinlle) *LID* T8
- Lancaster *LIIG* (GO) G12.4.1, G12.4.19
Langley *LIIG* (GO) G12.4
Leicester *LIIG* (GO) G12.4.14
Leinster *LIIG* 16.1.1 [*Lani*], 16.1.3 [*Llaini*]
Lichfield (Caer Lwydgoed) HG 25; *LIIG* 39
Lincoln *LIIG* (GO) G40.2.2
Lincolnshire *LIFB* 2.1
Llam y Gwyddyl *LIIG* 47.14
Llanbeulan *LIIG* 15.2; *LIIG* (GO) GA4
Llandaf *GM* 1
Llanddulas (Llangynbryd) *LIFB* 2.12

Index of Genealogies

- Llanddyfnan *LIFB* 2.10
 Llanfair Talhaearn *LIIG* 60.1.1
 Llangaeon (Tregaeon, Anglesey) *LIFB* 2.11
 Llangynin (Llangynin a'i Weision, Llangynin a'i Feibion) *LIFB* 2.17
 Llanhesgyn *LIIG* 1.3.12; *LIFB* 3.3 [*Hasgen*]
 Llannerch Banna (Penley) *LIIG* (GO) G73.4
 Llanymddyfri (Llandovery) *JC* 2.9
 Llech Gelyddon *LIFB* 3.4
 Llwydiarth (Llanfihangel-yng-Ngwynfa, Montgomeryshire) *LID* T9
 Llychlyn (Scandinavia) *LIIG* 16.1
 Llŷn *LIIG* 28.3, 49.5.2, 50.2.1; *LIIG* (GO) G60.5.1
 Llys Ronwy (Llyswyrny, Llysworney) *JC* 3.4
 Llysfaen (Llangynfran) *LIFB* 2.13
- Maelienydd *LID* T7, T14, T20; *LIFB* 3.8
 Maelor *LIIG* 12.2, 32.1, 49.1.3, 57, 58.2; *LIIG* (GO) G2.2, G15.1, GA5.1, G59.2, G73, G74
 Maelor Gymraeg *LIIG* (GO) G73.3, G79.11
 Maes Osfeilion *LIIG* 47.10
 Main *LIIG* (GO) G77.5.3; *LID* T12 *see also* Main Gwynedd
 Main Gwynedd *LID* T38.2.3 *see also* Main Man, Isle of (Manaw) *JC* 2.7; *LIIG* 1.2.3, 1.2.6, 1.3.14; *LIIG* (GO) G16.5.1, G40.3; *LIFB* 3.17
 Manaw Gododdin *HG* 32; *LIIG* 47.1
 March, the *LIIG* (GO) G12.4.5, G12.4.7–8, G40.2.1, G73
 Margam *JC* 5
 Mathrafal *CC* 7
 Meath (Mide) *LIIG* 16.1.3; *LIIG* (GO) G12.4.7
 Mechain *LIIG* (GO) G76.4
 Mechain Is Coed *LID* T7
 Mechain Uwch Coed *LID* T16
 Meirionydd *JC* 3.12, 7; *LIIG* 12.3, 42, 47.1.1; *LIIG* (GO) G3.3.13, G41.1, G79.6; *LID* T28.1; *LIFB* 3.19–20
 Mercia *LIIG* (GO) G1.8.1
 Merthyr (Merthyr Tydfil) *JC* 3.14; *LIFB* 3.2 [*Merthyr Euvail*], 3.10
 Merthyr Cyflifer *LIIG* 1.2.5
 Merthyr Cynog *LIIG* 1.2.1; *LIFB* 2.5
 Mochnant *LIIG* 49.6.3, 56.2
 Morgannwg *JC* 9; *LIIG* 35; *LIIG* (GO) G81.4; *LIFB* 3.10; *BM*
 Munster *LIIG* 16.1.2–3 [*Muen*]
 Mynydd Cyfor *JC* 3.21; *LIIG* 1.3.18
- Nanconwy *LIIG* 25.1; *LIIG* (GO) G79.4; *LID* T28.3
 Nanheudwy *LIIG* (GO) G73.2
 Nannau *LIIG* A3.5; *LIIG* (GO) G77.4; *LID* T29
 Nant Mawr, y (Twrcelyn) *LIIG* 28.6
- Nantaled *LIIG* 60.1.3
 Normandy *LIIG* (GO) G12.1.1, G12.2.1, G12.4.2, G12.5
- Ogmore, river *LIIG* 1.3.16 [*yn Trigabaelognar* < OW *ythr gabl Ogmor*, within the fork of the Ogmore]
 Osweilion *see* Maes Osfeilion
 Oswestry, lordship of (Swydd Groesoswallt) *LID* T18
- Pembroke *LIIG* (GO) G23.2.7
 Penllechren *LIIG* A3.1
 Penllyn *LIIG* 41, 58; *LIIG* (GO) G79.5
 Penmon *LIIG* 15.3; *LIIG* (GO) GA4.3
 Penmon Lys *LIIG* 28.7
 Penmynydd Gradifel *LIIG* 12.6
 Pennant Melangell *LIIG* 49.1.1
 Pentraeth *LIIG* 52
 Porkington *see* Brogyntyn
 Powys *HG* 15; *JC* 18, 23; *LIIG* 1.2.1, 2, 32, 47.11, 49.1.1; *LIIG* (GO) G47, G53, G76.4, G81.2; *LID* T9, T40.4; *LIFB* 3.12, 3.23
 Powys Fadog *LID* T3, T41
 Powys Wenwynwyn *LIIG* (GO) G77.1; *LID* T4
Provius *LIIG* (GO) G12.4.17
 Prydyn (Pictland, Scotland) *LIIG* 1.5, 26; *LIFB* 3.4
- Rheged *JC* 34; *LIFB* 3.13
 Rhiw, y (Llŷn) *LIIG* 28.3
 Rhos *LIIG* 5, 12.11, 44, 54, 61; *LIIG* (GO) G12.4.11, G13.4, G40.2.1; *LIFB* 2.12–13
 Rhufoniog *JC* 7; *LIIG* 45, 47.9; *LIIG* (GO) G13.4
 Rhuthin (Glamorgan) *JC* 3.24
 Rhwng Gwy a Hafren *LIIG* (GO) G81.5; *LID* T20
 Rhydau Tynwaed (the Fords of Tynwaed) *LIIG* 1.3.7
 Rome *JC* 4; *GM* 1, 4; *LIIG* 11.1; *LIIG* (GO) G1.2–3; *BGG* 11
 Ron (France) *LIIG* (GO) G3.3.21
 Ruyton-XI-Towns (Yr Un Dref ar Ddeg, Croesfaen) *LID* T8
- Salisbury *LIIG* (GO) G12.4.5
 Scandinavia *see* Llychlyn
 Senghenydd *LIIG* 35.2; *LIIG* (GO) G16.1; *LID* T25
 Severn (Hafren), river *JC* 15
 Shropshire (Swydd Amwythig) *LID* T41
 Sonlli (Sontley, Marchwiell) *LIIG* (GO) G76.1
 Sórd Colmcille (Swords, Co. Dublin) *LIIG* 12.12
 Spain *LIIG* (GO) G12.4.16; *LIFB* 2.7
 Stafford *LIFB* 4

Index of Genealogies

- Sweden LIIG 16.1 [*Suesia*]
 Swydd Ddinbych (Denbighshire) LIIG (GO) G79.2, G79.3.1
 Swydd y Waun (Chirkland) LIIG (GO) G73
- Talgarth JC 3.17; LIIG 1.3.17; *LIFB* 3.16
 Talybolion LIIG 5
 Talylychau *LIFB* 2.9
 Tegeingl LIIG (GO) G13.6.6, G78.1–2, G79.3
 Teifi, river HG 33
 Trefalun (Allington) LIIG (GO) G75, G79.11
 Trefor LIIG 57; LIIG (GO) G60.1.3, G73, G73.1, G76.1–4; *LID* T40.1, T40.4
Trigabaelognar see Ogmere, river
Tlmb Reidoc JC 2.11; *LIFB* 2.18 [*Tomrriwch*]
 Twrcelyn LIIG 4, 28.6, A3.3; LIIG (GO) G59.2.1, G74.1.1
- Tywyn JC 3.12 [*Glan Tywi*]; LIIG 1.3.13 [*Llantewyn*]
- Ulster LIIG 16.2.2 [*Wltw*]; LIIG (GO) G12.4.13
 Wales JC 3.23; LIIG 1.2.2, 1.5, 29, 37; LIIG (GO) G2, G80–1; *LID* T41
 Wessex LIIG (GO) G12.1
 Westmorland LIIG (GO) G12.4.1
 Whittington, lordship of (Swydd y Dre-wen) LIIG (GO) G76.3; *LID* T40.4
 Wigmor LIIG (GO) G12.4.2
- York LIIG (GO) G12.4
 Ystrad Alun *LID* T17
 Ystrad Meurig LIIG 28.4
 Ystrad Tywi JC 3.19; *LIFB* 3.7

People

- [?]esselis HG 23
 Aaron HG 16
Abloid ap Cunedda Wledig LIIG 47.12 see also *Bloid* ap Cunedda Wledig
Achanet LIIG 38.2 see also archenad under Epithets
 Adam LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2, G12.1; MG 1
 Adam ap Seisyll JC 32
 Addaf ab Awr LIIG (GO) G73.1; *LID* T40.2
 Addaf ap Meurig *LID* T9.1.1
 Addien ap Dôn LIIG 10.1
 Adeliza (Adles) LIIG 13.3
Adwent ferch Elyuer JC 16
 Áed Ua Mathgamna LIIG 16.2.2 [*Etwathawn*]
 Aedd Mawr LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2
 Aeddan ap Caw LIIG 4
 Aeddan ap Cyngen HG 31
 Aeddan ap Deigr LIIG (GO) G19.3.2 see also Enfael Adran
 Aeddan ab Elise LIIG 40.1, 49.1.5
 Aeddan ap Maig LIIG 44 see also Cyngen ap Maig
 Aeddan ap Mor HG 20; JC 46; LIIG 45
 Aeddan ap Rhodri Mawr JC 20
 Áedán mac Gabráin (Aeddan Fradog/Fawd Filwr) JC 3.16; LIIG 1.3.9; *LIFB* 3.18; *BGG* 11
 Aelan ab Alcer LIIG 50.1; LIIG (GO) GA6; *LID* T21.1
 Aelan ap Greddf LIIG 49.1–2, 49.4–5 see also Llwyth Aelan under Dynasties
 Aeneas see Eneas Ysgwydwy
 Aere ab Idnerth LIIG 52.2
- Aergol Lawhir HG 2; JC 12–13; *GM* 3; LIIG 38.1 [*Aergul ap Llawhir*]
 Æthelflæd, wife of King Edmund LIIG (GO) G78.1.1
 Æthelred, ealdorman of the Mercians see Edryd Gwallthir
 Æthelred I LIIG (GO) G12.1 [*Etheldridus*]
 Æthelred the Unready LIIG (GO) G12.1 [*Egelridus*]
 Æthelwulf LIIG (GO) G12.1
 Afallach HG 1, 10; JC 5–6; *GM* 1–2; LIIG 11.1, 11.1.4, 24, 46.2, A4.1.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2, G1.5, G1.7, G73; MG 1 [*Aflach*]
 Afallach ap Brychan LIIG 1.2.13
 Afan Buellt JC 44 [*Kynan Buellt*]
 Afandreg Ddu LIIG (GO) G32 see also Tandreg Ddu
 Afandreg ferch Gwair LIIG 17
 Afandreg ferch Gwrgi LIIG 12.6–7
 Afloedd see Óláfr
 Afloeg ap Cunedda Wledig HG 32; JC 7
 Agnes ferch Gruffudd LIIG 15.1; LIIG (GO) G24
 Alan ab Egri LIIG 5
 Alan(e)us CC 9
 Alâog Wr LIIG 40.2; LIIG (GO) G72.1–2
 Alban HG 16
 Albanus *BM* see also Lainus
 Alcer ap Tudwal Gloff LIIG 50.1; LIIG (GO) GA6; *LID* T21.1
 Alcwn ap Tegid JC 17; LIIG 11.1.4
 Aldudd ab Owain LIIG 58.2.1
 Aleth (Alun) frenin Dyfed *LID* T5.3–4, T9.1

Index of Genealogies

- Alexander HG 16
 Alexander the Great LIIG 16.2.1
 Alfred the Great LIIG (GO) G12.1, G12.2.1
 Allectus JC 51
 Alun frenin Dyfed *see* Aleth frenin Dyfed
 Alunog (Olwynog) ap Greddf LIIG 60.1–2
Amadanw LIIG 48.5.1
 Amaethon ap Dôn LIIG 10.1
 Amalech (Aflech) HG 1; JC 5–6; *GM* 1–2; LIIG 11.1, 11.1.4, 46.2, A4.1.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2, G1.5, G1.7, G73; *MG* 1
 Amlawdd Wledig JC 7; LIIG 47.13; LIIG (GO) G1.1.1; *BGG* 13; *MG* 6
 Amoloedd HG 1; *GM* 2; LIIG 38.1 [*Amloyd*], 46.2 [*Afloyd*]
Amor ap Morudd HG 20 (*mor*); JC 46 (*Amor*); LIIG 45 (*Mor*)
 Amroeth ap Glywys JC 5
 Amweryd HG 1; JC 6; *GM* 2 [*Anerod*]; LIIG 11.1, 38.1, 46.2 [*Angwerydd*]; LIIG (GO) G1.7
 Anarawd ap Gruffudd LIIG (GO) G16.1, G23.2.8
 Anarawd ap Rhodri Mawr JC 20, 26; LIIG 11.1, 28, 28.1; LIIG (GO) G12.4.10; *MG* 1; *CC* 8
 Anarawd Gwalchgrwn HG 4; JC 19; LIIG 20
 Anarawn ap Cynfarch LIIG 7.2
 Anchises LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2; *MG* 1; *CC* 5, 9
 Andryw (Andragius) JC 51; LIIG (GO) G1.2
 Anedd ferch Gwrgi LIIG 12.7
 Aneirin ap Caw LIIG 4
Aneu ap Caw LIIG 4
 Angharad ferch Brochfael LIIG 48.2.1
 Angharad ferch Cadwaladr LIIG 13.4
 Angharad ferch Genillin LIIG 50.2.1
 Angharad ferch Hwfa LIIG A4.1.1
 Angharad ferch Llawr JC 31
 Angharad ferch Llywelyn LIIG (GO) G40.2.2
 Angharad ferch Maredudd JC 27; LIIG 11.1.4, 12.2.4, 28.2.3; LIIG (GO) G13.1
 Angharad ferch Meurig JC 20–1, 42; LIIG 18
 Angharad ferch Owain ab Edwin LIIG 15.1; LIIG (GO) G14.2, G24
 Angharad ferch Owain Gwynedd LIIG 12.2; LIIG (GO) G2.2.1, GA5.1
 Angharad ferch Peredur LIIG 12.3
Angwarat ap Peibio Glafrog *GM* 5
 Anlach, father of Brychan Brycheiniog *LIFB* 1 [*Evallach*]
 Anna HG 1, 10; JC 4–6; *GM* 1–2
 Anna ferch Uthyr Pendragon *MG* 6
 Annun ap Ceredig JC 49b
 Annun Ddu HG 4 [*Anthun*], 16 [*Antun*]; JC 1; LIIG 1.1, 11.1 [*Antonius*]; LIIG (GO) G1.2 [*Antonivs*]; *CC* 9; *BM*
Anor *see* Ifor/*Anor* ap Severus
Anthech/Anllech/Annech ap Tudwal HG 4; JC 19; LIIG 20
 Antoninus (Caracalla) HG 16 [*Antonius*]
 Antoninus (Pius) HG 16 [*Antonius*]
 Antonius *see* Annun Ddu
 Arawn ap Cynfarch LIIG 7.2
Arbeth *see* Efrddyl ferch Peibio Glafrog
 Arch *CC* 9; *BM*
 Arianrhod ferch Dôn LIIG 10.1–2
 Arianwen ferch Brychan JC 3.2 [*Ugrnngen*]; LIIG 1.3.2; *LIFB* 3.12 [*Rianwen*]
 Arodri, father of Rhiwallon LIIG 58.1
 Arthal (Arthgallo) JC 51
 Arthal ap Dyfnwal HG 5
 Arthan ap Grippi HG 30
 Arthan ap Pedr *see* Arthur ap Pedr
 Arthen ap Brychan JC 2.4 [*Attien*]; LIIG 1.2.3
 Arthen ap Cadwgon LIIG 51
 Arthen ap Caradog Hardd LIIG 48.2.2
 Arthen ap Pedr LIIG (GO) G51.1; *LID* T26.1 *see also* Arthur ap Pedr
 Arthen ap Seisyll HG 26; JC 21, 42; LIIG 18
 Arthfael, ?father of Idwal JC 16
 Arthfael (Arthmail) JC 51; LIIG (GO) G1.2
 Arthfael ab Einudd *BM*
 Arthfael ap Rhys/Gwriad HG 29; JC 9–10, 12; *GM* 1; LIIG 35.1; *BM* [*Arthavael ap Gbriad, Arthvael ap Rys*]
 Arthfoddw ap Boddw HG 26; JC 21 [*Aruodeu*], 42 [*Aruodeu*]; LIIG 18 [*Aruotheu*]
 Arthloes ab Arthfoddw HG 26; JC 21 [*Argloes*], 42 [*Argloes*]; LIIG 18
 Arthur ap Pedr HG 2; JC 12; *GM* 3 [*Arthan*]; LIIG 38.1
 Arthur ab Uthyr JC 51; *GM* 5; LIIG 3, 37; LIIG (GO) G1.1, G1.6; *MG* 1, 5; *CC* 6
 Arthur Penuchel JC 3.5
 Arwystl ap Cunedda Wledig LIIG 47.2
 Ascanius JC 51; LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2; *MG* 1; *CC* 5, 9; *BM*
 Asclepiodotus JC 51
 Assaracus LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2; *MG* 1; *CC* 5
 Asser ap Gwrgi LIIG 60.2
 Asser ap Merwydd LIIG 56.3–4
 Athrwyys ap Ffernael HG 28
 Athrwyys ap Mar LIIG (GO) G9.5–7, G65.1; *BGG* 3–6
 Athrwyys ap Meurig HG 28; JC 9; *GM* 1; LIIG 35.1; *BM*
 Augustus (Octavian) HG 16
 Aurelian HG 16
 Aurelius Conanus JC 51
 Awr ab Ieuaf LIIG (GO) G73.1; *LID* T40.2

Index of Genealogies

- Bach, y CC 3
 Banadl LIIG 1.2.1
 Banadlwedd LIIG 1.2.1
 Bangar ap Caw LIIG 4
Bangar ap Gardan (Cyngar ap Garthog) JC 49a
Barar *see* *Garar/Barar*
Barssia, wife of Shem LIIG (GO) G11.2
 Basian (Bassianus) JC 51
 Beadwig LIIG (GO) G12.1 [*Bedegi*]
 Beaw LIIG (GO) G12.1 [*Beorni*]
 Beldæg LIIG (GO) G12.1 [*Dieldeg, Beldigus*]
 Beli, brother of Brennius JC 51; LIIG (GO) G1.2
 Beli ab Elffin HG 5
 Beli ap Eludd/Selyf Sarff Gadau/Mael Myngan *see* Eli ab Eludd
 Beli ap Neithon HG 5
 Beli ap Rhun Hir HG 1; JC 22; *GM* 2; LIIG 11.1, 23; LIIG (GO) G1.8; *MG* 1; *CC* 1
 Beli ap Selyf ap Brochfael LIIG 40.1, 49.1.5; *LID* T9.1.1
 Beli Mawr HG 1, 10; JC 4–6, 51; *GM* 1–2; LIIG 11.1, 11.1.1, 11.1.4, 31.1, 32.1, 33.1, A3.6, 46.2, A4.1.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2, G1.5, G1.7, G2.2, G73, G78.2; *MG* 1, 3
 Belyn ab Egri LIIG 5
Beor LIIG 16.1
Beresma, wife of Noah LIIG (GO) G11.1
 Berwyn ap Brychan JC 2.10; LIIG 1.2.8; *LIFB* 2.16
 Biordderch LIIG A4.1.1, 57; LIIG (GO) G73
 Blaidd Rhudd, y *see* Cillin y Blaidd Rhudd
 Blaig Goeg LIIG (GO) G59.5.2 *see also* Bleddyn Coeg
 Blanche of Lancaster LIIG (GO) G12.4.19
 Bleddri ap Cedifor LIIG 38.2
 Bleddri ap Mor JC 33
 Bleddrus ap Cynog Mawr LIIG 12.1, 33.1; LIIG (GO) G61.3
 Bleddrus ab Ednywain Bendew LIIG 34.1.1; LIIG (GO) G77.2.1
 Bleddrus ap Griffri LIIG 49.5 *see also* Moelyn ab Aelan
 Bleddrus ap Gwrydyr LIIG 51
 Bleddrus ap Hwfa LIIG (GO) G79.1.2
 Bleddrus ap Merwydd LIIG 56.6; LIIG (GO) G60.5.2
 Bleddudd (Bladud) JC 51; LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2
 Bleddudd (Bledudo) JC 51 [*Bledyn*]; LIIG (GO) G1.2
 Bleddudd ap Caradog HG 17; JC 40; LIIG 43
 Bleddyn, father of Mael LIIG 12.3
 Bleddyn, successor of Meirion *see* Bleddudd (Bledudo)
 Bleddyn ap Bleddrus LIIG 12.1, 33.1; LIIG (GO) G61.3
 Bleddyn ap Cynfyn JC 27; LIIG 11.1.1, 11.1.3–4, 13.2, 28.2.3, 32.1, A1.1, A2–3, 34.1, 49.5.4; LIIG (GO) G2.2, G13.1–2, G13.4–6, G15.1–2, G24, G40.1, G77.1–4, G77.5.1; *LID* T4.1, T5.2, T5.3.1, T8, T10, T11.2, T12, T16–17, T28.1; *MG* 3 *see also* Brenhinllwyth
 Bleddyn ap Cynfyn *under* Dynasties
 Bleddyn ab Edryd LIIG 54.2
 Bleddyn ab *Efream* LIIG 48.5
 Bleddyn ap Maenyrch *LID* T23.2
 Bleddyn ap Meurig LIIG 54.4
 Bleddyn ab Owain Brogyntyn LIIG (GO) G77.3
 Bleddyn ap Tudur LIIG (GO) G73.2
 Bleddyn Coeg LIIG 48.5.2
 Blegywryd (Bledgabred) JC 51
 Blodeuwedd LIIG 10.2
Bloid ap Cunedda Wledig LIIG (GO) G21.12 *see also* *Abloid* ap Cunedda Wledig
 Bod ap Cysgen LIIG (GO) G43
 Boddw ap Caranfael HG 24
 Boddw ap Serwyl HG 26; JC 21, 42; LIIG 18
Botan/Botang ap Morien HG 25; LIIG 39
 Braint Hir LIIG 61 *see also* Llwyth Braint Hir *under* Dynasties
 Brân (Bendigeidfran) LIIG 27.1; LIIG (GO) G1.1; *MG* 5; *CC* 6, 9; *BM*
 Brân ap Brydw LIIG 61
 Brân ap Dinawal LIIG 49.5.1, 50.1; LIIG (GO) GA6; *LID* T21.1
 Brân ap Pyll LIIG 48.1, 49.1; LIIG (GO) G74.1
 Brân Hen/Foel HG 10; JC 37 [*Branud*]
 de Braose, John LIIG (GO) G16.3.2, G40.2.2
 de Braose, Matilda LIIG (GO) G16.3
 de Braose, Reginald LIIG (GO) G16.3.1
 de Braose, William LIIG (GO) G12.4.9 [*arghwydd Brewys*]
 Brawstudd ferch *Gloud* JC 14; *GM* 4 [*Brawst*]
 Breichiol, father of Mor HG 20; JC 46 [*Brochuael*]; LIIG 45
 Breichiol ap Maelog Dda LIIG 48.3
 Breichiol ap Trahaearn LIIG 48.5
 Briafael Frydig JC 10; *GM* 5
 Brian, grandfather of Einion Efell and Cynwrig Efell LIIG (GO) G77.5.3 *see also* *Efream*, father of Madog
 Brithwain HG 1; JC 6 [*Prydain*]; *GM* 2 [*Prydain*]; LIIG 11.1 [*Brychwein*], 46.2 [*Brychwein*]; LIIG (GO) G1.7 [*Brychwain*]
 Brochfael ab Aeddan LIIG 40.1, 49.1.5; *LID* T9.1.1
 Brochfael ap Cunedda Wledig *see* Breichiol, father of Mor
 Brochfael ab Ednyfed Meirionydd HG 18; JC 41; LIIG 42 [*Broch/aelan*]
 Brochfael ab Eifion HG 17; JC 40

Index of Genealogies

- Brochfael ab Elise HG 27, 31; JC 18; LIIG 19
 Brochfael ap Meurig HG 29; *BM see also*
 Brochfael ap Rhys
 Brochfael ap Moelyn LIIG A3.3, 48.2.1; LIIG
 (GO) G59.2.2, G74.1.1
 Brochfael ap Rhys JC 9; *GM 1 [Brochuail ap*
 Meyrig ap Rys]; *BM see also* Brochfael ap
 Meurig
 Brochfael ap Swalda HG 18; JC 41; LIIG 42
 Brochfael Ysgithrog HG 22, 27; JC 3.10, 18;
 LIIG 1.3.3, 19, 40.1, 49.1.5; LIIG (GO) G32;
 LIFB 3.11
 Brochwel ap Dyfnwal LIIG 41
 Brochwel ap Trahaearn LIIG (GO) G59.5 *see*
 also Breichiol ap Trahaearn
 Brond LIIG (GO) G12.1 [*Brondys, Beymwnt*]
 Brutus JC 51; LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2,
 G80; MG 1; *CC 5, 9; BM*
 Brutus Darianlas/Ysgwydhir JC 51; LIIG 11.1;
 LIIG (GO) G1.2
 Brwydr Ddiriaid LIIG 9.3.1
 Brychan Brycheiniog JC 1–3, 8; *GM 1*; LIIG
 1.1–5; *LID T23.1; LIFB 1–4*
 Brychwain *see* Brithwain
 Brydw ap Braint Hir LIIG 61
 Brydw ap Cadeyrn/Cadell Deyrnllug/Rhuddfedel
 Frych HG 23; JC 16; LIIG 19, 40.1, 49.1.5,
 A4.1.1; LIIG (GO) G73
 de Burgh, Elizabeth LIIG (GO) G12.4.13–14
 de Burgh (Bwrch), William LIIG (GO)
 G12.4.13
 Bywdeg LIIG 11.1.1, 31.1, 32.1, 33.1, A3.6;
 LIIG (GO) G2.2, G78.2; MG 3 [*Holdec*]
 Bywyn LIIG A4.1.1, 57; LIIG (GO) G73
 Bywyr Lew LIIG 11.1.1, 31.1, 32.1, 33.1,
 A3.6; LIIG (GO) G2.2, G78.2; MG 3 [*Howyr*
 Leu]
 Cadafael ap Lludd LIIG 56.1; *CC 7*
 Cadell (Catellus) JC 51; LIIG (GO) G1.2
 Cadell ap *Decion* HG 16
 Cadell ab Einion JC 24; MG 2
 Cadell ap Gruffudd LIIG (GO) G16.1, G23.2.8
 Cadell ap Rhodri Mawr HG 1; JC 20, 24, 42;
 LIIG 11.1.4, 12.2.4, 28, 28.2, 30.1; LIIG (GO)
 G13.1, G78.1; MG 2
 Cadell Dyrnllug HG 22–3, 27; JC 16, 18;
 LIIG 1.3.3, 19, 40.1–2, 49.1.5, A4.1.1, 57;
 LIIG (GO) G72.1, G73; *LIFB 3.11 see also*
 Cadelling *under* Dynasties
 Cadell Powys ap Brochfael HG 27; JC 18;
 LIIG 19
 Cadeyrn HG 22–3, 27; JC 16, 18; LIIG
 19 [*Kyndeyrn*], 40.1 [*Kyndeyrn*], 49.1.5
 [*Kyndeyrn*], A4.1.1; LIIG (GO) G73
 Cadfael ab Aeddan LIIG (GO) G19.3.2 *see*
 also Enfael Adran
 Cadfael ab Urien Rheged LIIG (GO) G17.2 *see*
 also Cadiel ab Urien Rheged
 Cadfan ab Alâog Wr LIIG (GO) G72.1–2
 Cadfan ap Cadwaladr LIIG 13.1
 Cadfan ap Cynan LIIG (GO) G37.1 *see also*
 Gadeon ab Eudaf Hen/Cynan
 Cadfan ab Iago HG 1; JC 22 [*Kad/bga/bn*], 51;
 GM 2; LIIG 11.1, 22; LIIG (GO) G1.8; MG 1
 Cadfarch ap Gweirnen LIIG A4.1.1, 57; LIIG
 (GO) G73
 Cadfor ap Merwydd HG 25; LIIG 39
 Cadfor ap Tudwal *see* Cynfawr ap Tudwal
 Cadiel ab Urien Rheged LIIG 7.1
 Cadien ap Cynan *see* Gadeon ab Eudaf Hen/
 Cynan
 Cadien ap Gwlyddien LIIG (GO) G51.1; *LID*
 T26.1 *see also* Cathen ap Cloden
 Cadlew ap Cadell HG 16
 Cado ap Geraint JC 10 *see also* Cadwr ap
 Gwrlais
 Cadog, St JC 3.1, 4; LIIG 1.3.1; *LIFB 3.1*
 Cadog ap Brychan LIIG (GO) G3.2.8 *see also*
 Reidoc ap Brychan
 Cadog ap Disaeth LIIG 52.1–2
 Cadog ap Gwlyddien *LID T26.1 see also*
 Cathen ap Cloden
 Cadrod ab Ieufar LIIG 48.6
 Cadrod Calchfynydd JC 3.11; LIIG 1.3.7, 53,
 A4.1, 59; LIIG (GO) G9.6, G59.4.1, G65.1;
 LIFB 3.14; BGG 3
 Cadwal ab Iarddur LIIG 49.4.5
 Cadwal Cydweli ap Glywys JC 5
 Cadwal Crysfaen/Crys-halog HG 3; JC 39; LIIG
 44
 Cadwaladr ap Glywys JC 5
 Cadwaladr ap Gruffudd LIIG 13, 15.1, 56.7.1;
 LIIG (GO) G13.5, G24, G27, G41
 Cadwaladr ap Meirion Meirionydd HG 18; JC
 41; LIIG 42
 Cadwaladr Fendigaid HG 1; JC 22, 51; *GM*
 2; LIIG 11.1, 21; LIIG (GO) G1.8, G12.4.10,
 G78.1; MG 1
 Cadwallon ap Cadfan HG 1; JC 22, 51; *GM 2*;
 LIIG 11.1, 22; LIIG (GO) G1.8; MG 1
 Cadwallon ap Cadwaladr LIIG 13.2
 Cadwallon ap Gruffudd LIIG 13.4, 14, 15.1;
 LIIG (GO) G24
 Cadwallon ap Madog ap Cadwgon LIIG A1.1
 Cadwallon ap Madog ab Idnerth LIIG 31.1;
 LID T19.1; MG 4
 Cadwallon ap Maredudd LIIG 28.2.3
 Cadwallon ap Meirion Meirionydd JC 41
 Cadwallon ab Owain Gwynedd LIIG 12.2
 Cadwallon Lawhir HG 1; JC 22–3; *GM 2*; LIIG
 11.1, 26, 47.14; LIIG (GO) G1.7–8; MG 1
 Cadwallon Lyw HG 19
 Cadwgon ap Bleddrus LIIG 51

Index of Genealogies

- Cadwgon ap Bleddyn LIIG A1.1, A3.4; LIIG (GO) G13.2, G13.6, G77.4; *LID* T5.2, T28.1
 Cadwgon ap Disaeth LIIG (GO) G63.1 *see also* Cadog ap Disaeth
 Cadwgon ab Elystan Glodrydd JC 30, 32; LIIG 31.1; LIIG (GO) G13.6.5, G77.1.3; *LID* T19.1, T19.3, T21.2, T22.1–3, T30.1.1; MG 4
 Cadwgon ap Genillan LIIG 56.5
 Cadwgon ap Gruffudd *LID* T21.3
 Cadwgon ab Iago *see* Cadfan ab Iago
 Cadwgon ab Iorwerth Hilfawr *LID* T14
 Cadwgon ap Llywarch LIIG 50.1–2
 Cadwgon ap Madog *LID* T14
 Cadwgon ap Rhiwallon LIIG 55.3
 Cadwgon ap Seisyll JC 32
 Cadwgon *Trydelic* ap Cathen HG 2; JC 8, 12 [*G/ga/bn*]; *GM* 3 [*Gwgon*]; LIIG 38.1
 Cadwr, successor of Pyr *see* Capoer (Capoir)
 Cadwr ap Cadfor HG 25; LIIG 39
 Cadwr ap Cadog LIIG 52.1–2
 Cadwr ap Cadwr Wenwaun MG 4
 Cadwr ap Cynan *see* Gadeon ab Eudaf Hen/Cynan
 Cadwr ap Gwrlais LIIG (GO) G1.6 *see also* Cado ap Geraint
 Cadwr ap Pybyr LIIG 41
 Cadwr Wenwaun/ap *G/benuenuen* JC 30; LIIG 31.1; MG 4
 Caean ap Brychan *LIFB* 2.11 *see also* Ronan ap Brychan
 Caelius LIIG 11.1 [*Silius*]; LIIG (GO) G1.2 [*Silivus*]; MG 1; *CC* 5
 Caenog ap Tegonwy LIIG 11.1.1, 32.1, A3.6; LIIG (GO) G2.2, G78.2; MG 3
 Caff (Cap) JC 51 [*Caap*]; LIIG (GO) G1.2 [*Kapho*]
 Caid *CC* 9; *BM*
 Cain ap Brychan LIIG (GO) G3.2.5 *see also* Rhain ap Brychan
 Cain ap Dwg JC 17 [*Ceit*]; LIIG 11.1.4 [*Gwair*]
 Cain ap Gwrgain HG 1; JC 6; *GM* 2; LIIG 11.1, 46.2; LIIG (GO) G1.7
 Cain ap Llywarch Hen LIIG (GO) G8.1 *see also* Ceni ap Llywarch Hen
 Cain ferch Brychan JC 3.20 [*Kein/breith*]; LIIG 1.3.16 [*Ceinddrec*]; *LIFB* 3.23 [*Keinddrych*]
 Cainan LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2, G12.1; MG 1
 Caligula, Gaius [HG 16]
 Callwch LIIG (GO) G35.1.1 *see also* Tallwch
 Camber MG 1; *BM*
 Camuir HG 23
 Caper LIIG 41
 Capoer (Capoir) JC 51 [*Cat/r*]; LIIG (GO) G1.2
 Capys LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2; MG 1
 Caradog (Caratacos) ap Cynfelyn HG 16
 Caradog ap Brân LIIG 27.1; LIIG (GO) G1.1; MG 5; *CC* 6, 9; *BM*
 Caradog ap Gollwyn *LID* T13.2
 Caradog ap Gruffudd LIIG (GO) GA2
 Caradog ap Gwyn JC 27; LIIG 12.1, 33.1–2, 50.3; *LID* T21.1.1
 Caradog ab Iaen LIIG 3
 Caradog ab Iestyn LIIG 35.1; LIIG (GO) G16.1; *BM see also* Brenhinllwyth Caradog ab Iestyn *under* Dynasties
 Caradog ab Ieuaf LIIG (GO) G59.6 *see also* Cadrod ab Ieuaf
 Caradog ab Ieuanol HG 17; JC 40; LIIG 43
 Caradog ap Lles Llawddeog LIIG 11.1.1, 32.1, A3.6; LIIG (GO) G2.2, G78.2
 Caradog ap Meirion HG 3; JC 39; LIIG 44
 Caradog ap Moelyn LIIG (GO) G60.3.1
 Caradog ab Owain LIIG (GO) G64 *see also* Ceredig ab Owain
 Caradog ap Rhiwallon LIIG (GO) G13.3
 Caradog ap Rhydderch LIIG (GO) G13.2
 Caradog ap Rhys Ieuanc *LID* T21.3
 Caradog Freichfras JC 9; *LID* T23.2
 Caradog Hardd LIIG 48.2; LIIG (GO) G74.1
 Carancius (Carausius) JC 51
 Caranfael ap Cerenrior HG 24
 Carus HG 16 [*Carocus*]
 Carwed, father of Hywel LIIG 48.4.1
 Carwed ap Marchudd LIIG 12.2.1, A4.1, 59; LIIG (GO) G65.1
 Casnar Wledig JC 16 [*Kasanauth Wledic*]; LIIG 11.1.1, 31.1, 32.1, 33.1, A3.6; LIIG (GO) G2.2, G78.2; MG 3
 Caswallon JC 4, 51 [*Catwalla/bn*]
 Caterius *see* Ceredig (Kareticus)
 Cathen ap Cawrdaf HG 16
 Cathen ap Cloden HG 2; JC 8, 12; *GM* 3; LIIG 38.1
 Cathen ap Nowy HG 15; JC 8
 Cathus ap Rhufon LIIG 52.1
 Caw ap Cawrdaf *LID* T23.2
 Caw of Prydyn/Twrcelyn LIIG 1.5, 4
 Cawrdaf ap Caradog Freichfras *LID* T23.2
 Cawrdaf ap *Garmonya/bn* LIIG (GO) G10.3; *BGG* 10
 Cawrdaf ap Serwan HG 16
 Ceawlin LIIG (GO) G12.1 [*Sawlinvs, Sawlini*]
 Cedifor ap Collwyn LIIG 38.2; LIIG (GO) G13.6.3
 Cedifor ap Gruffudd LIIG (GO) G16.3
 Cedig Draws JC 44, 48
 Cedig/Ceidio ap Dyfnwal Hen LIIG (GO) G10.1–2, G19.2; *BGG* 8–9
 Ceidio ab Athrwys LIIG (GO) G9.7; *BGG* 6
 Ceidio ap Corf LIIG 11.1.1, 32.1, A3.6; LIIG (GO) G2.2, G78.2; ?MG 3 [*Corrn Diuisas*]

Index of Genealogies

- Ceidio ap Dyfnwal Hen *see* Cedig/Ceidio ap Dyfnwal Hen
- Ceinddrech ferch Brychan *see* Cain ferch Brychan
- Ceinddrech ferch *Reiden* JC 4
- Ceinddrech ferch Rhiwallon JC 8
- Ceinfryd ferch Cyndrwyn LIIG 2
- Ceinfryd ferch Ednywain Bendew LIIG 48.1.1
- Ceinfryd ferch Rhirid Mawr LIIG 48.5.1
- Ceingar ferch Maredudd JC 12; *GM* 3
- Ceingair ferch Brychan JC 3.6 [*Kyngar*]; LIIG 1.3.11; *LIFB* 3.8 [*Rianger*]
- Ceinwen ferch Brychan *see* Dwynwen ferch Brychan
- Celeinion ferch Hywel LIIG 48.4.1
- Celeinion ferch Tudwal JC 19; LIIG 20
- Celyn ap Caw LIIG 4
- Celynin ap Rhirid *LID* T9.1
- Cenau ap Brwydr Ddiriaid LIIG 9.3.1
- Cenau ap Coel Hen HG 9, 11–12, 19; JC 5, 17, 34–5, 38; *GM* 1; LIIG 7.3–4, 7.6, 11.1.2, 11.1.4, 17, 23, 27.1, 51, A4.1; LIIG (GO) G9.1.2, G9.5–8, G65.1, G69, G75; *BGG* 1–6; *MG* 1
- Cenau ap Corun JC 49c
- Cenau ap Llywarch Hen LIIG (GO) G8.1
- Cenau Menrudd JC 33–4
- Cenedlon ferch Briafael Frydig JC 10; *GM* 5
- Cenedlon ferch Brychan *see* Cynheiddon ferch Brychan
- Ceni ap Llywarch Hen LIIG 6
- Ceno ap Nowy JC 16
- Cenred LIIG (GO) G12.1 [*Kinridus*, *Kinard*]
- Ceolwald LIIG (GO) G12.1 [*Kolwaldus*, *Gewalt*]
- Cerddych ferch Brychan JC 3.12 [*Kerdech*]; LIIG 1.3.13 [*Gweurdyr*]; *LIFB* 3.19 [*Gwawrdydd*] *see also* Gwenddydd ferch Brychan
- Cerdic LIIG (GO) G12.1 [*Seredikus*, *Serdys*]
- Ceredig (Karecticus) JC 51 [*Caterius*]
- Ceredig ap Cunedda Wledig HG 26, 32; JC 3.8, 7, 21, 42–5, 47a–49b; LIIG 1.3.8, 18, 47.3; *LIFB* 3.9
- Ceredig ab Owain LIIG 53
- Ceredig Wledig HG 5
- Cerennior ab *Ermic* HG 24
- Cernyr, Cerfyr *see* Cynyr ap Meilyr Meilyrion
- Cerwyd ap Crydon LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2
- Cerwyd ap Pabo Post Prydain *BGG* 4
- Ceryn (Cherin) LIIG (GO) G1.2
- Cetim LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2; *MG* 1; *CC* 5
- Charles the Fat (Dew) LIIG (GO) G12.2.1, G12.5
- Charlton, John *LID* T40.4
- Christ, Jesus HG 1–2, 16; JC 51
- Cillin ap Caradog *BM*
- Cillin ap Maelog Dda LIIG 48.1, 48.6
- Cillin ap y Blaidd Rhudd *see* Cillin y Blaidd Rhudd
- Cillin y Blaidd Rhudd LIIG 11.1.3, A3.2, 49.5.4, 49.6.3, 58.1.1
- Cillin Ynfyd/Hen LIIG 48.1, 48.6, 49.1, 49.5; LIIG (GO) G74.1 *see also* Llwyth Cillin *under* Dynasties
- Cilmin Troed-ddu LIIG 55.1 *see also* Llwyth Cilmin Troed-Ddu *under* Dynasties
- Cilydd ap Caw LIIG 4
- Cinis *Scaplaut* HG 16
- Claudius HG 16
- Cleopatra HG 16
- Clesoeoph* ap Glywys JC 5
- Clinoch* HG 6
- Cloden, successor of Clydno *see* Clydno (Clotenus)
- Cloden ap Nowy HG 2; JC 12; *GM* 3; LIIG 38.1 [*Gwlyddien*]
- Clodri ap Clydwyn HG 2 *see also* Gwleddydd ferch Clydwyn
- Clwyf HG 5
- Clydai ferch Brychan JC 3.22; LIIG 1.3.19; *LIFB* 3.15 [*Klodvaith*]
- Clydno, successor of *Eliud* *see* Clydog (Cledaucus)
- Clydno (Clotenus) JC 51 [*Cloten*]; LIIG (GO) G1.2
- Clydno ap Gwrin Farfdrwch HG 18; LIIG 42
- Clydno Eidyn HG 7; LIIG (GO) G9.6; *BGG* 3
- Clydno iarlŷ Cernyw (Clotenus) LIIG (GO) G1.2
- Clydog (Cledaucus) JC 51 [*Cledno*]; LIIG (GO) G1.2
- Clydog ab Arthloes HG 26; JC 21, 42; LIIG 18
- Clydog ap Cadell LIIG 28.2
- Clydog ap Clydwyn/Brychan JC 2.3; *LIFB* 2.3
- Clydog ap Morgan Fwlch *see* Coleddog ap Morgan Fwlch
- Clydwyn ap Brychan JC 2.3; LIIG 1.2.2; *LIFB* 2.2 [*Glewyn*]
- Clydwyn ap Nyfed HG 2; LIIG 38.1
- Coel (Coillus I) JC 51; LIIG (GO) G1.2
- Coel (Coillus II) JC 51
- Coel ap Cunedda Wledig LIIG 47.7
- Coel Hen/Godebog HG 8–12, 19; JC 5, 7, 17, 34–8; *GM* 1; LIIG 7.3–4, 7.6, 11.1.2, 11.1.4, 17, 23, 27.1–2, 51, A4.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2–4, G9.1.2, G9.5–8, G19.3.2, G65.1, G69, G75; *BGG* 1–6; *MG* 1 *see also* Coeling *under* Dynasties
- Coel of Colchester JC 51
- Cof ap Caw LIIG 4
- Cof ap Ceidio *BGG* 6
- Coleddog ap Beli *see* Gwylog ab Eli
- Coleddog ap Morgan Fwlch HG 10; JC 37 [*Cleda/c*]; LIIG (GO) G9.8 [*Klydawc*]

Index of Genealogies

- Coll ab Egri LIIG 5
 Collwyn *see also* Gollwyn
 Collwyn ap Gwyn LIIG 38.2; LIIG (GO) G13.6.3
 Collwyn ap Moriddig LIIG 49.6.3, 58.1
 Collwyn ap Tangno LIIG 56.1–2, 56.6–7; LIIG (GO) G41.7 *see also* Llwyth Collwyn *under* Dynasties
 Commodus HG 16
 Confer HG 5
 Constans, son of Constantine HG 2, 16
 Constans, successor of Llŷr *see* Constantius Chlorus
 Constans Fanach JC 51
 Constantine, son of Galerius HG 16
 Constantine, successor of Arthur *see* Custenin ap Cadwr
 Constantine the Great HG 2, 16; JC 4, 13, 51; GM 3; LIIG (GO) G1.3
 Constantius Chlorus HG 2; JC 4, 13, 51 [Constans]; LIIG (GO) G1.3 [Konstans]
 Cordeilla JC 51
 Corf LIIG 11.1.1, 32.1, A3.6; LIIG (GO) G2.2, G78.2; MG 3 [Eorff]
 Cormac JC 1; LIIG 1.1 [Korvmawc]; LIFB 1 [Korniwc]
 Cornwyll ap Glywys JC 5
 Corun ap Ceredig/Cunedda Wledig JC 49c
 Cowryd *see* Cywryd
 Creirwy BM
 Cretus LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2; MG 1; CC 5
 Cridol/Greidiol CC 9 [Cridol]; BM [Greidiol]
 Cristin ferch Goronwy LIIG 12.2; LIIG (GO) GA5.1.1
 Crydon ap Dyfnarch LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2 [Kyrdon]
 Cuelyn, father of Elystan Glodrydd JC 30; LIIG 31.1; MG 4
 Cuelyn (Guithelinus) JC 51; LIIG (GO) G1.2
 Cuelyn ap Bleddudd HG 17
 Cuelyn ap Caw LIIG (GO) G6 *see also* Celyn ap Caw
 Cuelyn ab Egri LIIG (GO) G7 *see also* Belyn ab Egri
 Cuelyn ap Gwencu LID T23.2
 Cuelyn ap Rhys Sais LIIG (GO) G73.1
 Cuned ab Enfael LIIG 61
 Cunedda (Cunedagius) JC 51; LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2
 Cunedda ap Cadwaladr LIIG 13.3
 Cunedda ap Cadwallon LIIG 14
 Cunedda Wledig HG 1, 3, 17–18, 26, 32; JC 6–7, 21–2, 39–46, 47b, 48, 49c, 50; GM 2; LIIG 1.3.8, 1.5, 11.1, 18, 27.2, 42–4, 46.2, 47, 48.1, 49.1; LIIG (GO) G1.1.1, G1.7–8, G74.1; LIFB 3.9; MG 1
 Curbre (Coirbre) Gwyddel JC 1 [Eurbre Glydel]
 Cursalem HG 5
 Custenin ap Cadwr JC 51 [Constantinus]; LIIG (GO) G1.6
 Custenin ap Maxen JC 4, 13; GM 3; LIIG 38.1
 Custenin Ddu LIIG 28.1.3
 Custenin Fendigaid ap Cynfawr LIIG (GO) G1.1; MG 5; CC 6
 Cūpa LIIG (GO) G12.1 [Kutha, Kuda]
 Cūpwine LIIG (GO) G12.1
 Cwch LIIG 25.1.1
 Cwnws ap Cillin ap Maelog Dda LIIG 48.1
 Cwnws ap Rhychwyn Farfog LID T33.2 *see also* Cynwas ap Rhychwyn Farfog
 Cwnws Ddu ap Cillin Ynfyd/Hen LIIG 48.1, 48.6, 49.1, 49.5; LIIG (GO) G74.1
 Cychwain LIIG 25.1.1
 Cydfan ab Arthur LIIG 3
 Cyflifer ap Dingad/Brychan JC 2.9; LIIG 1.2.5; LIFB 2.8 [Gebliuer]
 Cyfnerth ab Iddon Galed LID T7, T15
 Cyfnerth ap Madog Madogion LIIG (GO) G2.2.3, G75 *see also* Dwyfnerth ap Madog Madogion
 Cyfnerth ap Morgenau LIIG 55.1
 Cyfnerth Fychan LIIG 55.1
 Cynan ab Achanet LIIG 38.2
 Cynan ap Brochfael HG 18; JC 41; LIIG 42
 Cynan ap Caradog *see* Cynan ab Eudaf Hen
 Cynan ap Casnar Wledig JC 16
 Cynan ap Cyndrwyn LIIG 2
 Cynan ap Dôn LIIG (GO) G20.1 *see also* Kynunan ap Dôn
 Cynan ab Elfŷw LIIG 53, A4.1, 59; LIIG (GO) G59.4.1, G65.1
 Cynan ab Eudaf Hen JC 4, 11; LIIG 27.1; LIIG (GO) G1.1 [Kynan ap Karadawg, Kynan ap Edaf]; MG 5 [Kynan m. Karadaŷc]
 Cynan ab Iago ab Idwal ap Meurig JC 25–6, 28; LIIG 11.1, 12.12, 13–17, 28.1.5, 30.1.1, 31.1.1, 32.1.1, 33.1.1, A1.1.1, A2, 56.7.1; LIIG (GO) G2.2.1–2, G12.4.10, G13.5, G13.6.1, G14.2, G15.1, G16.1, GA4, GA5.1, G22, G23.2.8, G24, G28.1, G40.1, G41; LID T6.1.2, T19.1.1, T28.3, T29.1.1; MG 1; CC 8
 Cynan ab Iago ab Idwal Foel LIIG 28.1.3
 Cynan ab Idwal Foel LIIG 28.1.1
 Cynan ap Maredudd LIIG (GO) G16.6
 Cynan ab Owain Gwynedd LIIG 12.3, 50.2
 Cynan ap Seisyll LIIG 28.1.4
 Cynan Buellt *see* Afan Buellt
 Cynan Cylchef LIIG 38.2
 Cynan Dindaethwy HG 1; JC 22; GM 2; LIIG 11.1, 27.3; LIIG (GO) G12.4.10, G23, G78.1; MG 1
 Cynan Garwyn HG 22, 27; JC 18; LIIG 19, 22, 40.1, 49.1.5

Index of Genealogies

- Cynan Genhir LIIG (GO) G9.6; *BGG* 3
 Cynan y Cwn LIIG 28.1.2
 Cynbryd ap Brychan *LIFB* 2.12 [*Kymbryd*]
 Cynddelig ap Nynio LIIG 61
 Cynddelig Bennog LIIG 49.4
 Cynddelw ap Cadien LIIG (GO) G51.1 *see also* Cadwgon *Trydelic*
 Cynddelw ap Caradog LIIG (GO) G60.3 *see also* Cynddelig Bennog
 Cynddelw ap Cwnws LIIG 48.1; *LID* T28.3.1
 Cynddelw ap Gwgon LIIG 49.5.2, 49.6.1, 49.6.4
 Cynddelw ap Gwrydyr LIIG 55.3
 Cynddelw ab Iorwerth *LID* T9.1
 Cynddelw ap Rhirid LIIG (GO) G43
 Cynddelw Gam LIIG 11.1.2, 17, 51; LIIG (GO) G75, G79.11
 Cynddylan ap Llywarch Hen LIIG (GO) G8.1
 Cyndeyrn ap Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenau *see* Cadeyrn
 Cyndeyrn Fendigaid JC 13 [*Cyndŵr*]; *GM* 3 [*Kyndyn*]; LIIG 38.1–2
 Cyndeyrn Garthwys LIIG 7.1.1
 Cyndeyrn Wledig *see* Eudeyrn
 Cyndrwyn LIIG 2
 Cyndrwyn Fendigaid LIIG (GO) G51.2 *see also* Cyndeyrn Fendigaid
 Cynfarch (Kimarus) JC 51
 Cynfarch (Kinmarcus) JC 51
 Cynfarch ap Cyndrwyn LIIG (GO) G4 *see also* Cynwraith ap Cyndrwyn
 Cynfarch ap Glywys JC 5
 Cynfarch ap Llywarch Hen LIIG (GO) G8.1
 Cynfarch ap Meirchion HG 8; JC 5, 34; *GM* 1; LIIG 1.3.5, 7.1–2, 7.5; *LIFB* 3.13; *BGG* 1 *see also* Cynferchyn *under* Dynasties
 Cynfawr ap Madog LIIG 52.1
 Cynfawr ap Tudwal JC 11; LIIG (GO) G1.1 [*Kadvor*]; *MG* 5; *CC* 6 [*Kynor*]
 Cynfawr Cadgaddug JC 3.10; LIIG (GO) G9.6; *LIFB* 3.11 [*Cynvawr*, *Cynyr Cadgaddug*]
 Cynfelyn (Cunobelinos) ap Teuhant HG 16
 Cynfelyn (Kimbelinus) JC 51
 Cynfelyn ap Dolffyn *LID* T5.2
 Cynfelyn ap Dyfnwal Hen HG 7
 Cynfelyn ab Iaceu JC 16
 Cynfelyn ap Mar/Athrwyys LIIG A4.1; LIIG (GO) G9.6–7, G65.1, G69; *BGG* 3
 Cynfelyn ap Meirion Meirionydd JC 47b
 Cynfelyn Drwsgl LIIG (GO) G9.6; *BGG* 3
 Cynfran ap Brychan *LIFB* 2.13
 Cynfwr ab Einion *see* Cynidr
 Cynfyn ab Anllech JC 19; LIIG 20
 Cynfyn ap Gwerystan JC 27; LIIG 11.1.1, 11.1.4, 12.2.3, 28.2.3, 30.1.2, 32.1, A1.1, A2–3, 49.1.2; LIIG (GO) G2.2, G13.1–3, G13.5–6, G15.1–2, G24, G40.1, G77.1–4, G77.5.1; *LID* T4.1, T5.2, T5.3.1, T8, T11.2, T12, T16–17, T28.1; *MG* 3 *see also* Wyrion
 Cynfyn *under* Dynasties
 Cynfyn Cadwyl *LIFB* 3.5
 Cynfyn Hirdref LIIG 49.5.3, 49.6, 58.1.1
 Cyngar ap Caw LIIG (GO) G6 *see also* Bangar ap Caw
 Cyngar ap(?) Dyfnwal Foelfud HG 10; LIIG (GO) G9.8
 Cyngar ap Gwrthebyr HG 2; JC 12; *GM* 3; LIIG 38.1
 Cyngar ap *Prbtech*/Owain JC 13; LIIG 38.1
 Cyngen ap Brochfael HG 31
 Cyngen ap Cadell HG 27
 Cyngen ap Maig HG 3 *see also* Aeddan ap Maig
 Cyngen Glodrydd HG 22, 27; JC 3.10 [*Kynger*]; LIIG 1.3.3, 19, 40.1, 49.1.5; *LIFB* 3.11
 Cynhaethwy ap *Ceno* JC 16
 Cynheiddon ferch Brychan JC 3.21 [*Ryneidon*]; LIIG 1.3.18 [*Kenodlon*]
 Cynidr JC 3.7 [*Rinhidyr*], 45 [*Cenuur*]; LIIG 1.3.11; *LIFB* 3.8
 Cynin ap Brychan *LIFB* 2.17 *see also* Cynon ap Brychan
 Cynin ap Millo HG 23
 Cynlas Coch HG 3; JC 39; LIIG 44
 Cynllo ap Beli *see* Gwylog ab Eli
 Cynllug ap Glywys Gornau *see* Gwynllyw
 Cynllug ap Llywarch Hen LIIG 6
 Cynllwyb HG 5
 Cynnil HG 5
 Cynog ap Brychan JC 1; LIIG 1.2.1; *LIFB* 2.5
 Cynog Mawr LIIG 12.1, 33.1; *LID* T28.4 [*Caenawc Mawr*]
 Cynon, successor of Andryw *see* Urien (Vrianus)
 Cynon ap Brychan JC 2.6
 Cynon ap Ceredig JC 45 [*Einyon*]
 Cynon ap Collwyn LIIG 56.2
 Cynon ap Cyndrwyn LIIG 2
 Cynon Feiniad LIIG (GO) G59.1.1, G67.1, G78.2 *see also* Neiniad ap Gwaithfoed
 Cynric LIIG (GO) G12.1
 Cynwal ap Ffrwddwr LIIG (GO) G1.1.1
 Cynwal Garnhwch LIIG 47.13
 Cynwas ap Rhychwyn Farfog LIIG 61
 Cynwawr *see* Cynfawr
 Cynwraith ap Cyndrwyn LIIG 2
 Cynwrig ap Caw LIIG (GO) G6 *see also* Echmyg ap Caw
 Cynwrig ap Cynddelw Gam LIIG 11.1.2, 17, 51; LIIG (GO) G75, G79.11
 Cynwrig ab Elaeth LIIG 46.2
 Cynwrig ab Iorwerth LIIG 54.1, A4.1
 Cynwrig ab Owain Gwynedd LIIG 12.10.1
 Cynwrig ap Pasgen *LID* T9.1.1
 Cynwrig ap Rhiwallon ap Dingad LIIG A4.1.1, 58.2; LIIG (GO) G73.3; *LID* T40.3, T41

Index of Genealogies

- Cynwrig ap Rhiwallon ap Gwrydyr LIIG (GO) G66.2 *see also* Trygyr ap Rhiwallon
Cynwrig ab y faerones LIIG 12.10.2
Cynwrig Efell LIIG (GO) G77.5.2; *LID* T17
Cynwrig Sais LIIG (GO) G41.4
Cynwyd ap Ceredig Wledig HG 5
Cynwyd Cynwydion LIIG A4.1; LIIG (GO) G9.6, G65.1, G69; *BGG* 3
Cynyr ap Gwron LIIG 47.14
Cynyr ap Meilyr Meilyrion LIIG 48.1 [*Kernir*], 49.1; LIIG (GO) G74.1
Cynyr Cadgaddug *see* Cynfawr Cadgaddug
Cynyr Farfdrwch LIIG (GO) G3.3.4, G55; *LID* T28.5; *LIFB* 3.23 *see also* Gwrin Farfdrwch
Cyprius LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2; MG 1; *CC* 5
Cysgen, father of Bod LIIG (GO) G43
Cywryd ap Cadfan LIIG (GO) G72.1–2
Cywryd ab Elaeth LIIG (GO) G58 *see also* Cynwrig ab Elaeth
Cywyllog ferch Caw LIIG 4
- Dafydd ap Cadwgon LIIG 56.5
Dafydd ap Cywryd LIIG (GO) G72.2
Dafydd ab Einion Ddistain *LID* T5.3
Dafydd ap Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn LIIG (GO) G77.1
Dafydd ap Gruffudd ap Llywelyn LIIG (GO) G40.3; *LID* T28.3
Dafydd ap Gruffudd Fychan *LID* T13.1–2
Dafydd ap Hywel *LID* T2
Dafydd ap Llywelyn LIIG (GO) G40.2.2
Dafydd ap Maredudd *LID* T11.2
Dafydd ap Meurig Coch *LID* T2
Dafydd ab Owain Gwynedd LIIG 12.2
Dafydd ap Tegwared LIIG 53; LIIG (GO) G41.3
Dafydd Fongam *LID* T2
Dafydd Fychan LIIG (GO) G72.2
Dafydd Gethin *LID* T15
Dafydd Goch *LID* T28.3
Dafydd Llwyd ap Maredudd *LID* T14
Dafydd Llwyd ap Rhirid *LID* T14
Dai LIIG 38.2
Dan (Danus) JC 51 [*Dainus*]; LIIG (GO) G1.2
Dardanus LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2; MG 1; *CC* 5, 9
David, St *see* Dewi ap Sant
Decion HG 16
Decius Mus HG 16
Dedyw ap Clydwyn JC 2.3
Deheufraint ap Tudbwyll *see* Teuhant ap Teilbwyll
Dehewint ap Euddegan LIIG A4.1.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2 [*Dehevrant*], G1.5 [*Dehevrant*], G73 *see also* Teuhant ap Teilbwyll
Deigr ap Dyfnwal Hen LIIG 9.3
- Deigr ap Llywarch Hen LIIG 6
Deiniog Lyr/Lyth LIIG (GO) G54; *LID* T28.6 *see also* Dunair
Dewi ap Sant JC 3.8, 43; LIIG 1.3.8; *LIFB* 3.9; MG 6
Dibyder ap Cillin LIIG 48.6
Didlet/Tithlym Prydyn, king of the Gwyddyl Ffichti JC 23; LIIG 26
Dilig ap Llywarch Hen LIIG 6
Dinawal ab Einudd LIIG 49.5.1, 50.1; LIIG (GO) GA6; *LID* T21.1
Dingad ab Annun Ddu *see* Dingarth/Dingad ab Annun Ddu
Dingad ap Brychan JC 2.9; LIIG 1.2.4; *LIFB* 2.6
Dingad ap Dôn LIIG 10.1
Dingad ab Eifion HG 17; JC 40; LIIG 43
Dingad ap Tudur Trefor LIIG A4.1.1; LIIG (GO) G73.3; *LID* T40.1, T40.3
Dingad ap Tudwal HG 4; JC 19; LIIG 20
Dingarth/Dingad ab Annun Ddu *CC* 9 [*Dingarth*]; *BM* [*Dingad*]
Dinhaearn ap Breichiol LIIG 48.5
Diocletian HG 16
Dirmyg ap Caw LIIG 4
Dirmyg Corneu LIIG 3
Disaeth ap Cathus LIIG 52.1
Diwng *see* Diwrig and Dubun
Diwrig ap Bleddrus LIIG 49.6.2, 49.6.4, 56.6
Diwrig ab Einudd LIIG 48.5.2
Dogfael Dogfeiling HG 32; JC 7, 50; LIIG 46.2, 47.8
Dogfan ap Brychan *LIFB* 2.4
Dolffyn ap Rhiwallon *LID* T5.2
Doli HG 1; JC 6; *GM* 2; LIIG 11.1, 46.2; LIIG (GO) G1.7
Domitian HG 16
Dôn LIIG 10.1–2
Donnchad mac Briain LIIG 16.1.3
Dos ap Deigr LIIG 9.3
Drem ap Cuelyn *LID* T23.2
Drum Bennog *LID* T23.2
Drynwin ferch Brychan *see* Nyfain ferch Brychan
Duan (Duvianus) JC 51
Dubun HG 1; JC 6; *GM* 2 [*Dybion*]; LIIG 11.1 [*Dywng*], 46.2 [*Diwng*]; LIIG (GO) G1.7 [*Diwc*]
Dunair LIIG 41
Dúnlaing mac Tuathail LIIG 16.1.1 [*Dwling m. Dwthil*]
Dunod ap Cunedda Wledig HG 17, 32; JC 7, 40; LIIG 43, 47.4
Dunod ap Maxen Wledig JC 19 *see also* Annun Ddu
Dunod ap Pabo Post Prydain HG 11; JC 38; LIIG (GO) G9.7.1; *BGG* 4
Dunon ab Annun JC 49b

Index of Genealogies

- Dwfn HG 1; JC 6; *GM* 2; LIIG 11.1, 46.2; LIIG (GO) G1.7
- Dwg (Dwywg) ap Llywarch Hen JC 17; LIIG 6, 11.1.4
- Dwling ap Gruffudd LIIG 15.4; LIIG (GO) GA4.4
- Dwling m. Dwthil* see Dúnlaing mac Tuathail
- Dwned LIIG 41 [*Donet*]
- Dwthil* see Tuathal mac Augaire
- Dwyfnerth ap Madog Madogion LIIG 11.1.2, 17, 51
- Dwynwen ferch Brychan JC 3.23 [*Gwenn*]; LIIG 1.3.20 [*Keinwen, Dwyn*]; *LIFB* 3.17 [*Dyganwen*], 3.24 [*Dwynwen, Ceinwen*]
- Dwywai ferch Tegid Foel LIIG 47.12
- Dwywg ab Elidyr LIIG 54.4
- Dwywg Lyth LIIG 11.1.2, 17, 51; LIIG (GO) G75
- Dyddgu ferch Madog LIIG 33.2.1
- Dyddgu ferch Maredudd LIIG 13.2; LIIG (GO) G13.5
- Dyfed HG 2; LIIG 38.1
- Dyfnaint, father of Iarddur LIIG 49.4.1 *see also* Dyfnaint ap Meurig
- Dyfnaint ap Meurig LIIG 12.4, 55.1 *see also* Dyfnaint, father of Iarddur
- Dyfnan ap Brychan LIIG 1.2.7; *LIFB* 2.10
- Dyfnarch ap Prydain LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2 [*Dyfnvarch*]
- Dyfnwal, father of Sanan LIIG (GO) G13.6.2
- Dyfnwal, father of Seisyll LIIG (GO) GA3
- Dyfnwal ap *Dunair* LIIG 41
- Dyfnwal ap Rhydderch HG 5
- Dyfnwal ap Tewdwr HG 5
- Dyfnwal Hen HG 5–7; LIIG 9.1, 9.3; LIIG (GO) G10.1–3; *BGG* 8–12
- Dyfnwal Hen ap Gorwynion MG 1
- Dyfnwal Foelfud HG 10; JC 37
- Dyfnwal Moelmud (Dunuallo Molmutius) JC 51 [*Dyfywal*]; LIIG (GO) G1.2
- Dyfnwallon ab Arthen HG 26; JC 21 [*Dyfabl*], 42 [*Dyfyfnwal*]; LIIG 18 [*Dyfyfnwal*]
- Dyfnwy ap Caw LIIG 4
- Dyfrig, St JC 10; *GM* 5
- Dyfrig ap Brychan *see* Tyfriog ap Brychan
- Dyfrwr LIIG 27.1
- Dyfnw ferch Glywys JC 5
- Dyganwen ferch Brychan *see* Dwynwen ferch Brychan
- Dylan Ail Ton LIIG 10.2
- Dylan Draws LIIG 25.1
- Dyrnell* JC 3.5
- Dywanw ferch Amlawdd Wledig *BGG* 13
- Eafa LIIG (GO) G12.1 [*Offa, Kaff*]
- Eahmund LIIG (GO) G12.1
- Eblyt* ab Egri LIIG 5
- Echmyg ap Caw LIIG 4
- Edelig ap Glywys JC 5
- Edern ap Beli CC 1
- Edern ap Cunedda Wledig HG 32; JC 7; LIIG 47.5
- Edern ap Padarn Peisrudd HG 1; JC 6; *GM* 2; LIIG 7.3.1, 11.1, 27.2, 46.2; LIIG (GO) G1.7; MG 1
- Edfedd ap Sedd Gyfedd *LID* T23.2
- Edgar LIIG (GO) G12.1
- Edmund, king LIIG (GO) G12.1, G78.1.1
- Edmund Crouchback (*Krwchbak*) LIIG (GO) G12.4.19
- Edmund of Langley LIIG (GO) G12.4
- Ednyfed ab Annun Ddu HG 4 [*Eidinet*]; JC 19 *see also* Ednyfed ap Maxen Wledig
- Ednyfed ap Brochwel LIIG 41
- Ednyfed ap Cadrod LIIG 48.6
- Ednyfed ap Collwyn LIIG 56.1
- Ednyfed ap Cynwrig LIIG 58.2; *LID* T40.3, T41
- Ednyfed ab Engar LIIG 56.2
- Ednyfed ap Gwynan LIIG 11.1.1, 32.1, A3.6; LIIG (GO) G2.2, G78.2
- Ednyfed ap Llywarch Gam LIIG 57; LIIG (GO) G60.1.3, G73.1–2, G73.4, G76.1–4
- Ednyfed ap Llywarch Goch *see* Wyrion Ednyfed ap Llywarch Goch *under* Dynasties
- Ednyfed ap Maxen Wledig LIIG 9.1, 9.3.1–2, 20; LIIG (GO) G10.3; *BGG* 11 *see also* Ednyfed ab Annun Ddu
- Ednyfed ap Morien *see* Idnerth ap Morien
- Ednyfed ap Seisyll *LID* T6.1
- Ednyfed ap Sulien *LID* T13.2
- Ednyfed Fychan LIIG 54.1, A4.1; LIIG (GO) G16.2, G23.2.9, G41.5 *see also* Wyrion
- Ednyfed Fychan *under* Dynasties
- Ednyfed Meirionydd HG 18; LIIG 42
- Ednywain ap Bleddyn LIIG 12.1, 33.1; LIIG (GO) G61.3
- Ednywain ap Gwrydyr LIIG 12.4, 55.4–5
- Ednywain ab Ithel LIIG 49.1.1–3
- Ednywain ap Llywelyn Eurdorchog LIIG 51
- Ednywain ap Paladr Wisp *LID* T28.4 *see also* Ednywain ap Bleddyn
- Ednywain Bendew LIIG 12.2.2, 34.1.1, 48.1.1, 49.2.1; LIIG (GO) G67.1, G77.2.1, G78.2 *see also* Llwyth Ednywain Bendew *under* Dynasties
- Edric *see* *Erbic*
- Edryd ab Inethan ap Disaeth LIIG (GO) G63.1–2 *see also* Cadwr ap Cadog
- Edryd ab Inethan ab Iaseth LIIG 12.2.1, 54.1–3, A4.1, 59 *see also* Llwyth Edryd *under* Dynasties
- Edryd Gwallthir (Æthelred, ealdorman of the Mercians) LIIG 28.5

Index of Genealogies

- Edward I LIIG (GO) G12.3, G12.4.15
Edward II LIIG (GO) G12.3–4
Edward III LIIG (GO) G12.3–4
Edward IV LIIG (GO) G12.4
Edward the Confessor LIIG (GO) G12.1
Edward the Elder LIIG (GO) G12.1
Edwin of Tegeingl LIIG 12.2, 15.1, 50.1.1, 58.2.1; LIIG (GO) G13.1, G13.6.6, G14.1–2, GA5.1.1, G24, G78.1 *see also* Llwyth Edwin ap Goronwy *under* Dynasties
Efa ferch Bleddrus LIIG (GO) G47.1.1, G77.2.1
Efrddyl ferch Cynfarch JC 3.5; LIIG 1.3.5
Efrddyl ferch Peibio Glafrog JC 10 [*Arbeth*]; GM 5
Efream, father of Madog LID T38.2.3 *see also* Brian, grandfather of Einion Efell and Cynwrig Efell
Efream ab Ithel LIIG 48.5
Efrog Cadarn (Ebraucus) JC 51; LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2
Efron ferch Hoedlyw LIIG (GO) G13.6.5
Efudd ab Eludd HG 2; LIIG 38.1 [*Ebynt*]
Efudd ab Eudos HG 10; JC 5 [*Ehud*]; GM 1 [*Elhydd*]; LIIG 11.1.4 [*Eneid*], A4.1.1 [*Eneid*]; LIIG (GO) G1.2 [*Enid*], G1.5 [*Enid*], G73 [*Enid*]
Egbert LIIG (GO) G12.1
Eginyr ap Collwyn LIIG 56.1, 56.7; LIIG (GO) G41.7
Egri of Talybolion LIIG 5
Egryn HG 24
Eidal (Eldadus) JC 51 [*Eldagius*]
Eidol (Eldol) JC 51; LIIG (GO) G1.2
Eifion ap Dunod HG 17 [*Ebiau*]; JC 40 [*Einaln*]; LIIG 43 [*Peybyau*]
Eifion ap Meurig HG 17 [*Ebiau*]; JC 40 [*Einya/n*]; LIIG 43 [*Peibiaw*]
Eifion ap Pobddelw HG 17 [*Ebiau*]; JC 40 [*Eidan*]; LIIG 43 [*Peibion*]
Eigion ap Brochfael HG 17; JC 40; LIIG 43
Eigr ferch Amlawdd Wledig LIIG (GO) G1.1.1; MG 6
Eilywedd ferch Brychan LIIG 1.3.15; LIFB 3.22 [*Gole/vedd*]
Einion, y mab LID T28.1.1
Einion (Enniaunus) JC 51
Einion ap Cadwaladr LIIG 13.2
Einion ap Cadwgon LIIG (GO) G13.6.2, G77.4
Einion ap Cenau/Mar JC 35; LIIG 23
Einion ap Ceredig *see* Cynon ap Ceredig
Einion ap Cyfnerth LID T15
Einion ap Cynfelyn LID T5.2
Einion ab Ednyfed LID T13.2
Einion ab Einion Yrth JC 23
Einion ap Gollwyn Goeg LID T28.4; CC 7
Einion ap Gruffudd ap Rhicerd LID T22.1
Einion ap Gruffudd Gethin LID T15
Einion ap Gwalchmai LIIG 49.1
Einion ap Hywel LID T19.3
Einion ab Idwyn HG 3; JC 39; LIIG 44
Einion ab Ieuaf LID T19.3
Einion ap Maelgwn Gwynedd MG 1
Einion ap Maredudd LIIG (GO) G41.2
Einion ap Megyr LIIG 48.3
Einion ab Owain ab Einion Efell LID T16
Einion ab Owain ap Hywel Dda JC 24; LIIG 28.2.2, 28.2.5, 30.1; LID T21.3; MG 2
Einion ab Owain Gwynedd LIIG 12.8
Einion ap Rhirid Flaidd LID T18
Einion Clud LID T21.2; MG 4
Einion Ddistain LID T5.3
Einion Efell LIIG (GO) G77.5.1; LID T16
Einion Fychan ab Einion ab Ieuaf LID T19.3
Einion Fychan of Meirionydd LIIG (GO) G41.1
Einion Greulon LID T18
Einion y Brych Cadarn LID T22.3
Einion Yrth HG 1, 3, 32; JC 7, 22, 39; GM 2; LIIG 11.1, 44, 47.11; LIIG (GO) G1.7–8; MG 1
Einudd, father of Diwrig LIIG 48.5.2
Einudd ab Aelan LIIG 50.1; LIIG (GO) GA6; LID T21.1
Einudd ap Dôn LIIG (GO) G20.1 *see also* Heunyd ap Dôn
Einudd ap Gwrddwfn BM
Einudd ap Gwenllian LIIG 11.1.2, A3.5; LIIG (GO) G13.5, G75, G79.11 *see also* Llwyth Einudd *under* Dynasties
Einudd ap Morgan *see* Ithel ap Morgan
Einudd Bach ap Brochfael HG 18; JC 41; LIIG 42
Eirigrawn ap Caw *see* Eugrad ap Caw
Elaeth ab Eludd JC 50; LIIG 46.1–2
Elaeth ab Ifor LIIG 49.1.6
Elaeth ap Paul *see* Eldad ap Paul
Elagabalus HG 16 [*Aurilianus*]
Eldad ap Paul JC 14 [*Elaed*]; GM 4 [*Elayth*]
Eledi JC 4
Eleirch ferch Iaeln LIIG 3
Elen ferch Eudaf Hen LIIG (GO) G1.4; CC 9
Elen ferch Llywarch HG 2; LIIG 38.1
Elen ferch Tewdwr Mawr LIIG 28.2.6
Elen Luyddog HG 2; JC 4, 13, 51; GM 3; LIIG 9.1; LIIG (GO) G1.3–4, G10.3
Eleri ferch Brychan *see* Meleri ferch Brychan
Elesa LIIG (GO) G12.1 [*Elisi*, *Elasi*]
Elestron ap Dôn LIIG 10.1
Eleutherius, pope JC 51
Elfan ap Sanddef LIIG 12.11
Elfan Powys LIIG 2
Elfedan LIIG 8
Elffin ap Gwyddno LIIG (GO) G10.3; BGG 10
Elffin ab Owain HG 5

Index of Genealogies

- Elffin ab Urien Rheged LIIG 7.1
 Elfoddw ap Cynin HG 23
 Elfydd (Eliud) JC 51 [*Eliud*]; LIIG (GO) G1.2 [*Ithel*]
 Elfydd ab *Endos* see Efudd ab *Eudos*
 Elfyw ab Inethan LIIG 54.4
 Elfyw ap Mor LIIG 53, A4.1, 59; LIIG (GO) G59.4.1, G65.1
 Elgan Wefllhwch LIIG 38.2
Elgudy, Elgud LIIG 11.1.2, 17, 51; LIIG (GO) G75
 Eli ab Eludd HG 27; JC 18 [*Beli*]; LIIG 19 [*Beli*], 40.1 [*Beli*], 49.1.5 [*Beli*]
 Elidyr ab Elfyw LIIG 54.4
 Elidyr ap Llywarch JC 33
 Elidyr ap Rhys Goch LIIG 49.3
 Elidyr ap Rhys Sais LIIG (GO) G76.1
 Elidyr ap Sanddef JC 17, 19; LIIG 11.1.4, 20
 Elidyr Lydanwyn JC 17; LIIG 1.3.6, 7.5, 11.1.2, 11.1.4, 17, 51; LIIG (GO) G75; *LIFB* 3.21; *BGG* 2
 Elidyr Mwynfawr LIIG 9.1; *BGG* 12
 Elidyr War (Elidurus) JC 51; LIIG (GO) G1.2
 Eliffer Gosgorddfawr HG 12 [*Eleuther*]; LIIG 1.3.5, 7.4; LIIG (GO) G9.7; *BGG* 5
Eligillus (Cligueillus) JC 51 see also Mynogan (Manogan)
 Elined ferch Brychan LIIG (GO) G3.3.15 see also Eilywedd ferch Brychan
 Elinwy ab Egri LIIG 5
 Elionor ferch Brychan *LIFB* 3.16 see also Gwen ferch Brychan
 Elise ab Anarawd LIIG 28.1
 Elise ap Cyngen HG 31
 Elise ap Gwyllog HG 15, 27, 30–1; JC 8, 18; LIIG 19, 40.1, 49.1.5
 Elise ap Madog LIIG 32.1; LIIG (GO) G15.1
 Elise ap Maenyrch *LID* T23.1
 Elise ap Rhain Dremrudd *LID* T23.1
 Elise ap Rhodri Mawr JC 20
 Elise ap Tewdwr JC 8
 Elizabeth daughter of the earl of Leicester LIIG (GO) G12.4.14–15
 Ellylw ferch Cedifor LIIG (GO) G13.6.3
 Ellylw ferch Elidyr JC 32–3
 Elno ap Dogfael Dogfeiling JC 50; LIIG 46.1–2
 Elog ap Dôn LIIG 10.1
 Eludd ap Cynan Garwyn/Selyf Sarff Gadau HG 27; LIIG 19
 Eludd ab *Eudos* see Efudd ab *Eudos*
 Eludd ap *Stater*/Amoloedd HG 2; LIIG 38.1
 Eludd Las/ap Glas JC 50; LIIG 46.1–2
 Elystan ap Dôn LIIG (GO) G20.1 see also Elestron ap Dôn
 Elystan Glodrydd JC 30, 32; LIIG 31.1; LIIG (GO) G13.6.5, G77.1.3; *LID* T19.1, T19.3, T21.2, T22.1–3, T30.1.1; MG 4 see also Brenhinllwyth Elystan Glodrydd under Dynasties
 Elyuer ap Goronwy JC 16
 Emma of Normandy LIIG (GO) G12.1.1
 Emrys Wledig JC 51
 Enaid ap Cerwyd LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2
 Enaid ab *Endos* see Efudd ab *Eudos*
 Eneas Ysgwydwy (Aeneas) JC 51; LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2; MG 1; *CC* 5, 9
Enedwy LIIG 52.1
 Enfael Adran LIIG 9.3
 Enfael ap Llychwael LIIG 61
 Engar, father of Ednyfed LIIG 56.2
 Enoch LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2, G12.1; MG 1
 Enos LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2, G12.1; MG 1
Envlel ap Cynfelyn JC 16
 Enynny ferch Cynfarch JC 5, 9; *GM* 1 [*Henvyn*]; LIIG 35.1
 Eoppa LIIG (GO) G12.1 [*Eopa, Oppi*]
Erb JC 9; *GM* 1; LIIG 35.1; *BM* [*urban*]
Erbic JC 9; *GM* 1 [*Erdig*]; LIIG 35.1; *BM* [*Edric*]
Erbin ab Aergol Lawhir JC 12; *GM* 3; LIIG 38.1
Erbin ap Cynfawr JC 10–11
 Erichthonius LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2; MG 1; *CC* 5, 9
Ermic ab Egryn HG 24
 Esla LIIG (GO) G12.1 [*Esili, Lisi*]
 Eyllt ferch Cynan Dindaethwy HG 1; JC 22; *GM* 2; LIIG 11.1, 27.3; LIIG (GO) G12.4.10, G23, G78.1; MG 1
Etwithawn see Aed Ua Mathgamna
 Eudaf Hen JC 4, 7, 11; LIIG 27.1; LIIG (GO) G1.1, G1.4; MG 5; *CC* 9
 Euddegan HG 10; JC 5 [*Tegant*]; LIIG 11.1.4, A4.1.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2, G1.5, G73
Eudelen HG 10; JC 5 [*Eudolen*]; *GM* 1 [*Enddolay*]; LIIG 11.1.4 [*Endoleu*], A4.1.1 [*Endoleu*]; LIIG (GO) G1.2 [*Enddolev*], G1.5 [*Enddolay*], G73 [*Enddolay*]; MG 1 [*Endolen*]
 Eudeyrn HG 10 [*Outgir*]; JC 5 [*Kyndeern Wledic*]; LIIG 11.1.4, A4.1.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2, G1.5, G73; MG 1 [*Keyeirn*]
Eudos HG 10; JC 5; *GM* 1; LIIG 11.1.4, A4.1.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2 [*Endog*], G1.5, G73; MG 1
Euvail ferch Brychan see Tudfyl ferch Brychan
 Eufudd HG 1 [*Omun*]; JC 6 [*Eimet*]; *GM* 2 [*Ennot*]; LIIG 11.1 [*Onwed*], 46.2 [*Onwet*]; LIIG (GO) G1.7 [*Onnwedd*]
 Eugrad ap Caw LIIG 4 [*Eirigrrawn*]
 Eurbrawst LIIG 1.4
 Eurdrych ferch Diwrig LIIG 48.5.2
Eurdre ferch Trahaearn LIIG 48.5.2
 Eurgain ferch Maelgwn Gwynedd *LIFB* 3.11

Index of Genealogies

- Euruc/Euryt* ab Elaeth JC 50 [*euruc*]; LIIG 46.1 [*Euryt*]
Eysteinn LIIG 16.1
- Felis* ferch Brychan JC 3.18
Fer HG 5
Ferrers (Fferis), lord LIIG (GO) G12.4.12
Ffagan (Faganus) JC 51
Ffjefur ferch Cyndrwyn LIIG 2
Ffernfael ab Ithel HG 28
Fferuex (Ferreux) JC 51
Ffoldwalt LIIG (GO) G12.1
Ffluwn, wife of Japheth LIIG (GO) G11.4
Ffrwddwr ap Gwrfawr LIIG (GO) G1.1.1
Ffulgenius (Fulgenius) JC 51
Ffynod Wyddeles LIIG 12.9
Filur *see* Silur
Frealaf LIIG (GO) G12.1
Freawine LIIG (GO) G12.1 [*Ffryawyn*, *Frigwyn*]
Fin LIIG (GO) G12.1 [*Finni*, *Ffinni*]
Friþogar LIIG (GO) G12.1 [*Fridigar*, *Ffredigar*]
Friþuwald LIIG (GO) G12.1
Friþuwulf LIIG (GO) G12.1
Fulk fitzWarin (Ffwc ap Gwarin) LID T40.4
Fulk le Réchin (Ruthyn) LIIG (GO) G12.2
Fulk Nerra (Varia) LIIG (GO) G12.2
Fulk the Good (Dda) LIIG (GO) G12.2
Fulk the Younger (Fychan) LIIG (GO) G12.2
- Gabrán (Gafran)* JC 3.16 [*Gwauream*]; LIIG 1.3.9; *BGG* 11
Gadeon ab Eudaf Hen/Cynan JC 7, 11; LIIG 27.1; LIIG (GO) G1.1 [*Kadien*]; *MG* 5 [*Kad/rr*]
Galerius HG 16
Gallgo ap Caw LIIG 4
Gallus HG 16
Garanog Glewddigar (Gloywddigar) LIIG 61; LIIG (GO) G71; LID T33.2
Garar/Barar CC 9 [*Garar*]; *BM* [*Barar*]
Garbaniaun HG 10; JC 37 [*Carbonia/n*]; LIIG 7.3 [*Garmoniawn*]; LIIG (GO) G9.8 [*Garbwyiniawn*] *see also* *Garmonya/n* ap Dyfnwal Hen
Gardan (Garthog) ap Ceredig JC 49a
Garikus LIIG (GO) G12.2
Garmonya/n ap Dyfnwal Hen LIIG (GO) G10.3 [*Gorbwyiniawn*]; *BGG* 40 [*Garmonya/n*] *see also* *Garbaniaun*
Geat LIIG (GO) G12.1 [*Geati*, *Getri*]
Geiriad ab Egri LIIG 5
Geneddog JC 6; LIIG 11.1, 46.2; LIIG (GO) G1.7
Generys ferch Rhys Sais LIIG 49.1.3
de Geneville, Geoffrey LIIG (GO) G12.4.7 [*arghwydd lenivil*]
Genilles ferch Gwrgenau LIIG 49.1.1, 49.1.4
- Genilles* ferch Hoedlyw LIIG 12.2.1
Genillin ap Meirion Goch LIIG 50.2.1, 56.5
Geoffrey Grey mantle LIIG (GO) G12.2
Geoffrey Martel (Marsial) LIIG (GO) G12.2
Geoffrey Plantagenet LIIG (GO) G12.2
Geraint (Gerontius) JC 51; LIIG (GO) G1.2
Geraint ab Erbin JC 10–11
Geraint ap Garanog Glewddigar LID T33.2 *see also* *Gerenig ap Garanog Glewddigar*
Geraint ap Tegwared LIIG 52.1
Gerald de Windsor LIIG (GO) G23.2.7
Gerein Hir ap Secuyn / Kerihir Lyngwyn CC 9 [*Gerein Hir m. Secuyn*]; *BM* [*Kerihir Lyngwyn*]
Gerenig ap Garanog Glewddigar LIIG 61
Gildas ap Caw LIIG 4
Gilfaethwy ap Dôn LIIG 10.1
Gisela LIIG (GO) G12.2.1 [*Gila*], G12.5 [*Gila*]
Giwis LIIG (GO) G12.1 [*Gewei*, *Gweisi*]
Glas HG 25 *see also* *Glastening under Dynasties and glas under Epithets*
Glas ab Elnô JC 50
Glasan ab Egri LIIG 5
Gloud ap Pasgen Buellt JC 14; *GM* 4 [*Kloudd*]
Gloyw ap Caw LID T23.2
Gloyw Gwallthir JC 15; *GM* 4
Gloyw Gwlad Lydan LIIG (GO) G2.2; *MG* 3
Glúniainrnn Ólafsson LIIG 16.1
Glywys JC 4, 9; LIIG 1.3.1; LIFB 3.1
Godebog HG 10; JC 5; *GM* 1 *see also* *godebog under Epithets*
Godred Crovan *see* *Guðrøðr Crobán/Méránach*
Godwin LIIG (GO) G12.5 *see also* *Woden*
Godwulf LIIG (GO) G12.1
Gofannon ap Dôn LIIG 10.1
Golau ferch Brychan JC 3.15 [*Goleudyd*]; LIIG 1.3.12; LIFB 3.3 [*Goleddydd*]
Goleuddydd ferch Brychan *see* *Golau ferch Brychan*
Goleuwedd ferch Brychan *see* *Eilywedd ferch Brychan*
Gollwyn *see also* *Collwyn*
Gollwyn ab Ednywain LIIG 12.1, 33.1, 50.3
Gollwyn ap Gellan *see* *Llwyth Gollwyn ap Gellan under Dynasties*
Gollwyn ap Llaur Grach LID T13.2
Gollwyn Goeg LID T28.4; CC 7 *see also* *Gollwyn ab Ednywain and Collwyn ap Tangno*
Golwg ap Paen LID T19.2
Gorbannia/n (Gorbonianus) JC 51
Gorbannya/n (Gorbodugo) JC 51
Gorbannya/n m. *see* *Rhys ap Gorbonion*
Gordianus HG 16
Gorflwng LIIG (GO) G54; LID T28.6 *see also* *Kornulig*
Gormfhlaith ingen Murchada LIIG 16.1.3
Goronwy ap Cadwgon JC 30–1

- Goronwy ap Cynhaethwy JC 16
 Goronwy ab Ednywain Bendew LIIG (GO) G25.2.2
 Goronwy ab Einion *LID* T6.1
 Goronwy ap Gwallter CC 4
 Goronwy ap Gwion LIIG 49.2
 Goronwy ap Hywel Dda LIIG (GO) G13.1, G14.1, G78.1
 Goronwy ab Ifor *LID* T19.3
 Goronwy ap Morgenau LIIG 48.3
 Goronwy ab Owain ab Edwin LIIG 12.2, 50.1.1; LIIG (GO) G14.2, GA5.1.1
 Goronwy ab Owain Gwynedd LIIG (GO) G25.12
 Goronwy ap Tudur ap Rhys Sais LIIG (GO) G73.4, G76.3–4
 Goronwy ap Tudur Trefor *LID* T40.1, T40.4
 Gorug ap Meirchion Fawd Filwr BM
 Gorwynion ap Camber MG 1
 Gorwynion ap Llywarch Hen LIIG 6
 Grad HG 10; JC 5; *GM* 1; LIIG 11.1.4; LIIG (GO) G1.2; MG 1
 Gratian HG 4
 Greddf ap Cwnws Ddu LIIG 48.1, 48.6, 49.1, 49.5; LIIG (GO) G74.1
 Greddf ap Tymyr *see* LIIG 60.2
 Greidiol ap Dingad *see* Cridol/Greidiol
 Greidiol Galofydd LIIG 9.3.2
 Griffri, father of Bleddrus LIIG 49.5
 Griffri ab Elise JC 8
 Grippi HG 30
 Gronw *see* Goronwy
 Gruffudd, father of Bleddrus LIIG (GO) G60.4 *see also* Griffri, father of Bleddrus
 Gruffudd ap Beli LIIG 40.1, 49.1.5; *LID* T9.1.1
 Gruffudd ap Cadwaladr LIIG 13.3
 Gruffudd ap Cadwgon LIIG (GO) G13.6.4, G77.4
 Gruffudd ap Cynan JC 25–6, 28; LIIG 11.1, 12.12, 13–16, 28.1.5, 30.1.1, 31.1.1, 32.1.1, 33.1.1, A1.1.1, A2, A3.6.1, 56.7.1; LIIG (GO) G2.2.1–2, G12.4.10, G13.5, G13.6.1, G14.2, G15.1, G16.1, GA4, GA5.1, G22, G23.2.8, G24, G40.1, G41; *LID* T6.1.2, T19.1.1, T28.3, T29.1.1; MG 1; CC 8 *see also* Brenhinllwyth
 Gruffudd ap Cynan *under* Dynasties
 Gruffudd ap Dafydd Goch *LID* T28.3
 Gruffudd ap Dafydd Llwyd *LID* T14
 Gruffudd ab Einion ab Ednyfed *LID* T13.2
 Gruffudd ab Einion ab Owain *LID* T16
 Gruffudd ab Elise *LID* T23.1
 Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn LIIG (GO) G77.1; *LID* T4.1, T40.4
 Gruffudd ap Hywel ap Gruffudd *LID* T28.3.1
 Gruffudd ap Hywel Sais *LID* T21.3
 Gruffudd ab Iancyn *LID* T8
 Gruffudd ab Ifor LIIG 35.2; LIIG (GO) G16.1
 Gruffudd ab Iorwerth *LID* T28.3.1
 Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ab Iorwerth LIIG (GO) G16.5, G40.2.1, G40.3; *LID* T28.3; MG 1; CC 8
 Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ap Maredudd Bengoch *LID* T22.1
 Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ap Seisyll JC 27, 33; LIIG 28.1.4, 28.2.3, 48.5.1
 Gruffudd ap Maredudd ap Bleddyn LIIG A3.5–6; LIIG (GO) G13.5, G15.2, G77.1; *LID* T4.1, T5.3.1
 Gruffudd ap Maredudd ap Dafydd *LID* T13.1
 Gruffudd ap Maredudd ab Owain LIIG (GO) G16.6
 Gruffudd ap Nowy HG 15; JC 8
 Gruffudd ab Owain Brogyntyn LIIG (GO) G77.3
 Gruffudd ap Rhicerd *LID* T22.1
 Gruffudd ap Rhiwallon ap Cynfyn LIIG (GO) G13.3
 Gruffudd ap Rhiwallon ap Gwyn LIIG 54.2
 Gruffudd ap Rhydderch LIIG 36.1; LIIG (GO) GA2
 Gruffudd ap Rhys ab Ifor *LID* T2
 Gruffudd ap Rhys ap Tewdwr Mawr JC 24; LIIG 30.1, 35.1.1, 35.2.1; LIIG (GO) GA1, G16.1–2, G23.2.7–8, G77.1.1; *LID* T4.1.1, T21.3; MG 2
 Gruffudd ap Seisyll JC 32
 Gruffudd ap Selyf LIIG (GO) G60.1.6 *see also* Seisyll ap Selyf
 Gruffudd ab yr arglwydd Rhys LIIG (GO) G16.2–3, G16.6, G23.2.9
 Gruffudd Deg *LID* T16
 Gruffudd Drwyndwn *LID* T15
 Gruffudd Fychan ap Gruffudd ap Dafydd Goch *LID* T28.3
 Gruffudd Fychan ap Gruffudd ab Einion *LID* T13.1–2
 Gruffudd Fychan ap Gruffudd ab Elise *LID* T23.1
 Gruffudd Fychan ap Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn LIIG (GO) G77.1
 Gruffudd Fychan ap Syr Gruffudd Marchog *LID* T8
 Gruffudd Gethin ap Madog CC 3
 Gruffudd Gethin ap Rhirid *LID* T15
 Gruffudd Goeg CC 3
 Gruffudd Maelor LIIG 12.2, 32.1; LIIG (GO) G2.2, G15.1, GA5.1
 Gruffudd Marchog, Syr *LID* T8
 Gruffudd o Enderlinlle *LID* T8
 Grwgon ferch Brychan JC 3.11; LIIG 1.3.7; *LIFB* 3.14 [*Gwrgon*]
 Grwst (Gurgintius) JC 51 [*G/rgant*]; LIIG (GO) G1.2
 Grwst (Gurgustius) JC 51 [*G/rgan Varyftr/eh*];

Index of Genealogies

- LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2 *see also* Gwrgan
Farfdrwch (Gurguint Barbrtruc) *and* Gwrin
Farfdrwch
- Grwst (Ledlwm) HG 8; JC 5, 17, 34; *GM* 1
[*Gwr Galed* *Lym*]; LIIG 7.3–6, 11.1.2, 11.1.4,
17, 51; LIIG (GO) G75; *BGG* 1–2
- Grwst Priodor LIIG 9.1; *BGG* 12
- Grydwal ap Llywarch Hen LIIG (GO) G8.1
- Guðrøðr Crobán/Méránach (Godred Crovan)
LIIG 16.1
- Guðrøðr Ólafsson LIIG 16.1
- Guðrøðr veiðikonungr LIIG 16.1 [*Gwythríd*
Vrenin Helgwr]
- Gutuyl ferch Brychan *see* Tudglyd ferch
Brychan
- Gwaedgar LIIG A4.1.1, 57; LIIG (GO) G73
- Gwair ap Dwg *see* Cain ap Dwg
- Gwair ap Pyll LIIG 17
- Gwaithfoed LIIG 11.1.1, 12.2.2, 32.1, A3.6,
48.1.1, 55.2.1; LIIG (GO) G2.2, G77.2.1,
G77.3, G78.2; *LID* T11.2; *MG* 3; *CC* 7
- Gwaithfoed of Gwent *CC* 2
- Gwalchmai ap Llew LIIG (GO) G17.3
- Gwalchmai ap Meilyr LIIG 49.1
- Gwallog ap Llenog HG 9; *JC* 36
- Gwallter ab Uthrudd *CC* 4
- Gwallwen ferch Afallach LIIG 24
- Gwauream Vreda* *bc see* Gabrán (Gafran)
- Gwawl ferch Coel Hen *JC* 7; LIIG 27.2
- Gwawr ferch Brychan *JC* 3.9; LIIG 1.3.6;
LIFB 3.21 [*Gwenefydd*]
- Gwawr ferch Ceredig *JC* 47a
- Gwawr Map Klaf ap Llywarch Hen LIIG (GO)
G8.1
- Gwawrddydd ferch Brychan *see* Cerddych ferch
Brychan
- Gweirnen LIIG A4.1.1, 57; LIIG (GO) G73
- Gweirudd ap Rhys Goch LIIG 49.3 *see*
also llwyth Gweirudd ap Rhys Goch *under*
Dynasties
- Gweithno ap Clydno HG 18; *JC* 41; LIIG 42
- Gwell ap Llywarch Hen LIIG 6
- Gwên ap Llywarch Hen LIIG 6
- Gwen ferch Brychan *JC* 3.17; LIIG 1.3.17
- Gwen ferch Brychan *see* Dwynwen ferch
Brychan
- Gwen ferch Cunedda Wledig *JC* 7; LIIG
47.13; LIIG (GO) G1.1.1
- Gwenalogyd* ap Cyndrwyn LIIG 2
- Gwenawy ferch Caw LIIG 4
- Gwencu ab Edfedd *LID* T23.2
- Gwenddolau ap Ceidio LIIG (GO) G9.7.3;
BGG 6
- Gwenddwyn ferch Cyndrwyn LIIG 2
- Gwenddydd ferch Brychan LIIG (GO)
G3.3.13; *LIFB* 3.11 *see also* Cerddych ferch
Brychan
- Gwenefydd ferch Brychan *see* Gwawr ferch
Brychan *and* Gwenddydd ferch Brychan
- Gwenhwyfar ferch y mab Einion *LID* T28.1.1
- Gwenllian ferch Addaf *LID* T9.1.1
- Gwenllian ferch Bleddyn LIIG (GO) G13.2
- Gwenllian ferch Brychan *see* Lluan ferch
Brychan
- Gwenllian ferch Cynan LIIG 50.2
- Gwenllian ferch Ednyfed LIIG 58.2
- Gwenllian ferch Ednywain LIIG 12.4
- Gwenllian ferch Gruffudd (by Angharad) *JC* 25;
LIIG 15.1, 30.1.1; LIIG (GO) G16.1, G23.2.8,
G24
- Gwenllian ferch Gruffudd (illegitimate) LIIG
A1.1.1; LIIG (GO) G13.6.1; *LID* T29.1.1
- Gwenllian ferch Hywel LIIG 50.3; *LID*
T21.1.1
- Gwenllian ferch Llywelyn LIIG (GO) G40.2.2
- Gwenllian ferch Madog *JC* 27 [unnamed]
- Gwenllian ferch Owain Gwynedd LIIG 12.1,
A3.6.1; LIIG (GO) G22, G77.1.2; *LID* T6.1.2
- Gwenllian ferch Rhys ap Marchan LIIG 11.1.2,
A3.5; LIIG (GO) G75, G79.11
- Gwenllian ferch yr arglwydd Rhys LIIG (GO)
G16.2, G23.2.9
- Glenuenen* ferch Idnerth *JC* 30
- Gwenwynwyn LIIG 12.1, A3.6; LIIG (GO)
G16.2, G22, G77.1; *LID* T4.1, T40.4
- Gwerystan ap Gwaithfoed/Gwyn *JC* 27; LIIG
11.1.1, 12.2.3, 32.1, A3.6, 49.1.2, 55.2.1; LIIG
(GO) G2.2, G77.1–3; *LID* T11.2; *MG* 3
- Gwerystan ap Llywarch LIIG 58.1
- Gweurddydd ferch Brychan *see* Cerddych ferch
Brychan
- Gweurfyl ferch Gwrgenau LIIG (GO) G77.1.3
- Gweurfyl ferch Owain Cyfeiliog LIIG 36.1.1
- Gwgon, father of Cynddelw LIIG 49.5.2,
49.6.1, 49.6.4
- Gwgon ap Cathen *see* Cadwggon *Trydelic* ap
Cathen
- Gwgon ap Cenau Menrudd *JC* 33
- Gwgon ap Gwriad LIIG 28.6
- Gwgon ab Idnerth LIIG 54.1, A4.1
- Gwgon ap Llawr *JC* 48
- Gwgon ap Merwydd LIIG 56.3
- Gwgon ap Meurig HG 26
- Gwillofon ap Hedd LIIG 60.1
- Gwilym ap Gruffudd LIIG (GO) G77.1
- Gwilym ap Rhys Goch LIIG 49.3
- Gwinau Dau Freuddwyd LIIG 11.1.1, 31.1, 32.1,
33.1, A3.6; LIIG (GO) G2.2, G78.2; *MG* 3–4
- Gwion ap Cyndrwyn LIIG 2
- Gwion ab Owain LIIG (GO) G5 *see also*
Gwyn *Golwtheu*
- Gwion ap Rhys Goch LIIG 49.2–3
- Gwladus Ddu LIIG (GO) G12.4.10–11,
G16.3.1, G40.2.1

- Gwladus ferch Aldudd LIIG 58.2.1
 Gwladus ferch Brychan JC 3.1; LIIG 1.3.1; *LIFB* 3.1
 Gwladus ferch Cyndrwyn LIIG 2
 Gwladus ferch Gruffudd ap Hywel *LID* T28.3.1
 Gwladus ferch Gruffudd ap Llywelyn LIIG (GO) G16.5, G40.3
 Gwladus ferch Gruffudd ap Rhys LIIG 35.1.1; LIIG (GO) G16.1
 Gwladus ferch Gruffudd Goeg CC 3
 Gwladus ferch Llywarch LIIG 12.1
 Gwladus ferch Rhiwallon LIIG (GO) G13.3, G42.1.2; *LID* T1.1.2
 Gwladus ferch Rhydderch Hael LIIG 9.3.1
 Gwleddydd ferch Cyndrwyn LIIG 2
 Gwleddydd ferch Clydwyn LIIG 38.1 *see also* Clodri ap Clydwyn
 Gwleddydd ferch Seisyll LIIG 49.1.4–5
 Gwlydden ap Gwrydyr LIIG 32.1, A3.6
 Gwlyddien *see* Cloden ap Nowy
 Gwr Galeddd Lym *see* Grwst (Ledlwm)
 Gwrai ap Glywys JC 5
 Gwrddelw ap Caw LIIG 4
 Gwrddoli HG 1, JC 6; *GM* 2; LIIG 11.1, 46.2; LIIG (GO) G1.7
 Gwrddwfn ab Amoloedd HG 1, JC 6; *GM* 2; LIIG 11.1, 46.2; LIIG (GO) G1.7
 Gwrddwfn ap Gorug *BM*
 Gwrfawr ap Gadeon JC 11; LIIG (GO) G1.1.1 *see also* Morfawr ab Eudaf Hen
 Gwrgain HG 1; JC 6; LIIG 11.1, 46.2; LIIG (GO) G1.7
 Gwrgan, successor of Cloden *see* Grwst (Gurgintius)
 Gwrgan, father of Iestyn LIIG (GO) G49.1
 Gwrgan ab Ithel LIIG 35.1; *BM*
 Gwrgan Farfdrwch (Gurguint Barbruc) JC 51 [*Glrnet Vrichhir*]; LIIG (GO) G1.2 *see also* Grwst (Gurgustius) and Gwrin Farfdrwch
 Gwrgan Frych *BM*
 Gwrgan Meirionydd *see* Gwrin Farfdrwch
 Gwrgenau ap Collwyn LIIG 49.6.3, 58.1
 Gwrgenau ab Ednywain LIIG 49.1.1, 49.1.3–4
 Gwrgenau ap Gwaedgar *LID* T34 *see also* Gweirnen
 Gwrgenau ap Hywel LIIG (GO) G77.1.3
 Gwrgenau ap Seisyll LIIG 55.2.1
 Gwrgenau ab Uchdrud *LID* T5.3–4, T9.1
 Gwrgi, father of Seisyll LIIG 49.1.4–5
 Gwrgi ab Eliffer Gosgorddfawr HG 12; JC 3.5; LIIG (GO) G9.7.2; *BGG* 5
 Gwrgi ap Heddd LIIG 60.1–2
 Gwrgi of Penmynydd Gradifel LIIG 12.6–7
 Gwrhaearn ab Elfoddw HG 23
 Gwriad ap Brochfael JC 9; *GM* 1; *BM*
 Gwriad ab Elidyr JC 17, 19; LIIG 11.1.4
 Gwriad ap Rhodri Mawr LIIG 28, 28.6
 Gwrin Farfdrwch HG 18; JC 3.3 [*Glrhynt Bramdru*], 41 [*Glrnt Vrabdruth*]; LIIG 1.3.4 [*Wynnir Varyfdrwch*], 42 [*Gwynyr Varyf Drwch*]; *LIFB* 3.20 [*Wrgant Mairionnydd*] *see also* Cynyr Farfdrwch, Grwst (Gurgustius), Gwrgan Farfdrwch (Gurguint Barbruc)
 Gwrion LIIG A4.1.1 [*Gwynai*], 57; LIIG (GO) G73
 Gwrlais iarll Cernyw LIIG (GO) G1.6
 Gwron ap Cunedda Wledig LIIG 47.12, 47.14, 48.1, 49.1; LIIG (GO) G74.1
 Gwrthebyr HG 2; JC 12 [*Glrdeber*]; *GM* 3 [*Gyrdeber*]; LIIG 38.1 [*Gwrthebyr*]
 Gwrthefyr (Vortiporius) JC 51 [*Iuor*] *see also* Gwrthefyr
 Gwrthefyr Fendigaidd (Vortimer) JC 51
 Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenau (Vortigern) JC 14–16, 18, 51; *GM* 4; LIIG 19, 40.1, 49.1.5, A4.1.1; LIIG (GO) G1.5, G73; *LID* T26.2, T41
 Gwrydyr, father of Bleddyn Coeg LIIG 48.5.2
 Gwrydyr ap Dyfnaint LIIG 12.4, 55.1–5
 Gwrydyr ab Ednywain LIIG 51
 Gwrydyr ap Maelog Dda LIIG 48.2; LIIG (GO) G74.1
 Gwrydyr Goch/Hir ap Caradog LIIG 11.1.1, 12.2.2, 32.1, A3.6, 48.1.1; LIIG (GO) G2.2, G67.1, G78.2; *CC* 7
 Gwrysnad LIIG 11.1.2, 17, 51; LIIG (GO) G75
 Gwyddelig ap Rhodri Mawr LIIG 28, 28.7
 Gwyddgan ap Morudd JC 14 [*Gwedgad*]; *GM* 4 [*Gweddgat*]
 Gwyddgwn ap Sawyl Benisel HG 19
 Gwyddien ap Boddw HG 24
 Gwyddien ap Caradog HG 16
 Gwyddien Astrus LIIG 9.3
 Gwyddno ap Cawrdaf LIIG (GO) G10.3; *BGG* 10
 Gwyddno ap Dyfnwal HG 5 [*Guipno*]
 Gwyddrain ap Caw LIIG 4
 Gwyddwal ap Dyfnwal Hen LIIG 9.1
 Gwydion ap Dôn LIIG 10.1
 Gwydlid ap Rhodri Mawr LIIG (GO) G23, G23.5 *see also* Gwyddelig ap Rhodri Mawr
 Gwydol JC 15; *GM* 4
 Gwydolin JC 15 [*Gbdoleu*]; *GM* 4 [*Gyddoley*]
 Gwydyr (Guider) JC 51
 Gwylfyw LIIG 48.1, 49.1; LIIG (GO) G74.1
 Gwylog ab Eli HG 27; JC 18 [*Coledabc*]; LIIG 19 [*Kynllaw*], 40.1, 49.1.5
 Gwyn Anwyl (Annwyn) *CC* 2
 Gwyn ap Bleddyn LIIG 54.2
 Gwyn ap Cyndrwyn LIIG 2
 Gwyn ab Ednywain LIIG 56.7; LIIG (GO) G41.7
 Gwyn ap Gollwyn LIIG 12.1, 33.1, 50.3
 Gwyn ap Gruffudd LIIG 40.1, 49.1.5; *LID* T9.1.1

Index of Genealogies

- Gwyn ap Gwlydden/Gwaithfoed LIIG A3.6; MG 3
- Gwyn ap Rhydderch LIIG 38.2
- Gwyn *Golwtheu* LIIG 3
- Gwynan ap Cadell Dyrnllug/Gwynfyw LIIG A4.1.1, 57 [*Gwynuau*]; LIIG (GO) G73
- Gwynan ap Gwynog Farfsych LIIG 11.1.1, 32.1, A3.6; LIIG (GO) G2.2, G78.2; MG 3
- Gwynfyw Frych ap Cadell Dyrnllug LIIG (GO) G73
- Gwyngad ap Nos LID T23.2
- Gwynllwyw JC 4, 47a; LIIG 1.3.1 [*Kynlluc*]; LIFB 3.1
- Gwynog ap Beli LIIG (GO) G53.1 *see also* Gwylog ab Eli
- Gwynog Farfsych LIIG 11.1.1, 32.1, A3.6; LIIG (GO) G2.2, G78.2; MG 3 [*Gwinano Barbsuch*]
- Gwynyr Farfdrwch *see* Gwrin Farfdrwch
- Gŵyr ap Glywys JC 5
- Gwythrydd *see* Guðrøðr
- Gwythyr ap Greidiol Galofydd LIIG 9.3.2
- Hadrian HG 16 [*Adiuuandus*]
- Haearnllen ap Cyndrwyn LIIG 2
- Hálfðanr hvítbeinn LIIG 16.1 [*Haldan Chinbein*]
- Hálfðanr inn mildi LIIG 16.1 [*Haldan Milde*]
- Hálfðanr inn svarti LIIG 16.1 [*Haldan Du*]
- Ham LIIG (GO) G11.3 [*Kein*]
- Haraldr harðráði (Harald Hardrada) LIIG 16.1 [*Harallt Harfagyr*]
- Haraldr hárfagri (Harald Fairhair) LIIG 16.1 [*Harallt Harfagyr*]
- Haraldr the Black LIIG 16.1
- Harold Godwinson LIIG (GO) G12.5
- Hawys Gadarn LID T40.4
- Hawystl ferch Brychan LIFB 3.6 *see also* Tudwystl ferch Brychan of Merthyr Tudwystl
- Hedd ab Alunog LIIG 49.4.1, 60.1–2 *see also* Llwyth Hedd ab Olwynog *under* Dynasties
- Hedd ap Dôn LIIG 10.1
- Hedd ab Egri LIIG 5
- Hedyn ap Cyndrwyn LIIG 2 [*Ehedyn*]
- Heilin ap Llywarch Hen LIIG 6
- Heledd ferch Cyndrwyn LIIG 2
- Helen *see* Elen
- Helygy LIIG 8
- Henri ap Cadwgon LIIG (GO) G13.6.4, G77.4
- Henry, duke of Lancaster LIIG (GO) G12.4.19
- Henry, earl of Lancaster LIIG (GO) G12.4.19
- Henry I LIIG (GO) G12.2.1
- Henry II LIIG 12.10.1; LIIG (GO) G12.2–3
- Henry III LIIG (GO) G12.3, G12.4.19
- Henry IV LIIG (GO) G12.3, G12.4.19
- Henry V LIIG (GO) G12.3
- Henry VI LIIG (GO) G12.3
- Hemyn* ferch Cynfarch *see* Enynny ferch Cynfarch
- Heremod LIIG (GO) G12.1 [*Ermwndus*]
- Herleva LIIG (GO) G12.5.1 [*Arled*]
- Heunyd* ap Dôn LIIG 10.1
- Hiar ferch Cillin y Blaidd Rhudd LIIG 11.1.3, A3.2, 49.5.4, 49.6.3, 58.1.1
- Hiar ferch Cynfyn Hirdref LIIG 49.6.3
- Hiar ferch Iarddur LIIG 49.4.1
- Hilon* Hwylfawr LIIG 8
- Hoedlyw ap Cadwgon LIIG (GO) G13.6.5
- Hoedlyw ap Hyfaidd LIIG 53
- Hoedlyw ab Ithel LIIG 12.2.1
- Hoedlyw ap Pobien Hen *see* Pobddelw ap Pobien Hen
- Hortuan* JC 3.5
- Hoyw ap Gloyw LID T23.2
- Hratha LIIG (GO) G12.1 [*Hadra*]
- Huail ap Caw LIIG 4
- Huallu ap Tudfwlch Cornau BGG 13
- Hunog ap Dôn LIIG 10.1
- Hunudd ferch Bledydd LIIG (GO) G13.2
- Hunudd ferch Brân LIIG 49.5.1
- Hunudd ferch Brychan LIIG 1.3.10 [*Neufyd*]; LIFB 3.4 [*Nevydd*]
- Hunudd ferch Einudd LIIG 11.1.2, A3.5; LIIG (GO) G13.5
- Hwfa ap Cynddelw LIIG 48.1; LIIG (GO) G79.1.2; LID T28.3.1 *see also* llwyth Hwfa ap Cynddelw *under* Dynasties
- Hwfa ap Cynwrig LIIG A4.1.1; LID T40.3, T41
- Hwfa ab Ithel Felyn LIIG 15.2; LIIG (GO) GA4.2
- Hwfa ap Llywarch Goch LIIG 48.4
- Hychan ap Brychan LIFB 2.14
- Hyfaidd ap Bledfri HG 2; LIIG 38.1
- Hyfaidd ap Morien LIIG 53
- Hywel ap Carwed LIIG 48.4.1
- Hywel ap Dafydd LID T2
- Hywel ap Goronwy JC 30–1
- Hywel ap Gruffudd LID T28.3.1
- Hywel ab Ieuf ap Cadwgon LIIG (GO) G77.1.3
- Hywel ab Ieuf ab Idwal Foel LIIG 28.1.2
- Hywel ab Ieuf ab Owain LIIG 33.1, 50.3; LID T21.1.1
- Hywel ab Iorwerth LIIG 36.1
- Hywel ab Ithel LIIG (GO) G13.4
- Hywel ap Lleision LID T21.3
- Hywel ap Madog MG 4
- Hywel ap Maredudd LIIG A3.5; LID T10
- Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd LIIG 12.9
- Hywel ap Rhufon JC 39; LIIG 44
- Hywel ap Rhys ab Arthfael JC 9–10, 12, 14, 16; GM 1, 3–5; LIIG 35.1; BM
- Hywel ap Rhys ap Tewdwr Mawr LIIG (GO) GA1
- Hywel ap Rhys Gryg LIIG (GO) G16.4

Index of Genealogies

- Hywel ap Seisyll JC 32; *LID* T22.1–3
 Hywel ap Tudur *LID* T19.3
 Hywel Coetmor *LID* T28.3
 Hywel Dda HG 1; JC 24, 27, 31, 42; LIIG 11.1.4, 12.2.4, 28.2, 30.1; LIIG (GO) G13.1, G78.1; MG 2
 Hywel Farf-fehinog (Arf-finiog) HG 3; JC 39; LIIG 44; *LID* T33.1
 Hywel Sais ap Hywel *LID* T21.3
 Hywel Sais ab yr arglwydd Rhys LIIG (GO) G16.2
- Iaceu* JC 16
 Iaen LIIG 3
 Iago (Gurgustii nepos/uab Gorust) JC 51
 Iago ap Beli HG 1; JC 22; *GM* 2; LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.8; MG 1
 Iago ap Geneddog JC 6; LIIG 11.1, 46.2; LIIG (GO) G1.7
 Iago ap Gruffudd LIIG 15.2; LIIG (GO) GA4.1
 Iago ab Idwal ap Meurig JC 26; LIIG 11.1, 17, 28.1.5; LIIG (GO) G2.2.2, G12.4.10, G24, G28.1; MG 1; *CC* 8
 Iago ab Idwal Foel LIIG 28.1.1, 28.1.3
 Iancyn Cemaïs (Jenkyn Kemeys) *CC* 4
 Iancyn ap Madog *LID* T8
Iann daughter of Edward I LIIG (GO) G12.4.15
 Iarddur ap Cadwgon LIIG (GO) G63.1 *see also* Cadwr ap Cadog
 Iarddur ap Diwrig LIIG 49.6.2, 49.6.4, 56.6
 Iarddur ap Dyfnaint LIIG 49.4.1
 Iarddur ab Egri LIIG 5
 Iarddur ap Mor LIIG 49.1–2, 49.4; LIIG (GO) G60.3.1
 Iarddur ap Trahaearn LIIG (GO) G43
 Iaseth ap Carwed LIIG 12.2.1, A4.1; LIIG (GO) G65.1
 Iddig ap Cadell Deyrnllug LIIG 40.2; LIIG (GO) G72.1
 Iddig ab Iddog LIIG 48.4
 Iddig ap Llywarch LIIG 55.1
 Iddog ap Maelog Dda LIIG 48.4
 Iddon ap Cadfael Crys-halog LIIG (GO) G57; *LID* T33.1 *see also* Idwyn ap Cadwal Crysfa
 Iddon ap Caradog Hardd LIIG 48.2.2
 Iddon ab Iddig LIIG (GO) G66.1, G66.5 *see also* Meurig ab Iddig
 Iddon ab Ithel LIIG 54.3
 Iddon ap Maredudd HG 14
 Iddon ap Rhys Sais LIIG (GO) G76.2
 Iddon Galed *LID* T7
 Idnerth ap Cadwgon LIIG 31.1, 33.2.1; *LID* T19.1, T19.3, T21.2; MG 4
 Idnerth ap Cadwr LIIG 52.1–2
 Idnerth ab Edryd LIIG 54.1, A4.1
 Idnerth ab Iorwerth Hirflawdd JC 30; LIIG 31.1; MG 4
 Idnerth ap Morien HG 25; LIIG 39 [*Ednyfet*]
 Idnerth ap Rhahawd LIIG 60.2
 Idnerth ap Rhiagad JC 14; *GM* 4
 Idno ap Meirchion LIIG 7.5–6
 Idris Garw HG 18; JC 41; LIIG 42
 Idwal, brother of Lleucu JC 16
 Idwal (Iduallo) JC 51
 Idwal ap Dôn LIIG 10.1
 Idwal ap Gruffudd LIIG 15.3; LIIG (GO) GA4.3
 Idwal ap Meurig JC 26; LIIG 11.1, 28.1.5; LIIG (GO) G2.2.2, G12.4.10, G28.1; *CC* 8
 Idwal ab Owain Gwynedd LIIG 12.6
 Idwal ap Tudwal HG 4
 Idwal Foel JC 26; LIIG 11.1, 28.1; LIIG (GO) 12.4.10, G28.1; MG 1; *CC* 8
 Idwal Fychan ab Idwal Foel LIIG 28.1.1
 Idwal Iwrch HG 1; JC 22; *GM* 2; LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G12.4.10, G78.1; MG 1
 Idwallon ap Llywarch JC 8
 Idwallon ap Morgan LIIG 35.1; *BM*
 Idwyn ap Cadwal Crysfa HG 3; JC 39; LIIG 44
 Idwyn ab Einion LIIG 48.3
 Idwyn Wyndod LIIG 49.4.5
Ienivil *see* de Geneville, Geoffrey
 Iestyn, father of Rhydderch LIIG 36.1
 Iestyn ap Gwrgan LIIG 35.1; LIIG (GO) G16.1; *BM*
 Ieuaf ab Addaf LIIG (GO) G73.1; *LID* T40.2
 Ieuaf ap Brwydr Ddiriaid LIIG 9.3.1
 Ieuaf ap Cadwgon LIIG (GO) G77.1.3
 Ieuaf ap Cuelyn LIIG (GO) G73.1
 Ieuaf ap Cyngen ap Brochfael HG 31
 Ieuaf ap Cyngen Glodrydd LIIG 1.3.3
 Ieuaf ap Goronwy *LID* T19.3
 Ieuaf ap *Grippi* HG 30
 Ieuaf ap Gwyddien HG 24
 Ieuaf ab Idwal Foel LIIG 28.1.1–2
 Ieuaf ab Ieuaf LIIG 28.1.2
 Ieuaf ab Owain LIIG (GO) G5 *see also* Ieuanwy ab Iaen
 Ieuaf ab Owain ap Trahaearn LIIG 33.1, 50.3; *LID* T21.1.1
 Ieuaf ap Rhys LIIG 48.6
 Ieuaf Sais *LID* T7
 Ieuan ap Dafydd Fychan LIIG (GO) G72.2
 Ieuan ap Gruffudd LIIG (GO) G77.1
 Ieuan ap Hwfa LIIG (GO) G79.1.2
 Ieuanol ab Eigion HG 17; JC 40; LIIG 43
 Ieuanwy ab Iaen LIIG 3
 Ifor, father of Elaeth LIIG 49.1.6
 Ifor, successor of Aurelius *see* Gwrthefyr (Vortiporius)
 Ifor ab Idnerth *LID* T19.3
 Ifor ap Meurig Fychan LIIG 35.2
 Ifor ap Tegwas *LID* T2
 Ifor Gamle *see* Ívarr gamli

Index of Genealogies

- Ifor Hen *LID* T21.1
 Ifor/*Anor* ap Severus *LIIG* 31.1 [*Ifor*]; *MG* 4
 [*Anor*]
Ilani ferch Gruffudd *see* Slani ferch Gruffudd
 Iliid ferch Brychan *JC* 3.24 [*Llud*]
 Ilon ap Dogfael Dogfeiling *LIIG* (GO) G58;
 LID T32 [*Eilon*] *see also* Elno ap Dogfael
 Dogfeiling
 Inethan ap Disaeth *LIIG* (GO) G63.1 *see also*
 Cadog ap Disaeth
 Inethan ab Iaseth *LIIG* 12.2.1, 54.1, 54.4,
 A4.1, 59
 Ingild *LIIG* (GO) G12.1 [*Insilys*]
 Iob *LIIG* 38.2
 Iorddwfn *LID* T34 *see also* Biordderch
 Iorwerth, yr hen *LIIG* (GO) G73.2
 Iorwerth ap Bleddyn *LIIG* A3.3; *LIIG* (GO)
 G13.2
 Iorwerth ap Cadwgon *LIIG* (GO) G44.1,
 G46.2.1 *see also* Idnerth ap Cadwgon
 Iorwerth ap Dafydd *LIIG* (GO) G72.2
 Iorwerth ap Gwgon *LIIG* 54.1, A4.1
 Iorwerth ap Gwrgenau *LID* T5.3–4, T9.1
 Iorwerth ap Hwfa *LIIG* (GO) G79.1.2
 Iorwerth ab Iddon *LIIG* 54.3
 Iorwerth ap Llywarch *LIIG* 50.1, 50.3; *LID*
 T21.1
 Iorwerth ap Maredudd *LID* T28.3.1
 Iorwerth ab Owain ap Caradog *LIIG* 36.1;
 LIIG (GO) GA2
 Iorwerth ab Owain Brogyntyn *LIIG* (GO)
 G77.3
 Iorwerth ap Rhiwallon *LIIG* 55.2
 Iorwerth ap Seisyll *JC* 32
 Iorwerth ap Trahaearn *LID* T19.2
 Iorwerth Drwyndwn *JC* 28; *LIIG* 11, 12.1; *LIIG*
 (GO) G12.4.10, G15.1, G16.3.1–2, G16.5,
 G22, G40.1–3; *LID* T28.3; *MG* 1; *CC* 8
 Iorwerth Foel ab Ieuaf ab Addaf *LID* T40.2
 Iorwerth Foel ab Ieuaf Sais *LID* T7
 Iorwerth Foel ab Iorwerth Fychan *LIIG* (GO)
 G73.2
 Iorwerth Fychan ab Iorwerth Goch *LID* T12
 Iorwerth Fychan ab yr hen Iorwerth *LIIG* (GO)
 G73.2
 Iorwerth Goch *LIIG* 34.1; *LIIG* (GO) G77.2;
 LID T8, T12
 Iorwerth Goch Ynad *LIIG* (GO) G66.3 *see*
 also Madog Coch Ynad
 Iorwerth Hilfawr *LID* T7, T14
 Iorwerth Hirflawdd (Hirymladd, Hirflawr) *JC*
 3.2, 30; *LIIG* 1.3.2, 12.1, 31.1, 33.1; *LID*
 T28.4; *LIFB* 3.12; *MG* 4 *see also* Iorwerthion
 under Dynasties
 Iorwerth Wisgi *LIIG* 55.3
 Isaac ab Eifion *HG* 17; *JC* 40; *LIIG* 43
 Isabella of Castile *LIIG* (GO) G12.4.16
 Isabella of France *LIIG* (GO) G12.4.18
 Ithel, father of Ednywain *LIIG* 49.1.1–2
 Ithel ab Athrwys *HG* 28
 Ithel ap Dinhaearn *LIIG* 48.5
 Ithel ab Edryd *LIIG* 12.2.1, 54.3
 Ithel ap Gwyrystan *LIIG* 55.2.1
 Ithel ab Idwallon *LIIG* 35.1; *BM*
 Ithel ap Morgan *HG* 28–9; *JC* 9 [*Nud Hael*];
 GM 1 [*Haddhail, Hyddhey!*]; *LIIG* 35.1; *BM*
 [*Einbudd*]
 Ithel ap Rhirid *LIIG* (GO) G13.4
 Ithel ab Urien *see* Elfydd (Eliud)
 Ithel Felyn *LIIG* 15.2; *LIIG* (GO) GA4.2
 Ithel Fychan *LIIG* (GO) G41.6
 Ithel Gam *LIIG* (GO) G41.6
 Ithel Goch *LID* T11.2
 Ívarr gamli *LIIG* 16.1 [*Ifor Gamle*]
 Iwerydd ferch Cynddelig Bennog *LIIG* 49.4
 Iwerydd ferch Cynfyn *LIIG* 12.2.3–4; *LIIG*
 (GO) G13.1, G23.2.3
 Iwerydd ferch Edwin *LIIG* (GO) G13.6.6,
 G14.1
 Japheth *LIIG* 11.1; *LIIG* (GO) G1.2, G11.4,
 G12.1; *MG* 1; *CC* 5, 9
 Jared *LIIG* 11.1; *LIIG* (GO) G1.2, G12.1; *MG* 1
 Javan *LIIG* 11.1; *LIIG* (GO) G1.2; *MG* 1;
 CC 5, 9
 Jenkyn *see* Iancyn
 Joan (Beaufort), countess of
 Westmorland *LIIG* (GO) G12.4.1 [*Iohn iarll*
 Westmorland ap Iohn Westmorlant arall]
 John, king *LIIG* (GO) G12.3
 John of Gaunt *LIIG* (GO) G12.3, G12.4.1,
 G12.4.19
 John the Scot *LIIG* (GO) G40.2.2
 Jonas ap Goronwy *LIIG* (GO) G73.4
 Julian *HG* 16
 Jupiter *LIIG* 11.1; *LIIG* (GO) G1.2; *MG* 1;
 CC 5
 Kamo ab Egri *LIIG* 5
 Kataffluwa, wife of Ham *LIIG* (GO) G11.3
 Kenelaph Dremrudd *JC* 16
 Kerihir Lyngwyn *see* Gerein Hir ap Secuyn
 Kerint/Keraint *CC* 9 [*Kerint*] *BM* [*Keraint*]
 Klodvaith ferch Brychan *see* Clydai ferch
 Brychan
 Kornulig *LIIG* 41 *see also* Gorflwng
 Krida (Creoda) *LIIG* (GO) G1.8.1
 Kynunan ap Dôn *LIIG* 10.1
 Kynwlffus *LIIG* (GO) G12.1
 de Lacy, John *LIIG* (GO) G40.2.2
 Lainus *CC* 9 *see also* Albanus
 Lamech *LIIG* 11.1; *LIIG* (GO) G1.2, G12.1;
 MG 1

Index of Genealogies

- Letan* HG 16
 Lionel, duke of Clarence LIIG (GO) G12.4.4, G12.4.13, G12.4.17
 Llary LIIG 11.1.1, 31.1, 32.1, 33.1, A3.6; LIIG (GO) G2.2, G78.2; MG 3
 Llawfrodedd Farfog LIIG 60.2
 Llawr, father of Angharad JC 31
 Llawr ap Cedig Draws JC 48
 Llawr ap Llawfrodedd Farfog LIIG 60.2
 Llawr ap Llywarch Hen LIIG 6
 Lledlwm HG 12 *see also* lledlwm *under* Epithets
 Lleision ap Phylib LID T21.3
 Llenog HG 9; JC 36
 Leon (Leil) LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2 *see also* Llyr Llediaith (Leil)
 Les (Lucius) JC 51
 Lles Llawddeog (Llawfeddog) LIIG 11.1.1, 32.1, A3.6; LIIG (GO) G2.2, G78.2; MG 3
 Lleu Hen HG 16
 Lleu Llawgyffes LIIG 10.2 [*Llew*]
 Lleucu ferch *Enyleb* JC 16
 Lleucu ferch Gwrgenau LIIG 55.2.1
 Lleucu ferch Maredudd JC 31
 Lleuddyw, Lleufoddyw HG 21 [*Loudogu*]; LIIG 41 [*Lleuodeb*]
 Lleuwedd ferch Egri LIIG 5 [*Lleuned*]
 Llew ap Cynfarch LIIG 7.2; LIIG (GO) G17.3
 Llewenydd ap Llywarch Hen LIIG 6
 Lliwer ap Llywarch Hen LIIG 6
 Llofan ap Cilmin LIIG 55.1
 Llorien ap Llywarch Hen LIIG 6
 Lluan ferch Brychan JC 3.16 [*Van*]; LIIG 1.3.9 [*Lleian*]; LIFB 3.18 [*Gwenllian*]
 Llud ferch Brychan *see* Ild ferch Brychan
 Lludd, father of Cadafael LIIG 56.1; CC 7
 Lludd ap Beli Mawr JC 51; LIIG 11.1.1, 31.1, 32.1, 33.1, A3.6; LIIG (GO) G2.2, G78.2; MG 1, 3
 Lluddica ap Tudur Trefor LIIG 57; LIIG (GO) G60.1.3, G73.1–2, G73.4, G76.1–4; LID T40.1–2
 Llurig Rhos LIIG 5
 Llwyb ap Glywys JC 5
 Llychau ap Brychan LIFB 2.9 *see also* Afallach ap Brychan
 Llychlyn ab Iaeln LIIG 3
 Llychwael ap Brân LIIG 61
 Llychwy of Llanbeulan LIIG 15.2; LIIG (GO) GA4 [*Lychwyn*]
 Llynghedwy ap Llywarch Hen LIIG 6
 Llyr JC 51
 Llyr (Leir) JC 51; LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2
 Llyr Llediaith LIIG 27.1; LIIG (GO) G1.1; MG 5; CC 6, 9; BM
 Llyr Llediaith (Leil) JC 51 *see also* Lleon (Leil)
 Llyr Merini LID T23.2
 Llywarch ap Bleddri JC 33
 Llywarch ap Bleddyn LIIG A2, A3.4
 Llywarch ap Brân LIIG 50.1–3; LIIG (GO) GA6; LID T21.1 *see also* Wyrion Llywarch ap Brân *under* Dynasties
 Llywarch ap Cynnddelig LIIG 61
 Llywarch ap Gwgon JC 33
 Llywarch ap Hyfaidd HG 2; LIIG 38.1
 Llywarch ap Llofan LIIG 55.1
 Llywarch ap Nynio JC 9 *see also* Teithfallt ap Nynio
 Llywarch ap Rhigenau JC 8
 Llywarch ap Rhiwallon LIIG 58.1
 Llywarch ap Tewdwr JC 10; GM 5
 Llywarch ap Trahaearn LIIG 12.1, 33.2
 Llywarch Gam LIIG 57; LIIG (GO) G60.1.3, G73.1–2, G73.4, G76.1–4
 Llywarch Goch ab Iddig LIIG 48.4
 Llywarch Goch of Rhos LIIG (GO) G12.4.11, G40.2.1 *see also* Wyrion Ednyfed ap Llywarch Goch *under* Dynasties
 Llywarch Hen JC 17; LIIG 1.3.6, 6, 11.1.2, 11.1.4, 17, 51; LIIG (GO) G8.2, G75; LIFB 3.21; BGG 2
 Llywelyn ap Cadwgon JC 32–3; LID T22.1–3
 Llywelyn ap Cynwrig Efell LID T17
 Llywelyn ap Gruffudd ap Dafydd Llwyd LID T14
 Llywelyn ap Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn LIIG (GO) G77.1
 Llywelyn ap Gruffudd ap Llywelyn LIIG (GO) G40.3; MG 1; CC 8
 Llywelyn ap Hywel LID T22.1–3
 Llywelyn ab Iorwerth JC 28–9; LIIG 11; LIIG (GO) G12.4.10, G16.3.1–2, G16.5, G40.1–3; LID T28.3; MG 1; CC 8
 Llywelyn ap Maredudd Bengoch LID T22.1
 Llywelyn ab Owain Gwynedd LIIG 12.4
 Llywelyn ap Rhys Ieuanc LIIG (GO) G16.5
 Llywelyn ap Seisyll JC 27, 33; LIIG 28.1.4, 28.2.3, 48.5.1
 Llywelyn Eurdorchog LIIG 51
 Llywelyn ewythr Elen Luyddog LIIG 9.1, 9.3.2; LIIG (GO) G1.4, G10.3
 Llywelyn y Moelyn LID T22.2
 Llywri LIIG 38.2
 Locrinus JC 51; LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2
 Mabon ab Iarddur LIIG 49.1, 49.4.2
 Mabon ab Idno LIIG 7.6
 Machwyn LIIG 48.1, 49.1
 Macrinus HG 16 [*Maucanus*]
 Madog (Maddan) JC 51; LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2
 Madog ap Bleddyn LIIG A3.1; LIIG (GO) G13.2

Index of Genealogies

- Madog ap Cadwgon ap Bleddyn LIIG A1.1, A3.4; LIIG (GO) G13.6.1, G77.4; *LID* T5.2, T28.1
- Madog ap Cadwgon ab Iorwerth Hilfawr *LID* T14
- Madog ab *Efream* *LID* T38.2.3
- Madog ab Einion LIIG (GO) G41.2
- Madog ap Gruffudd Maelor LIIG (GO) G2.2, GA5.1
- Madog ab Idnerth LIIG 31.1, 33.2.1; *LID* T19.1, T21.2; MG 4
- Madog ap Llywarch Hen LIIG 6
- Madog ap Maredudd JC 27, 29; LIIG 11.1.1–2, 32.1, A3.5; LIIG (GO) G2.2, G13.5, G15.1, G24, G40.1, G77.3, G77.5.1; *LID* T16–17; MG 3
- Madog ap Nynio LIIG 52.1
- Madog ab Owain Gwynedd LIIG 12.8
- Madog ap Phylib *LID* T8
- Madog ap Rhahawd LIIG 55.4
- Madog ap Rhirid ap Bleddyn LIIG (GO) G13.4
- Madog ap Rhirid Flaidd LIIG 58.2
- Madog ap Rhun JC 16
- Madog ap Sanddef JC 16
- Madog Coch Ynad LIIG 55.3
- Madog Crupl LIIG (GO) G16.5 [*Mredudd Krbbl*], G23.2.12
- Madog Fychan *LID* T23.1
- Madog Madogion LIIG 11.1.2, 17, 51; LIIG (GO) G75
- Madog Ynad *LID* T23.1
- Madonwy LIIG (GO) G59.5.1 *see also* *Amadanw*
- Mael ap Bleddyn LIIG 12.3
- Mael ap Caradog LIIG (GO) G60.3.1
- Mael ap Cunedda Wledig LIIG 47.6
- Mael Corcraig, grandmother of Gruffudd ap Cynan LIIG 16.1.1 [*Maelgreg*]
- Mael Maelienydd *LID* T7, T14
- Mael Myngan LIIG 40.1, 49.1.5; LIIG (GO) G30 [*Mael Mynan*]
- Mael Sechlainn mac Domnaill LIIG 16.1.3 [*Moelkelyn, Moelkolwm*]
- Maeldaf ap Dylan Draws LIIG 25.1
- Maelgwn ap Cadwallon *LID* T19.1
- Maelgwn ap Gruffudd JC 25
- Maelgwn ab Owain Gwynedd LIIG 12.1
- Maelgwn ab yr arglwydd Rhys LIIG (GO) G16.2, G23.2.9–10, G40.2.2
- Maelgwn Fychan LIIG (GO) G23.2.10, G40.2.2
- Maelgwn Gwynedd HG 1; JC 3.10, 22, 51; *GM* 2; LIIG 5, 11.1, 24, 25.1; LIIG (GO) G1.7–8, G50; *LIFB* 3.11; MG 1; *CC* 1
- Maelog Crwm *see* Llwyth Maelog Crwm *under* *Dynasties*
- Maelog Dda LIIG 48.1–6; LIIG (GO) G74.1
- Mahalalel LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2, G12.1; MG 1
- Maig ap Cyngen Glodrydd LIIG 1.3.3
- Maig ap Cynlas Coch/Owain HG 3; JC 39; LIIG 44
- Maig ap *Grippi* HG 30
- Maig ab Ieuaf LIIG 28.1.2
- Maig Myngfras JC 3.10
- Manogan ap Pasgen *see* Mawgan ap Pasgen
- Mar ap Coel Hen/Cenau JC 36; LIIG 23, A4.1; LIIG (GO) G9.1.2, G9.5–7, G65.1, G69; *BGG* 3–4, 6
- Mar Margam ap Glywys JC 5 [*Mur Margam*]
- Marared *see also* *Mared and Margred*
- Marared ferch Gruffudd LIIG 15.1, 33.1.1
- Marared ferch Llywelyn LIIG (GO) G16.3.2, G40.2.2
- Marared ferch Madog JC 29; LIIG 11.1.1; LIIG (GO) G15.1, G40.1
- Marchan ap Cynwrig LIIG 11.1.2, A3.5; LIIG (GO) G75, G79.11
- Marchararhun* ap Brychan JC 2.8; LIIG 1.2.12 [*Mathayarn*]; *LIFB* 2.8 [*Marthin*]
- Marchell ferch Brychan JC 3.3; LIIG 1.3.4 *see also* *Mechyll ferch Brychan*
- Marchell ferch Tewdric JC 1; *GM* 1; LIIG 1.1
- Marchudd ap Cynan LIIG 12.2.1, 53, A4.1, 59; LIIG (GO) G59.4.1, G65.1 *see also* *Llwyth Marchudd under* *Dynasties*
- Marchweithion *see* *Llwyth Marchweithion under* *Dynasties*
- Marchwyn LIIG 48.1, 49.1; LIIG (GO) G74.1
- Mared *see also* *Marared and Margred*
- Mared ferch Gruffudd *LID* T5.3.1
- Maredudd, father of Einion LIIG (GO) G41.2
- Maredudd, successor of *Dainus see* *Morudd* (*Moruidus*)
- Maredudd ap Bleddyn JC 27, 29; LIIG 11.1.1–3, 13.2, 32.1, A3.2, A3.5–6, 34.1, 49.5.4; LIIG (GO) G2.2, G13.2, G13.5, G15.1–2, G24, G40.1, G77.1–3, G77.5.1; *LID* T4.1, T5.3.1, T8, T10, T11.2, T12, T16–17; MG 3
- Maredudd ap Cadwgon LIIG (GO) G13.6.5, G77.4
- Maredudd ap Dafydd *LID* T13.1–2
- Maredudd ab Einion ap Cynfelyn *LID* T5.2
- Maredudd ab Einion Clud *LID* T21.2
- Maredudd ap Gruffudd ap Rhys JC 25; LIIG (GO) G16.1, G23.2.8
- Maredudd ap Gruffudd Maelor LIIG (GO) GA5.1
- Maredudd ap Hywel, yr hen *LID* T10
- Maredudd ap Llywelyn *LID* T14
- Maredudd ap Maelgwn *LID* T19.1
- Maredudd ap Matusalem *LID* T28.3.1
- Maredudd ab Owain ap Gruffudd LIIG (GO) G16.6

- Maredudd ab Owain ap Hywel Dda JC 27, 31; LIIG 11.1.4, 12.2.4, 28.2.2–3; LIIG (GO) G13.1
- Maredudd ap Rhobert LIIG 33.2
- Maredudd ap Rhydderch LIIG 38.2
- Maredudd ap Tewdos HG 2, 13–14; JC 12; GM 3; LIIG 38.1
- Maredudd Bengoch LID T22.1
- Maredudd Crupl *see* Madog Crupl
- Maredudd Ddu LIIG 12.5
- Maredudd Fychan LID T10
- Maredudd Gethin LIIG (GO) G16.2, G23.2.9
- Maredudd Goch LIIG 13.2
- Maredudd Hen LID T22.2–3
- Margred *see also* Marared and Mared
- Margred ferch Rhys Ieuanc LIIG (GO) G16.5, G23.2.12
- Margred ferch yr arglwydd Rhys LIIG (GO) G77.1.1; LID T4.1.1
- Marius JC 51
- Marthin ap Brychan *see* Marchararhun ap Brychan
- Marudd ab Elaeth LIIG 49.1.6
- Mary, Virgin HG 1; JC 4; GM 1
- Maswig Cloff HG 9; LIIG 7.3; LIIG (GO) G33
- Math ap Mathonwy LIIG 10.2
- Mathgarn LIIG 16.2.1 [*Mathawn*]
- Mathonwy LIIG 10.2
- Matilda, empress LIIG (GO) G12.2.1, G12.3
- Matusalem LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2, G12.1; MG 1
- Matusalem ap Hwfa LIIG (GO) G79.1.2; LID T28.3.1
- Mawgan ap Pasgen HG 22, 27; JC 18 [*Manogan*]
- Mawn ap Grippi HG 30
- Maxen Wledig HG 2 [*Maxim*], 4 [*Maxim*]; JC 4 [*Maxen Wledic, Maxen, Maximianus*], 13 [*Maxen Wledic, Maximianus*], 19; GM 3 [*Maxen Wledig, Maximiaig*]; LIIG 9.1, 9.3.1–2, 20, 38.1; LIIG (GO) G1.4, G10.3; BGG 11
- Maximinus HG 16 [*Alaximus*]
- Maen ap Llywarch Hen LIIG 6
- Maenyrch ap Drum Bennog LID T23.2
- Maenyrch ap Gruffudd Fychan LID T23.1
- Mechydd ap Llywarch Hen LIIG 6
- Mechydd ap Sanddef Bryd Engyl LIIG 17
- Mechyll ferch Brychan LIIG (GO) G3.3.4; LIFB 3.20 *see also* Marchell ferch Brychan
- Medd ferch Gwrgi LIIG (GO) G25.7 *see also* Anedd ferch Gwrgi
- Meddefus ferch Owain Cyfeiliog LID T6.1.1
- Meddf ferch Maeldaf LIIG 25.1
- Meddfyl ferch Cyndrwyn LIIG 2
- Meddlan ferch Cyndrwyn LIIG 2
- Meddlan Penllydan LIIG 56.1; CC 7
- Medel ap Llywarch Hen LIIG 6
- Medrod ap Llew LIIG (GO) G17.3
- Megyr ap Breichiol LIIG 48.3
- Meilyr ab Aere LIIG 52.2
- Meilyr ap Cadwgon LIIG (GO) G62
- Meilyr ap Hwfa LIIG 48.4
- Meilyr ab Owain LIIG (GO) G14.2
- Meilyr ap Rhiwallon LIIG (GO) G13.3
- Meilyr ap Seisyll JC 32
- Meilyr Brydydd LIIG 49.1, 49.4.2
- Meilyr Eryr Gwyr Gorsedd LIIG 48.1, 49.1; LIIG (GO) G74.1
- Meilyr Meilyrion LIIG 47.14, 48.1, 49.1; LIIG (GO) G74.1
- Meirchion ap Caswallon JC 4
- Meirchion ab Egri LIIG 5
- Meirchion ap Glywys JC 5
- Meirchion ap Gwrgan Frych BM
- Meirchion ap Hywel *see* Meirion ap Rhufon/Hywel
- Meirchion ap Seisyll LIIG (GO) G13 *see also* Neithon ap Senyllt
- Meirchion ap Tanged LID T19.2
- Meirchion Fawd Filwr BM
- Meirchion Gul HG 8; JC 5, 17, 34; GM 1; LIIG 1.3.5, 7.2, 7.4–6, 11.1.2, 11.1.4, 17, 51; LIIG (GO) G75; LIFB 3.13; BGG 1–2
- Meirion (Merianus) JC 51; LIIG (GO) G1.2
- Meirion ap Caradog LIIG (GO) G64 *see also* Morien ap Ceredig
- Meirion ap Lleuddyw HG 21; LIIG 41
- Meirion ap Rhufon/Hywel HG 3; JC 39 [*Meircha/bn*]; LIIG 44
- Meirion Goch LIIG 50.2.1, 56.3, 56.5
- Meirion Meirionydd HG 18, 32; JC 7, 41 [*Eueirya/bn*], 47b; LIIG 42, 47.1.1
- Meisyr ferch Cyndrwyn LIIG 2
- Meleri ferch Brychan JC 3.8; LIIG 1.3.8 [*Eleri*]; LIFB 3.9 [*Eleri*]
- Melltu ferch Brychan LIFB 3.5
- Membyr (Mempricius) JC 51; LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2
- Merchider* ab Anor MG 4
- Merfyn ap Rhodri Mawr JC 20; LIIG 28, 28.3
- Merfyn Mawr HG 4; JC 19; LIIG 20
- Merfyn Frych HG 1; JC 17, 19, 22, 42; GM 2; LIIG 11.1.4, 19, 27.3; MG 1–2
- Merin ap Madog JC 16
- Merini ab Elaeth *see* Morudd ab Eldad
- Merwydd ap Collwyn LIIG 56.1, 56.4–6 *see also* Meurig ap Tangno
- Merwydd ap Mornfyed HG 25; LIIG 39
- Merwydd Hir LIIG 12.5
- Meryran *see* Morfran/Meryran
- Meuder ap Hedd LIIG 49.4.1 [*Nel/ter*], 60.1
- Meurig ab Arthfael HG 29; BM
- Meurig ap Cadell LIIG 28.2

Index of Genealogies

- Meurig ap Cynwrig *LID* T9.1.1
 Meurig ap Dingad *HG* 17; *JC* 40; *LIIG* 43
 Meurig ap Dyfnwallon *HG* 26; *JC* 20–1, 42; *LIIG* 18
 Meurig ab Enynny *JC* 5, 9; *GM* 1; *LIIG* 35.1
 Meurig ap Goronwy *CC* 4
 Meurig ap Gruffudd *LIIG* (GO) G15.2
 Meurig ab Iddig *LIIG* 55.1
 Meurig ab Idno *LIIG* 7.6
 Meurig ab Idwal Foel *JC* 26; *LIIG* 11.1, 28.1.1, 28.1.5; *LIIG* (GO) G2.2.2, G12.4.10, G28.1; *CC* 8
 Meurig ap Madog *LID* T28.1
 Meurig ap Meirchion *BM*
 Meurig ap Rhahawd *LIIG* 54.4
 Meurig ap Rhodri Mawr *JC* 20; *LIIG* 28, 28.4
 Meurig ap Rhys *GM* 1
 Meurig ap Tangno *LIIG* 56.3 *see also*
 Merwydd ap Collwyn
 Meurig ap Tewdrig *JC* 9; *GM* 1; *LIIG* 35.1; *BM*
 Meurig ab yr arglwydd Rhys *LIIG* (GO) G16.2
 Meurig Coch *LID* T2
 Meurig Fychan *LIIG* 35.2; *LIIG* (GO) G16.1
 Millo *HG* 23
 Miser *see Pincr Misser*
 Moebus *HG* 16
 Moelyn ab Aelan *LIIG* A3.3, 48.2.1, 49.5; *LIIG* (GO) G59.2.2, G74.1.1 *see also*
 Bleddrus ap Griffri
 Moelyn ap Sanddef *LIIG* (GO) G60.3.1
 Mor ap Breichiol *HG* 20; *JC* 46; *LIIG* 45
 Mor ap Dibyder *LIIG* 48.6
 Mor ap Llywarch *JC* 33
 Mor ap Marudd *LIIG* 49.1.6
 Mor ap Morudd *see Amor* ap Morudd
 Mor ap Mynan *LIIG* 53, A4.1, 59; *LIIG* (GO) G59.4.1, G65.1, G65.4
 Mor ap Tegeryn *LIIG* 49.1–2, 49.4; *LIIG* (GO) G60.3.1
 Mor ap Severus *LID* T20.1 *see also* Ifor/Anor ap Severus
 Mordaf Hael *LIIG* (GO) G10.2; *BGG* 9
 Morddu *JC* 4
 Morfael ap Cyndrwyn *LIIG* 2
 Morfael ap Glas *HG* 25
 Morfawr ab Eudaf Hen *LIIG* (GO) G1.1; *MG* 5; *CC* 6 [*Turmbr Moruabr*] *see also* Gwrfawr ap Gadeon
 Morfran/Meryran *CC* 9 [*Moruran*]; *BM* [*Meryran*]
 Morfudd ferch Elfán *LIIG* 12.11
 Morfudd ferch Goronwy *LIIG* (GO) G25.2.2 *see also* Morwyl ferch Ednywain Bendew
 Morfudd ferch Gruffudd *LIIG* (GO) G24 *see also* Marared ferch Gruffudd
 Morfudd ferch Merwydd Hir *LIIG* 12.5
 Morfudd ferch Urien Rheged *JC* 3.5
 Morgan (Marganus) *JC* 51
 Morgan ab Athrwys *HG* 28–9; *JC* 9; *GM* 1; *LIIG* 35.1; *BM*
 Morgan ap Botán/Botang *HG* 25; *LIIG* 39 [*Morgwn*]
 Morgan ap Cadwgon *LIIG* (GO) G13.6.3, G77.4
 Morgan ap Caradog *LIIG* 35.1
 Morgan ap Coleddog *HG* 10; *JC* 37; *LIIG* (GO) G9.8
 Morgan ap Gruffudd *JC* 25
 Morgan ap Hywel *LIIG* 36.1
 Morgan ap Rhodri Mawr *JC* 20 *see also*
 Morgan Mwynfawr/Mawr ab Owain
 Morgan ab yr arglwydd Rhys *LIIG* (GO) G16.2
 Morgan Fwch *HG* 10; *JC* 37; *LIIG* (GO) G9.8
 Morgan Mwynfawr ap Tudwal Tudglyd *LIIG* 9.2
 Morgan Mwynfawr/Mawr ab Owain *JC* 9–10, 12, 14, 16; *GM* 1–5; *LIIG* 35.1; *BM*
 Morgenau ap Gwrydyr *LIIG* 55.1
 Morgenau ab Idwyn *LIIG* 48.3
 Morhen, Morehel, Moraeth *HG* 25 [*Morhen*]; *LIIG* 39 [*Moraeth*]
 Moriddig ap Rhys *LIIG* 58.1
 Morien ap Cadwr *HG* 25; *LIIG* 39
 Morien ap Ceredig *LIIG* 53
 Morien ap Morfael *HG* 25; *LIIG* 39
 Mornfyed ap Morhen/Moraeth *HG* 25; *LIIG* 39
 Mortimer, Anne *LIIG* (GO) G12.4.2
 Mortimer, Edmund I *LIIG* (GO) G12.4.2, G12.4.9
 Mortimer, Edmund II *LIIG* (GO) G12.4.2, G12.4.7
 Mortimer, Edmund III, third earl of March *LIIG* (GO) G12.4.2, G12.4.5
 Mortimer, Hugh *LIIG* (GO) G12.4.2, G40.2.1
 Mortimer, Ralph *LIIG* (GO) G12.4.2, G12.4.12, G40.2.1
 Mortimer, Roger I *LIIG* (GO) G12.4.2, G40.2.1
 Mortimer, Roger II *LIIG* (GO) G12.4.2, G12.4.10
 Mortimer, Roger III, first earl of March *LIIG* (GO) G12.4.2, G12.4.8
 Mortimer, Roger IV, second earl of March *LIIG* (GO) G12.4.2, G12.4.6
 Mortimer, Roger V, fourth earl of March *LIIG* (GO) G12.4.2, G12.4.4
 Morud ferch Urien Rheged *see* Morfudd ferch Urien Rheged
 Morudd (Moruidus) *JC* 51 [*Maredud*]; *LIIG* (GO) G1.2
 Morudd ab Aeddan *HG* 20; *JC* 46; *LIIG* 45
 Morudd ab Eldad *JC* 14 [*Morvo*]; *GM* 4 [*Merini*]

Index of Genealogies

- Morudd ab Iarddur LIIG 49.4.4
 Morudd ap Llywarch Hen LIIG (GO) G8.1
 Morwyddel ap Morudd LIIG 49.4.4
 Morwyl ferch Ednywain Bendew LIIG 12.2.2
 Murchad mac Fhinn LIIG 16.1.3
 Mynan ab *Erb* LIIG (GO) G48.1 *see also*
 Nynio ab *Erb*
 Mynan ab Ysbwys Mwyndyrch LIIG 53, A4.1,
 59; LIIG (GO) G59.4.1, G65.1
 Mynogan (Manogan) LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO)
 G1.2, G73; MG 1
- Neffi* ap Brychan *LIFB* 2.7
 Nefydd ap Gerenig LIIG 61
 Nefydd ap Llywarch Hen LIIG 6
 Nefydd ferch Brychan *see* Hunudd ferch Brychan
 Nefydd Hardd *see* Llwyth Nefydd Hardd *under*
 Dynasties
 Nefyn ferch Brychan *see* Nyfain ferch Brychan
 Neiniad ap Gwaithfoed LIIG 12.2.2, 48.1.1, 56.1;
 LIIG (GO) G77.2.1 [*Miniad*]; *CC* 7 [*Nynyalb*]
 Neithon ap Cathen HG 16
 Neithon ap Gwyddno HG 5
 Neithon ap Senyllt HG 4; JC 19; LIIG 20
 Nero *see* Nerva
 Nerva HG 16 [*Nero*]
 Nest, mother of Morgan JC 20; *GM* 2
 Nest ferch Cadell Powys JC 18; LIIG 19
 Nest ferch Cynfyn LIIG 49.1.2
 Nest ferch Gruffudd LIIG 35.2.1; LIIG (GO)
 G16.1
 Nest ferch Rhys LIIG (GO) G23.2.7
 Neville, Cecily LIIG (GO) G12.4.1
 Noah (Noe Hen) LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2,
 G11.1–4, G12.1; MG 1; *CC* 5, 9
 Non, mother of Dewi MG 6
 Nor JC 4
 Nos ap Hoyw *LID* T23.2
 Nowy ab Arthur HG 2; JC 12; *GM* 3 [*Neyney*];
 LIIG 38.1
 Nowy ap Madog JC 16
 Nowy Hen ap Tewdwr HG 15; JC 8
 Nudd ap Ceidio *BGG* 6
 Nudd ab Egri LIIG 5
 Nudd Hael ap Morgan *see* Ithel ap Morgan
 Nudd Hael ap Serfan LIIG (GO) G10.4
 Numa Pompilius *CC* 9 [*Nenne m. Parapilius*]
 Nwy ab Egri LIIG 5
 Nyfain ferch Brychan JC 3.5 [*Drynwin*]; LIIG
 1.3.5 [*Nefyn*]; *LIFB* 3.13 [*Neyn*]
 Nyfed HG 2; LIIG 38.1
 Nynio ap Cuned LIIG 61
 Nynio ap Cynwrig *LID* T41
 Nynio ab *Erb* JC 9; *GM* 1; LIIG 35.1; *BM*
 Nynio ap Gwaithfoed *see* Neiniad ap
 Gwaithfoed
 Nynio ab Idnerth LIIG 52.1
- Óláfr Cuarán LIIG 16.1
 Óláfr Guðrøðarson LIIG 16.1
 Óláfr Sigtryggsson LIIG 16.1
 Oliver Gosgorddfawr *see* Eliffer Gosgorddfawr
 Osfael ap Cunedda Wledig HG 32; LIIG 47.10
 [*Oswael*]
 Owain (Iaen) LIIG (GO) G5 *see also* Iaen
 Owain (Iugenius) JC 51 [*Vigenius*]
 Owain (Oenus) JC 51; LIIG (GO) G1.2
 Owain ab Afallach HG 1; JC 6; *GM* 2; LIIG
 11.1, 46.2; LIIG (GO) G1.7
 Owain ap Beli HG 5
 Owain ap Bleddyn LIIG (GO) G73.2
 Owain ap Bradwen *see* Llwyth Owain ap
 Bradwen
 Owain ap Cadrod LIIG 48.6
 Owain ap Cadwgon LIIG A3.4; LIIG (GO)
 G13.6.6, G77.4
 Owain ap Caradog ap Gruffudd LIIG 36.1;
 LIIG (GO) GA2
 Owain ap Caradog ap Rhydderch LIIG (GO)
 G13.2
 Owain ap Ceredig JC 5
 Owain ap Cillin *BM*
 Owain ap Cyngar JC 13; LIIG 38.1
 Owain ap Cynlas Coch JC 39
 Owain ap Dafydd *LID* T5.3
 Owain ap Dyfnwal HG 5
 Owain ab Edwin LIIG 12.2, 15.1, 50.1.1,
 58.2.1; LIIG (GO) G14.1–2, GA5.1.1, G24
 Owain ab Einion Efell LIIG T16
 Owain ab Elen Luyddog JC 4
 Owain ap Gruffudd ap Beli *LID* T11.1
 Owain ap Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn LIIG
 (GO) G77.1; *LID* T40.4
 Owain ap Gruffudd ab yr arglwydd Rhys LIIG
 (GO) G16.3, G16.6
 Owain ap Gruffudd Maelor LIIG (GO) GA5.1
 Owain ap Hywel ap Rhys JC 9–10, 12, 14, 16;
 GM 1–5; LIIG 35.1; *BM*
 Owain ap Hywel Dda HG 1–2; JC 24, 27, 31;
 LIIG 11.1.4, 12.2.4, 28.2.1–3, 28.2.5, 30.1,
 38.1; LIIG (GO) G13.1; MG 2
 Owain ap Marchudd LIIG 53
 Owain ap Maredudd ap Dafydd *LID* T13.2
 Owain ap Maredudd ab Einion Clud *LID* T21.2
 Owain ap Maredudd ab Owain LIIG (GO)
 G16.6
 Owain ap Maredudd ap Tewdos HG 2, 14;
 LIIG 38.1
 Owain ap Maxen Wledig JC 4
 Owain ap *Miser/Nyser*/Gwleddyrr JC 13; *GM* 3;
 LIIG 38.1
 Owain ap Rhydderch LIIG (GO) G13.2
 Owain ap Teilbwyll *see* *Teuhant* ap Teilbwyll
 Owain ap Trahaearn LIIG 33.1, 50.3; *LID*
 T21.1.1

Index of Genealogies

- Owain ab Urien Rheged JC 3.5; LIIG 7.1
Owain Brogyntyn LIIG (GO) G77.3
Owain Cyfeiliog LIIG 12.1, 13.1, A3.6, 36.1.1;
LIIG (GO) G15.2, G16.2, G22, G77.1; *LID*
T4.1, T6.1.1, T40.4
Owain Danwyn HG 3; JC 39; LIIG 44
Owain Fraisg JC 13; *GM* 3; LIIG 38.1–2
Owain Fychan ap Cadwaladr LIIG 13.4
Owain Fychan ap Madog LIIG 32.1; LIIG
(GO) G15.1
Owain Goch LIIG (GO) G40.3
Owain Gwynedd JC 28; LIIG 11.1, 12,
14, 15.1, A3.6.1, 50.2; LIIG (GO) G2.2.1,
G12.4.10, GA5.1, G22, G24, G40.1, G77.1.2;
LID T6.1.2, T28.3; *MG* 1; *CC* 8
Owain Moel *LID* T5.4
- Pabo Post Prydain HG 11, 19; JC 38; LIIG
(GO) G9.7; *BGG* 4
Padarn Peisrudd HG 1; JC 6; *GM* 2; LIIG 7.3,
11.1, 27.2, 46.2; LIIG (GO) G1.7; *MG* 1
Padriarc Frenin Da *LID* T19.2
Paen ap Meirchion *LID* T19.2
Paladr Wisg *LID* T28.4
Panwlff LIIG 41
Papai ap Brychan JC 2.5; LIIG 1.2.10 [*Pabal*];
LIFB 2.7 [*Ffabiall*]
Parapilius see Numa Pompilius
Pasgen ap Cadeyrn/Cadell Deyrnllug/Brydw
HG 22, 27; JC 18; LIIG 19, 40.1, 49.1.5,
A4.1.1; LIIG (GO) G73
Pasgen ap Cyndrwyn LIIG 2
Pasgen ap Dingad/Brychan JC 2.9; LIIG
1.2.11; *LIFB* 2.7
Pasgen ap Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenau JC 14; *GM* 4
Pasgen ap Gwyn *LID* T9.1.1
Pasgen ab Urien Rheged JC 34; LIIG 7.1
Pasgen Buellt JC 14; *GM* 4
Paul (Apostle) HG 16
Paul ap Glywys JC 5 [*Saul*]
Paul ab Idnerth JC 14; *GM* 4
Peblig LIIG 41
Pebyd Penllyn LIIG 41
Pedr ap Cyngar HG 2; JC 12; *GM* 3; LIIG 38.1
Pedr ap Glywys JC 5
Peibio Glafrog JC 10 [*Pibialm Glabrafec*]; *GM* 5
Peibion ap Cunedda Wledig LIIG (GO) G21.1
see also Tybion ap Cunedda Wledig
Peithien ferch Caw LIIG 4
Penda LIIG 21; LIIG (GO) G1.8.1
Peredur (Peredurus) JC 51
Peredur ap Cado JC 10
Peredur ab Eliffer Gosgorddfawr HG 12; JC
3.5; LIIG (GO) G9.7.2; *BGG* 5
Peredur ap Mael LIIG 12.3
Peredur Teirnoe LIIG 48.1, 49.1; LIIG (GO)
G74.1
- Perun* ap Glywys see Serwn ap Glywys
Perwair ferch Cynfyn Hirdref LIIG 49.6.2
Perwair ferch Rhobert LIIG 49.2.1
Perwair ferch Rhun Rhyfeddfawr LIIG 23
Peryf LIIG 46.2
Peter (Apostle) HG 16
Peter (Pirs), king of Castile LIIG (GO)
G12.4.16
Petroc JC 5
Philip IV, king of France LIIG (GO) G12.4.18
Philippa of Clarence LIIG (GO) G12.4.4,
G12.4.13
Philippa of Hainault LIIG (GO) G12.4.17
Philippus (Philip the Arab) HG 16
Phylib ap Caradog *LID* T21.3
Phylib ap Gruffudd *LID* T8
Phylib ab Owain Gwynedd LIIG 12.11
Phylib ap Seisyll JC 32
Picot de Sai LIIG (GO) G13.6.4
Pincr Misser HG 2; JC 13 [*Miser*]; *GM* 3
[Nyser]
Pobddelw ap Pobien Hen HG 17; JC 40
[*Hoedlel*]; LIIG 43
Pobien Hen HG 17; JC 40 [*Podgen*]; LIIG 43
Porrex I, brother of Ferreux JC 51
Porrex II JC 51; LIIG (GO) G1.2
Prawst ferch Cynddelw LIIG 49.5.2–3
Prawst ferch Elise LIIG 28.1.4
Prawst ferch *Didlet/Tithlym* Prydyn JC 23;
LIIG 26
Probus HG 16
Proestri LIIG 1.4
Protec HG 2; JC 13
Protector HG 2
Prydain ab Aedd Mawr LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO)
G1.2
Prydain ab Owain see Brithwain
Puter LIIG 41
Pybyr LIIG 41
Pyd (Peada) LIIG 21; LIIG (GO) G1.8.1
Pyll ap Cynyr LIIG 48.1, 49.1; LIIG (GO)
G74.1
Pyll ap Cynwrig LIIG 17
Pyll ap Llywarch Hen LIIG 6
Pyr (Pir) JC 51; LIIG (GO) G1.2
- Ragnall (Rhanallt) son of Mathgamain LIIG
16.2.1
Ragnhildr (Rhanillt), mother of Gruffudd ap
Cynan LIIG 16.1
Rawin ap Brychan see Ronan ap Brychan
Regau LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2
Reiden JC 4
Reidoc ap Brychan JC 2.11; LIIG 1.2.9
[*Rodawg*]; *LIFB* 2.18 [*Ridorch, Rodoch*]
Reidon see Rhydion (Redion)
Rhael ferch Goronwy LIIG 50.1.1

- Rhael ferch Gruffudd LIIG A2
 Rhahawd ab Asser LIIG 60.2
 Rhahawd ap Dwywg LIIG 54.4
 Rhahawd ab Ednywain LIIG 55.4
 Rhain ap Brychan *see* Ronan ap Brychan
 Rhain ap Cadwgon HG 2, 13; JC 8
 Rhain ap Hywel Dda LIIG 28.2.1
 Rhain ap Maredudd HG 13–14
 Rhain Dremrudd JC 2.2 [*Drein Dremrud*], 8;
 LID T23.1; *LIFB* 2.1
 Rhanallt *see* Ragnall and Rognvaldr
 Rhandwl ab Iorwerth *LID* T19.2
 Rhandwlff ap Cadwaladr LIIG 13.3
 Rhanillt *see also* Ragnhildr
 Rhanillt, daughter of Rognvaldr
 (Rhanallt) LIIG (GO) G16.5.1, G40.3
 Rhanillt ferch Gruffudd LIIG 15.1, 31.1.1;
 LIIG (GO) G24; *LID* T19.1.1
 Rhanwlff LIIG 41
 Rhea Silva CC 9
 Rheged ap Llywarch Hen LIIG (GO) G8.1
 Rhiadaf ap Cyndrwyn LIIG 2
 Rhiagad ap Pasgen JC 14 [*Riagath*]; *GM* 4
 [*Riagath*]
 Rhiangar ferch Brychan *see* Ceingair ferch
 Brychan
 Rhianwen ferch Brychan *see* Arianwen ferch
 Brychan
 Rhicerd ap Cadwaladr LIIG 13.3, 56.7.1; LIIG
 (GO) G41
 Rhicerd ab Einion *LID* T22.1
 Rhicerd ap Gruffudd *LID* T22.1
 Rhicerd ap Maredudd LIIG 38.2
 Rhiddid ap Seisyll JC 32
 Rhiell ferch Llywarch Hen LIIG 6
 Rhieingar ferch Brychan LIIG (GO) G3.3.11
 see also Ceingair ferch Brychan
 Rhigenau ap Rhain Dremrudd JC 8
 Rhirid ap Bleddyn LIIG A3.1; LIIG (GO)
 G13.2, G13.4
 Rhirid ap Bod LIIG (GO) G43
 Rhirid ap Cadwgon *LID* T14
 Rhirid ap Cynddelw *LID* T9.1
 Rhirid ap Gruffudd Drwyndwn *LID* T15
 Rhirid ap Meirion LIIG (GO) G64 *see also*
 Hyfaidd ap Morien
 Rhirid ab Owain ab Edwin LIIG (GO) G14.2
 Rhirid ab Owain Gwynedd LIIG 12.12
 Rhirid Flaidd LIIG 49.6.3–4, 58.1–2; *LID*
 T18 *see also* Llwyth Rhirid Flaidd *under*
 Dynasties
 Rhirid Mawr LIIG 48.5.1
 Rhisiart ap Llywarch LIIG 61
 Rhiwallon (Riuallo) JC 51; LIIG 11.1; LIIG
 (GO) G1.2
 Rhiwallon ab Arodri LIIG 58.1
 Rhiwallon ap Cynddelw LIIG 55.3
 Rhiwallon ap Cynfyn LIIG 30.1.2; LIIG (GO)
 G13.1, G13.3, G23.2.3
 Rhiwallon ap Dingad LIIG A4.1.1, 58.2; LIIG
 (GO) G73.3; *LID* T40.3
 Rhiwallon ap Dwywg LIIG (GO) G65.4 *see*
 also Rhahawd ap Dwywg
 Rhiwallon ap Gwrydyr LIIG 55.2
 Rhiwallon ap Gwyn LIIG 54.2
 Rhiwallon ab Idwallon JC 8
 Rhiwallon ap Madog *LID* T5.2
 Rhiwallon ab Urien Rheged LIIG 7.1
 Rhobert ab Asser LIIG 56.4
 Rhobert ab Ednywain Bendew LIIG 49.2.1
 Rhobert ap Llywarch LIIG 33.2
 Rhobert ap Rhufon LIIG 52.2
 Rhodri ap Gruffudd LIIG (GO) G40.3
 Rhodri ap Hywel Dda LIIG 28.2.1
 Rhodri ab Owain Gwynedd LIIG 12.2
 Rhodri Mawr HG 1; JC 17–20, 22, 24, 26, 42;
 GM 2; LIIG 11.1, 11.1.4, 12.2.4, 18, 27.3,
 28, 30.1, 37, 50.1; LIIG (GO) G12.4.10,
 G30–1, G78.1, GA6; *LID* T21.1; *MG* 1–2;
 CC 8
 Rhodri Molwynog HG 1; JC 22; *GM* 2; LIIG
 11.1; LIIG (GO) G12.4.10, G78.1; *MG* 1
 Rhudd ap Llywarch Hen LIIG 6
 Rhuddfedel Frych LIIG 19, 40.1, 49.1.5,
 A4.1.1; LIIG (GO) G73
 Rhufon ap Cunedda Wledig HG 32; JC 7
 [*Run*]; LIIG 47.9
 Rhufon ab Einion HG 3; JC 39 [*Runyaln*];
 LIIG 44
 Rhufon ab *Enedwy* LIIG 52.1
 Rhufon ap Meilyr LIIG 52.2
 Rhun (Runo) JC 51
 Rhun ab Arthal HG 5
 Rhun ap Brychan *see* Ronan ap Brychan
 Rhun ab *Enedwy* LIIG (GO) G63.1 *see also*
 Rhufon ab *Enedwy*
 Rhun ap Hywel Dda LIIG (GO) G23.2.1 *see*
 also Rhain ap Hywel Dda
 Rhun ab Iddon/Idwyn LIIG (GO) G57; *LID*
 T33.1 *see also* Rhufon ab Einion
 Rhun ap *Kenelaph* Dremrudd JC 16
 Rhun ap Meilyr LIIG (GO) G63.2 *see also*
 Rhufon ap Meilyr
 Rhun ap Neithon ap Senyllt HG 4; JC 19;
 LIIG 20
 Rhun ap Neithon ap Cathen HG 16
 Rhun ab Owain Gwynedd LIIG 12.7
 Rhun ab Urien Rheged LIIG 7.1
 Rhun Baladr Bras (Rud Hudibras) LIIG 11.1;
 LIIG (GO) G1.2
 Rhun Fawr LIIG (GO) G59.5.1 *see also* Rhirid
 Mawr
 Rhun Hir HG 1; JC 22; *GM* 2; LIIG 11.1,
 23–4; LIIG (GO) G1.8; *MG* 1; CC 1

Index of Genealogies

- Rhun Rhudd Baladr LIIG 11.1.1, 31.1, 32.1, 33.1, A3.6; LIIG (GO) G2.2, G78.2; MG 3
- Rhun Rhyfeddfawr ab Einion JC 35; LIIG 23
- Rhybrawst LIIG 1.4
- Rhychwyn Farfog LIIG 61
- Rhydderch (Rederchius) JC 51; LIIG (GO) G1.2
- Rhydderch ap Bleddri LIIG 38.2
- Rhydderch ab Elgan Weffhwhc LIIG 38.2
- Rhydderch ab Iestyn LIIG 36.1
- Rhydderch ab Owain HG 5
- Rhydderch ap Rhys LIIG (GO) GA1
- Rhydderch ap Tewdwr Mawr LIIG 28.2.6; LIIG (GO) G13.2
- Rhydderch Hen/Hael HG 6; LIIG 9.2, 9.3.1; LIIG (GO) G10.1; *BGG* 8
- Rhydeyrn HG 10; JC 5; *GM* 1 [*Vndeyrn*]; LIIG 11.1.4, A4.1.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2, G1.5, G73; MG 1
- Rhydon (Redion) JC 51 [*Reidon*]; LIIG (GO) G1.2
- Rhyfedel HG 10 [*Iumetel*]; JC 5; *GM* 1; LIIG 11.1.4; LIIG (GO) G1.2
- Rhys ab Arthfael JC 9–10, 12, 14; *GM* 1, 4–5; LIIG 35.1; *BM*
- Rhys ap Cadwgon LIIG 51
- Rhys ab Edryd LIIG 59
- Rhys ap Gorbonion (Regin Gorboniani filius) JC 51 [*Gorbannya/m m.*]
- Rhys ap Gruffudd (the Lord Rhys) JC 24–5; LIIG 30.1; LIIG (GO) G16.1–3, G16.6, G23.2.8–10, G40.2.2, G77.1.1; *LID* T4.1.1, T21.3; MG 2
- Rhys ap Gwerystan LIIG 58.1
- Rhys ab Ifor *LID* T2
- Rhys ab Ithel HG 29; JC 9; *GM* 1; LIIG 35.1; *BM*
- Rhys ap Marchan LIIG 11.1.2, A3.5; LIIG (GO) G75, G79.11 *see also* Wyrion Rhys ap Marchan *under* Dynasties
- Rhys ap Maredudd LIIG (GO) G16.6
- Rhys ap Mor LIIG 48.6
- Rhys ap Seisyll LIIG 49.1.6
- Rhys ap Tewdwr Mawr JC 24; LIIG 28.2.6, 30.1, A3.1, 35.1.1, 35.2.1; LIIG (GO) G13.3, GA1, G16.1–2, G23.2.7–8, G77.1.1; *LID* T4.1.1, T21.3; MG 2 *see also* Brenhinllwyth
- Rhys ap Tewdwr *under* Dynasties
- Rhys Goch LIIG 49.2–3, 49.4.3
- Rhys Gryg JC 24–5, 27, 29; LIIG (GO) G16.2, G16.4–5, G23.2.9, G23.2.11; *LID* T21.3
- Rhys Ieuanc ap Gruffudd LIIG (GO) G16.3
- Rhys Ieuanc (Rhys Fychan) ap Rhys Mechyll LIIG (GO) G16.5, G23.2.12, G40.3; *LID* T21.3
- Rhys Mechyll (Rhys Fychan) LIIG (GO) G16.4–5, G23.2.11–12; *LID* T21.3
- Rhys Sais LIIG 49.1.3, 57; LIIG (GO) G73.1–2, G73.4, G76.1–4
- Rhys Wyndod LIIG (GO) G16.5, G23.2.12
- Richard, duke of York LIIG (GO) G12.4
- Richard, earl of Cambridge LIIG (GO) G12.4
- Richard I the fearless (Ddiofn), duke of Normandy LIIG (GO) G12.2.1, G12.5
- Richard II, duke of Normandy LIIG (GO) G12.2.1, G12.5
- Richard III, duke of Normandy LIIG (GO) G12.2.1, G12.5
- Rinhidyr* ferch Brychan *see* Cynidr
- Robert *see* Rollo
- Robert I, duke of Normandy LIIG (GO) G12.2.1, G12.5
- Roet* LIIG 41
- Roger ap Gruffudd, Syr *LID* T8
- Roger Powys, Syr LIIG (GO) G76.4
- Rognvaldr (Rhanallt) Guðrøðarson LIIG 16.1; LIIG (GO) G16.5.1, G40.3
- Rollo LIIG (GO) G12.2.1, G12.5
- Ronan ap Brychan JC 2.7 [*Ruvann*]; LIIG 1.2.6 [*Rein*]; *LIFB* 2.4 [*Rawin, R/m*]
- Ronyn ab Egri LIIG 5
- Ryneidon* ferch Brychan *see* Cynheiddon ferch Brychan
- Samson ap Caw LIIG 4
- Samson ap Dôn LIIG (GO) G20.1 *see also* Gofannon ap Dôn
- Sanan ferch Cynfyn Hirdref LIIG 49.5.3–4, 49.6.1
- Sanan ferch Cyngen Glodrydd JC 3.10; *LIFB* 3.11 [*Sanant verch Gynvawr*]
- Sanan ferch Dyfnwal LIIG (GO) G13.6.2
- Sanan ferch Elise HG 15; JC 8
- Sanddef, father of Elfan LIIG 12.11
- Sanddef ab Alcwn JC 17; LIIG 11.1.4, 20
- Sanddef ap Caradog Hardd LIIG 48.2; LIIG (GO) G74.1 *see also* Wyrion Sanddef Hardd *under* Dynasties
- Sanddef ab Iarddur LIIG 49.2, 49.4.3; LIIG (GO) G60.3.1
- Sanddef ap Tudwal JC 16
- Sanddef Bryd Engyl (*Brikeingl*) LIIG 6, 11.1.2, 17, 51; LIIG (GO) G75
- Sant ap Ceredig JC 3.8, 43; LIIG 1.3.8; *LIFB* 3.9
- Sant ap Glywys JC 5
- Sariell ap Urien LIIG (GO) G17.2
- Saturnus LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2; MG 1; *CC* 5
- Saul ap Glywys *see* Paul ap Glywys
- Sawyl ap Llywarch Hen LIIG 6
- Sawyl Benisel/Benuchel HG 19; LIIG (GO) G9.7.1; *BGG* 4
- Sawyl Benisel (Samuil Penissel) JC 51 [*Samuel*]; LIIG (GO) G1.2

Index of Genealogies

- Sceaf LIIG (GO) G12.1 [*Ysgeaff*, *Teiras*]
 Secldeuwa LIIG (GO) G12.1 [*Isteldus*]
Secuyn see Gerein Hir ap *Secuyn*
 Sedd Gyfedd LID T23.2
 Seirioel ap Grwst *see* Seisyll, Seirioel (Sisillius I)
 Seiriol ab Usai LIIG (GO) G29 *see also*
 Serwyl ab Usai
 Seisyll, father of Einion/Ednyfed LID T6.1
 Seisyll, father of Llywelyn and Cynan JC 33;
 LIIG 28.1.4
 Seisyll, Seirioel (Sisillius I) JC 51; LIIG 11.1;
 LIIG (GO) G1.2
 Seisyll (Sisillius II) JC 51; LIIG (GO) G1.2
 Seisyll (Sisillius III) JC 51; LIIG (GO) G1.2
 Seisyll ap Clydog HG 26; JC 21, 42; LIIG 18
 Seisyll ap Dingad LIIG (GO) G31 *see also*
 Senyllt ap Dingad
 Seisyll ap Dyfnwal LIIG (GO) GA3
 Seisyll ap Gwrgi LIIG 49.1.4–5
 Seisyll ab Ithel LIIG 55.2.1
 Seisyll ap Llywelyn JC 32–3; LID T22.1–3
 Seisyll ap Selyf LIIG 49.1.6
 Selyf ap Brochfael LIIG 40.1, 49.1.5; LID T9.1.1
 Selyf ab Elise LID T23.1
 Selyf ab Ieuaf HG 24
 Selyf ap Llywarch Hen LIIG 6
 Selyf ap Mor LIIG 49.1.6
 Selyf Sarff Gadau HG 22; JC 18; LIIG 19,
 40.1, 49.1.5
 Selyfion HG 27
 Senyllt ap Dingad HG 4; JC 19; LIIG 20
 Serfan ap Cedig/Ceidio LIIG (GO) G10.2
 [*Se[r]nan*], G10.4 [*Serwan*]; BGG 9
Serigi Wyddel LIIG 47.14
 Serwan HG 16
 Serwn ap Glywys JC 5 [*Perun*]
 Serwyl ab Usai HG 26; JC 21, 42; LIIG 18
 Seth LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2, G12.1; MG 1
 Severus HG 16; JC 51
 Severus ap Cadwr LIIG 31.1; MG 4
 Shem LIIG (GO) G11.2
 Siawn ab Iael LIIG 3
 Sigtryggr Caech LIIG 16.1
 Sigtryggr Silkenbeard LIIG 16.1
 Sigurðr hrísi LIIG 16.1 [*Siwyrdur Ris*]
 Sigurðr sýr LIIG 16.1 [*Siwyrdur Sur*]
 Silur JC 4 [*Filur*]
 Silvius JC 51; LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2;
 MG 1; CC 5; BM
Sisli see Neville, Cecily
Siwyrdur see Sigurðr
 Sláine ingen Briain LIIG 16.1.2
 Slani ferch Gruffudd LIIG 15.2; LIIG (GO)
 GA4.2 [*Ilani*]
Stater HG 2
Stader LIIG 41
 Sulbych LIIG 41
 Sulien ap Caradog LID T13.2
 Susanna ferch Gruffudd LIIG 15.1, 32.1.1;
 LIIG (GO) G2.2.2, G15.1, G24
Sutrig see Sigtryggr
 Swalda ab Idris Garw HG 18; JC 41; LIIG 42
 [*Sualdei*]
 Tacitus HG 16 [*Tittus*]
 Talan ap Llywarch Hen LIIG (GO) G8.1
 Tallweh LIIG 25.1.1
 Tandreg Ddu LIIG 22
 Tandreg ferch Rhys LIIG 49.1.6
 Tanged ap Padriarc Frenin Da LID T19.2
 Tangno ap Cadafael LIIG 56.1, 56.3, 56.6–7;
 LIIG (GO) G41.7; CC 7
 Tangwre ferch Gwyn LIIG 49.1.5
 Tangwystl ferch Brychan *see* Tudwystl ferch
 Brychan of Merthyr Tudwystl
 Tangwystl ferch Cadwallon LIIG 13.4, 14
 Tangwystl ferch Llywarch Goch LIIG (GO)
 G12.4.11, G40.2.1
 Tangwystl ferch Owain HG 2; LIIG 38.1
 Tathal JC 1; LIIG 1.1
 Tegeingl ferch Cunedda Wledig JC 7 *see also*
 Tegid ferch Cunedda Wledig
 Tegeryn ab Aelan LIIG 49.1–2, 49.4
 Tegfan ap *Teuhant* HG 10; JC 5 [*Tecwant*];
 GM 1; LIIG 11.1.4; LIIG (GO) G1.2; MG 1
 Tegid ap Cain/Iago HG 1; JC 6; GM 2; LIIG
 11.1, 46.2; LIIG (GO) G1.7
 Tegid ap Cain ap Dwg JC 17; LIIG 11.1.4
 Tegid ferch Cunedda Wledig LIIG 47.13 *see*
 also Tegeingl ferch Cunedda Wledig
 Tegid Foel LIIG 47.12
 Tegog LIIG 11.1.2, 17, 51; LIIG (GO) G75
 Tegonwy LIIG 11.1.1, 12.1, 31.1, 32.1, 33.1,
 A3.6; LIIG (GO) G2.2, G3.3.2, G78.2; LID
 T28.4; MG 3–4
 Tegwared, father of Tudfwlch LIIG 55.2.2
 Tegwared ap Cadwgon LIIG 51
 Tegwared ap Cynfawr LIIG 52.1
 Tegwared ap Hoedlyw LIIG 53; LIIG (GO)
 G41.3
 Tegwared ap Rhobert LIIG 56.4
 Tegwas Felyn LID T2
 Teilbwyll HG 10; JC 5; GM 1 [*Taithpwyll*];
 LIIG 11.1.4 [*Tydbwyll*]; LIIG (GO) G1.2
 [*Tvdbwyll*]; MG 1 [*Triuil*]
 Teitheryn JC 1; LIIG 1.1
 Teithfallt ap Nynio GM 1 [*Taithfalch*]; LIIG
 35.1; BM *see also* Llywarch ap Nynio
 Teithfallt ap Teitheryn JC 1; LIIG 1.1
 Tenuantius JC 51 [*Tenean*]; MG 3 [*Tenewan*]
 see also *Teuhant* (Tasciovanos)
 Teon LIIG 11.1.1, 12.1, 31.1, 32.1, 33.1, A3.6;
 LIIG (GO) G2.2, G3.3.2, G78.2; LID T28.4;
 MG 3–4

Index of Genealogies

- Teuhant* (Tasciovanos) HG 16 *see also*
Tenuantius
- Teuhant* ap Teilbwyll HG 10; JC 5 [*Eweint*];
 GM 1 [*Ywain*]; LIIG 11.1.4 [*Deheuvreint*];
 LIIG (GO) G1.2 [*Dehevraint*]; MG 1
 [*Deheweint*]
- Tewdos ap Nowy HG 15; JC 8
- Tewdos ap Rhain HG 2, 13; JC 12; GM 3;
 LIIG 38.1
- Tewdrig ap Llywarch (/Teithfallt) HG 28; JC 9;
 GM 1; LIIG 35.1; BM
- Tewdrig ap Teithfallt JC 1; LIIG 1.1; *LIFB* 1
- Tewdwr ap Beli HG 5
- Tewdwr ap Griffri JC 8
- Tewdwr ap Gruffudd JC 8
- Tewdwr ap Peibio Glafrog/*Angwarat* JC 10;
 GM 5
- Tewdwr ap Rhain JC 8
- Tewdwr Mawr JC 24; LIIG 28.2.5–6, 30.1,
 A3.1, 35.1.1, 35.2.1; LIIG (GO) G13.2–3,
 GA1, G16.1–2, G23.2.7–8, G77.1.1; *LID*
 T4.1.1, T21.3; MG 2
- Teyrnog ab Egri LIIG 5
- Theudu* ap Peredur JC 10
- Theber* ferch Brydwr JC 16
- Thomas ap Dwling LIIG 15.4
- Tiberius HG 16
- Tithlym Prydyn see Didlet*
- Titus HG 16
- Tonlut* JC 3.5
- Trahaearn Arglwydd *LID* T23.1
- Trahaearn ap Caradog JC 27; LIIG 12.1,
 33.1–2, 50.3; *LID* T21.1.1
- Trahaearn ap Cynddelw LIIG (GO) G43
- Trahaearn ap Golwg *LID* T19.2
- Trahaearn ab Iorwerth Hilfawr *LID* T7
- Trahaearn ap Madog Fychan *LID* T23.1
- Trahaearn ap Maelog Dda LIIG 48.5
- Trahaearn ap Seisyll JC 32
- Trahaearn Fychan *LID* T23.1
- Trajan HG 16
- Tros LIIG 11.1; LIIG (GO) G1.2; MG 1;
 CC 5, 9
- Tryderan ab Egri LIIG 5
- Tryffun ap Drem *LID* T23.2
- Tryffun ap Merfyn LIIG 28.3
- Tryffun ap Rhain HG 13
- Tryffun Farfog HG 2; JC 13; GM 3; LIIG 38.1–2
- Trygyr ap Rhiwallon LIIG 55.2
- Trystan ab Egri LIIG (GO) G7 *see also*
 Tryderan ab Egri
- Trystan ap Tallwch LIIG 25.1.1
- Tuathal mac Augaire LIIG 16.1.1 [*Dwthil*]
- Tudfwlch ap Tegwared LIIG 55.2.2
- Tudfwlch Cornau BGG 13
- Tudfyl ferch Brychan JC 3.14; *LIFB* 3.2
 [*Euvail*], 3.10
- Tudglyd ferch Brychan JC 3.10 [*Gutuyll*]; LIIG
 1.3.3 [*Tudwyl*]
- Tudur ab Ednyfed Fychan LIIG (GO) G41.5
- Tudur ab Einion Fychan *LID* T19.3
- Tudur ap Rhys Sais LIIG (GO) G73.2, G73.4,
 G76.3–4; *LID* T34.1
- Tudur Trefor LIIG A4.1.1, 57; LIIG (GO)
 G60.1.3, G73, G76.1–4; *LID* T40.1, T40.3–4
- Tudwal ab Anarawd Gwalchgrwn HG 4; JC 19
- Tudwal ab Ednyfed ab Annun HG 4; JC 19;
 LIIG 20
- Tudwal ab Ednyfed ap Brochwel LIIG 41
- Tudwal ab Einudd LIIG (GO) GA6
- Tudwal ap Gwrfawr JC 11 *see also* Tudwal ap
 Morfawr
- Tudwal ap Merin JC 16
- Tudwal ap Morfawr LIIG (GO) G1.1; MG 5;
 CC 6 *see also* Tudwal ap Gwrfawr
- Tudwal ap Rhun HG 4; JC 19; LIIG 20
- Tudwal Befr JC 3.15; LIIG 1.3.10
- Tudwal Gam LIIG 55.2
- Tudwal Gloff JC 20; LIIG 28, 28.5, 50.1; LIIG
 (GO) GA6; *LID* T21.1
- Tudwal Tudglyd HG 6; LIIG 9.2; LIIG (GO)
 G10.1; BGG 8
- Tudwyl ferch Brychan *see* Tudglyd ferch Brychan
- Tudwystl ferch Brychan of Merthyr
 Tudwystl JC 3.13 [*Taghbystyl*]; LIIG 1.3.21
see also Hawystl ferch Brychan
- Tudwystl ferch Brychan LIIG (GO) G3.3.3 *see*
also Tudglyd ferch Brychan
- Turnlbr Moruablr see* Morfawr ab Eudaf Hen
- Tutlith* ferch Brychan JC 3.4 *see also* Tudglyd
 ferch Brychan and Tudwystl ferch Brychan of
 Merthyr Tudwystl
- Tybïe ferch Brychan JC 3.19; LIIG 1.3.14
 [*Tidyei*]; *LIFB* 3.7
- Tybion ap Cunedda Wledig HG 32; JC 7, 41;
 LIIG 42, 47.1
- Tydy LIIG 48.1, 49.1; LIIG (GO) G74.1
- Tyfoded LIIG 48.1, 49.1; LIIG (GO) G74.1
- Tyfriog ap Brychan *LIFB* 2.15 [*Dyvrïc*]
- Tymyr ap Llawr LIIG 60.2
- Tynwaed Faglog LIIG 1.3.7; *LIFB* 3.14
- Tywallt Pair Llaw Eiddyn *LIFB* 3.5
- Uchdrud ab Aleth frenin Dyfed *LID* T5.3–4,
 T9.1
- Uchdrud ab Edwin LIIG (GO) G14.1
- Uchno ab Egri LIIG 5
- Urban ab Edric *see Erb*
- Urban ap Grad HG 10; JC 5; GM 1; LIIG
 11.1.4; LIIG (GO) G1.2; MG 1
- Ugrngn* ferch Brychan *see* Arianwen ferch
 Brychan
- Urien (Vrianus) JC 51 [*Kynon*]; LIIG (GO)
 G1.2

Index of Genealogies

- Urien Rheged HG 8; JC 3.5, 34; LIIG 1.3.5, 7.1–2; *LIFB* 3.13; *BGG* 1
- Usai ap Ceredig HG 26; JC 21, 42; LIIG 18
- Ustig ap Caw LIIG 4
- Uthrudd, father of Gwallter CC 4
- Uthyr Penddraig/Pendragon JC 51; LIIG (GO) G1.1; MG 5–6; CC 6

- Valerian HG 16
- Vespasian HG 16
- Vortigern *see* Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenau

- Wala LIIG (GO) G12.1 [*Gwali*]
- Wiba* (Pybba) LIIG (GO) G1.8.1
- Wig LIIG (GO) G12.1 [*Widsiys, Winigi*]
- Wiliam Pefr, Syr (William Peverel) LIIG (GO) G76.3
- William Bastard LIIG (GO) G12.2.1, G12.4.2, G12.5, G40.2.1

- William Longsword LIIG (GO) G12.2.1, G12.5
- Woden LIIG (GO) G12.1 [*Wden, Godwin*]

- Ymyr (Ynyr, Membyr) ap Cadfarch LIIG A4.1.1, 57; LIIG (GO) G73
- Yneigr ap Gwron LIIG 47.14
- Yneigr ferch Tudfwlch LIIG (GO) G66.2.2
- Ynyr ap Goronwy LIIG (GO) G60.1.6 *see also* Ifor, father of Elaeth
- Ynyr ap Meurig *LID* T28.1
- Ynyr Fychan *LID* T28.1
- Ysbwys ap Cadrod Calchfynydd LIIG 53, A4.1, 59; LIIG (GO) G59.4.1, G65.1
- Ysbwys Mwyndyrch LIIG 53, A4.1, 59; LIIG (GO) G59.4.1, G65.1
- Ystradwel ferch Gadeon LIIG 27.1
- Ystrwyth ab Ednywain LIIG 55.5

INDEX OF MANUSCRIPTS

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales

- Brogyntyn I. 7 287 n. 89
 Brogyntyn I. 15 45 n. 239, 147, 170, 176, 180,
 181 n. 121, 182, 185–7, 189–90, 193, 263 n.
 168, 299–301, 345–6, 421–3, 427
 Cwrtmawr 530 188, 190, 194–5
 Llanstephan 2 105–6, 282
 Llanstephan 3 46 n. 252
 Llanstephan 12 45 n. 239, 147, 180, 181 n.
 121, 182, 185–7, 217, 263, 299–301, 345–6,
 351
 Llanstephan 27 (the Red Book of Talgarth) 42,
 44, 106, 140–1, 281–2, 294, 433 n. 4
 Llanstephan 28 162–4, 165 n. 33, 171–2, 193,
 217, 318–19
 Llanstephan 65 189–90, 193
 Llanstephan 100 181–2, 184 n. 134, 185–6,
 299–301
 Llanstephan 138, part i 195–200, 302–3,
 421–2, 435
 Llanstephan 138, part ii 199
 Llanstephan 157 189–90, 194
 Llanstephan 159 199
 Llanstephan 187 195–8, 302–3, 421–2, 435
 NLW 35B 189–90, 195
 NLW 730D 170, 180
 NLW 732B 166–70, 173–4, 177, 212, 318–19,
 350–1
 NLW 1554A 170, 174, 176, 180, 189, 195 n.
 194, 262 n. 162
 NLW 1580B, part iv 189–90, 194–5
 NLW 1984B (Panton 15) 102, 105
 NLW 2020B (Panton 52), part ii 189–90, 193,
 195
 NLW 2029B (Panton 63) 171, 174–5
 NLW 3026C (Mostyn 88) 231 n. 390, 260–2,
 328
 NLW 3032B (Mostyn 113), part i 160, 183,
 188, 190, 192, 195, 196, 198, 219–20, 350–2,
 435–7
 NLW 3036B (Mostyn 117) 44, 243, 429
 NLW 3042B (Mostyn 134) 103–4, 126 n. 141,
 170, 176, 180, 182, 184 n. 134, 186–7, 338
 NLW 3052D (Mostyn 149) 195, 197–9, 302–3
 NLW 3067Bi (Mostyn 212B), part i 146 n.
 235, 315 n. 186, 345, 435–7
 NLW 4973B (*Liber B*) 224 n. 332
 NLW 5266B (the Dingestow manuscript)
 140–1, 294, 427
 NLW 5267B (*Y Casgliad Brith*) 106 n. 50
 NLW 6150A 195, 197, 199–200
 NLW 6434D, part iii 188, 190, 193, 263 n. 168
 NLW 6882D 282 n. 68
 NLW 7006D (the Black Book of Basingwerk)
 230, 261–2, 328–31
 NLW 7008E 170, 174, 176, 189–90, 195, 197,
 199
 NLW 7009E 199 n. 211
 NLW 11114B 172 nn. 70 and 72, 351, 390
 NLW 11115B 175 n. 82
 NLW 13121B (Llanover C 34) 184
 NLW 13250A 180, 182, 187–8
 NLW 16962–3A 130, 166–7, 169, 170, 173–6,
 188, 190, 193, 195, 262 n. 162, 292–3
 NLW 17110E (Gwysaney 1; the Book of
 Llandaf) 92, 104, 138 n. 199 *see also* Book
 of *under Llandaf in the Main Index*
 NLW 17112D (Gwysaney 23) 188–90, 193,
 263 n. 168
 NLW 21001B, part ii 162–4, 181–2, 186, 191,
 196, 351
 Peniarth 1 (the Black Book of Carmarthen) 129
 n. 151, 138, 225, 281
 Peniarth 2 (the Book of Taliesin) 44, 243, 429
 Peniarth 4–5 (the White Book of Rhydderch)
 140–1, 224 n. 332, 235–6, 281
 Peniarth 12 140 n. 212
 Peniarth 14 227
 Peniarth 16, part vi 140–1, 294
 Peniarth 17 168 n. 51, 227
 Peniarth 20 165, 252, 324
 Peniarth 22 429
 Peniarth 27, part ii 230 n. 380, 261, 263,
 328–31, 432 n. 6
 Peniarth 29 (the Black Book of Chirk) 221–2
 Peniarth 32 (*Y Llyfr Teg*) 105, 282
 Peniarth 45 140–1, 230, 246, 427
 Peniarth 46 427
 Peniarth 47, part iv 106 n. 50, 235 n. 13, 339
 n. 19
 Peniarth 50 (*Y Cwitta Cyfarwydd*) 168, 236,
 269–71, 431–3

Index of Manuscripts

Peniarth 51 45, 433
 Peniarth 74, part i 179
 Peniarth 74, part ii 162 n. 10, 170, 174–7, 179,
 180 n. 116, 262 n. 162
 Peniarth 75 162 n. 10, 170, 178–9, 262, 328,
 390
 Peniarth 101 304 n. 115
 Peniarth 118, part ii 180, 182, 184, 186, 188,
 198, 351
 Peniarth 120 104
 Peniarth 126 166, 170, 219
 Peniarth 127, part i 159–60, 162 n. 10, 171–2,
 178–9, 181, 183, 187, 188–94, 198, 212, 218,
 219–20, 231, 263 n. 168, 342 n. 5, 350–1,
 414, 421–3
 Peniarth 127, part ii 170, 174–7
 Peniarth 128 (*Llyfr Edward ap Roger*) 162 n.
 10, 170, 178–9, 262 n. 161, 263 n. 168, 390,
 435–7
 Peniarth 129 169, 170, 172–6, 177 n. 92, 179,
 262, 318–19, 328, 350–1, 390
 Peniarth 130 170, 174–7
 Peniarth 131, part ii 166–7, 169–70, 173, 179,
 212, 261, 263, 318–19, 328, 330 n. 231, 331
 n. 233, 350–2
 Peniarth 131, part iii 45 n. 246, 166, 170–3,
 178–9, 186, 191, 212, 217, 260 n. 148, 262,
 304 n. 116, 318–19, 328–31, 350–1
 Peniarth 131, part iv 170, 174–7
 Peniarth 131, part v 177 n. 93
 Peniarth 131, part viii 46 n. 249, 120 n. 101,
 178, 180–4, 186, 200, 217 n. 297, 263, 351
 Peniarth 132, part i 140–1, 180, 181 n. 121,
 182–3, 351
 Peniarth 134 218 n. 300, 312 n. 153
 Peniarth 135 179
 Peniarth 137, part iii 162–5
 Peniarth 138 170, 178–9, 263 n. 168, 435–7
 Peniarth 143 180, 181 n. 121, 182, 187–8, 351,
 421
 Peniarth 158, part v 189–90, 194
 Peniarth 175 312 n. 155
 Peniarth 176 312 n. 153
 Peniarth 177, part i 169, 170, 176, 178, 180–2,
 186–7, 191, 263 n. 168, 351, 421, 433 n. 5,
 436 n. 1
 Peniarth 178, part i 421–3, 433, 435–7
 Peniarth 178, part ii 421 n. 2
 Peniarth 181 166–7, 169–70, 174–7, 179, 390
 Peniarth 182 162–3, 318–19, 350–2
 Peniarth 183, part ii 162–5
 Peniarth 185, part i
 Peniarth 190 105, 282
 Peniarth 253 421–3, 427
 Peniarth 275 269, 271
 Peniarth 283 166–7
 Peniarth 287 304 n. 115

Peniarth 385 269–71
 Peniarth 403, part v 193
 SA 1588 R5 178 n. 98

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College (CCCC)

98 257–8
 98A 254 n. 120
 116 254 n. 120
 153 58
 183 38

Cambridge, Emmanuel College

231 256 n. 129

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College

406/627 287

Cambridge, King's College

43 253 n. 118

Cambridge, University Library (CUL)

Dd.3.55 254 n. 120
 Dd.3.56 254 n. 120
 Mm.1.3 120 n. 101, 170, 178–9, 217, 262 n.
 161, 263 n. 168, 390, 435–7

Cardiff, Central Library

1.363 (Havod 2) 140 n. 210, 141, 161
 2.1 (*RMWL* 10) 432
 2.81 (the Book of Aneirin) 227
 2.108 171, 174–5
 2.136 (*RMWL* 59) 345
 2.611 249 n. 92, 251–2, 324–7
 3.11 (*RMWL* 50), part iii 218, 263
 3.77 (*RMWL* 25) 160, 161–3, 165, 166–8, 173,
 183, 200, 211–12, 216, 219, 269–71, 318–19,
 349–53, 431
 3.242 (Havod 16), part ii 140–1, 294
 4.20 195, 196 n. 199, 197, 199
 4.22 (*RMWL* 36) 189–90, 193, 195, 197,
 199–200
 4.265 169, 170, 177 n. 92, 178–80, 188, 195,
 351, 390

Chicago, University of Chicago Library

224 (the Wigmore manuscript) 257

Christchurch (New Zealand), University of Canterbury

1 (The Maude/Canterbury roll) 252 n. 111, 253
 n. 118, 256 n. 130

Dublin, Trinity College

515 249 n. 92, 250 n. 100, 251–2, 324–7
 1298 (H.2.7), part i 26 n. 130, 28
 1339 (H.2.18; the Book of Leinster) 26 n. 130,
 28, 30 n. 140

Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland

Adv. 18.7.8 56

Exeter Cathedral Library

3514 10–11, 34 n. 157, 50, 125 n. 131, 148
n. 241, 226, 227, 233, 234 n. 7, 235, 243–7,
249–53, 255, 324–7

Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek

Mm.I.81 93–6, 269, 271

Hawarden, Flintshire Record Office

D/E 1413 171, 174, 177, 189–90, 194
D/LE 1389 231 n. 390, 259–63, 328–31

Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek

BPL 20 286 n. 88

London, British Library (BL)

Add. 11713 248 n. 91
Add. 12193 189
Add. 14883 189–90, 195
Add. 14916 (*Llyfr Bodeulwyn*) 159, 188–91,
193–5, 414
Add. 14919, part iii 46 n. 251, 171, 181, 188,
190–2, 217, 220, 240, 317
Add. 14924 171, 174, 175 n. 81
Add. 14928 105, 189–90, 195
Add. 14931 222
Add. 14949, part i 189–90, 193, 195
Add. 15002 171, 174–5
Add. 15031, part i 181–2, 184, 186, 187,
299–301
Add. 15041 178–9, 188, 190, 194, 263 n. 168
Add. 18002 253 n. 118
Add. 18268A 256–7
Add. 21058 254 n. 120
Add. 24342 256 n. 129
Cotton Caligula A. iii, part ii 221–2
Cotton Cleopatra B. v, part i 261, 331 n. 236
Cotton Cleopatra D. i, parts i–iii 54
Cotton Domitian A. i, part ii 121 n. 111, 130
Cotton Rolls XIV. 12 252 n. 107
Cotton Tiberius E. i 271
Cotton Titus D. xxii 269–71, 282
Cotton Vespasian A. xiv, part i 42, 81–2, 84–5,
96 n. 252, 98, 103, 113, 129–30, 134, 136–7,
138, 142–3, 157, 269–71, 294
Cotton Vespasian B. vi 27, 38 n. 180, 62–3
Cotton Vespasian D. xxi, part i 56
Egerton 2808 (the Cartulary of Quimperlé) 86
see also cartulary of *under* Quimperlé in the
Main Index
Harley 673 37 n. 175, 148, 225 n. 347, 227,
240, 245, 258, 317
Harley 1935 180, 181 n. 121, 182, 187 n. 154,
188, 427

Harley 1970, part ii 170, 172–6, 177 n. 92, 262
n. 162, 350–1, 390–1
Harley 1976 189–90, 192, 219–20
Harley 2414, part i 140 n. 215, 141, 180, 181
n. 121, 182, 185–6
Harley 3859 37 n. 175, 51–60, 64, 65, 78–9,
92, 96, 99, 123, 157, 228–30, 333
Harley 4181 105, 146 n. 235, 162–5, 199, 345,
421–3, 436–7
Harley 6831 345, 421–3, 436–7
Harley Roll C. 9 256 n. 131
Royal 8 C. ix 254 n. 120
Royal 15. A. xxii 56
Royal 18. A. lxxv 120 n. 101, 180, 217–18, 263

London, College of Arms (CA)

Muniment Room 12/16 180, 182–3, 263,
435–7

Madrid, San Lorenzo de El Escorial

O II 5 53

Manchester, John Rylands Library

Welsh 1 45 n. 246, 46 n. 251, 163, 168, 170–9,
189, 191, 192, 217, 219, 230, 231, 262, 295 n.
97, 319, 328, 350–1, 390–1
Welsh 2 171, 174–5
Welsh 3 175 n. 82

New Haven (CT), Yale University, Beinecke Library

Marston 242 256 n. 131

Notre Dame (IN), Hesburgh Libraries

cod. Lat. d. 3 249 n. 92, 251–2, 324–7

Oxford, Bodleian Library

Ashmole 794 269–71
Ashmole 1289 269–71
Ashmole Rolls 38 248 n. 87
Bodley 302 254 n. 120
Bodley Add. A. 281 181–2, 188, 345 n. 8, 427
Bodley Add. E. 14 248–9, 253, 255
Bodley Rolls 7 254 n. 121, 324–7
Bodley Rolls 10 324–7
Marshall 135 256 n. 130
Rawlinson B. 466 170, 174, 176–7, 180, 262 n.
162, 263 n. 168
Rawlinson B. 502 12 n. 56, 14 n. 66, 30 n. 140,
236 n. 19

Oxford, Jesus College

20 44 n. 235, 64, 101–6, 108, 122–3, 126 n.
141, 138, 141, 143, 147, 156–7, 281–2, 283,
286, 338
27 104
29 104

Index of Manuscripts

111 (the Red Book of Hergest) 46 n. 252, 101,
104–6, 224 n. 332, 235–6, 281–2
119 (*Llyfr yr Ancr*) 104, 282 n. 68
141 252 n. 111

Oxford, Lincoln College

Latin 100 53

Oxford, Magdalen College

lat. 248 256 n. 128

Oxford, The Queen's College

168 254 n. 120

Oxford, St John's College

58 254 n. 120

66b 54 n. 24

Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève
2113 286–7

**Philadelphia, Library Company of
Philadelphia**

8680.O 105, 282

**Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í
íslenskum fræðum**

AM 748 II 4to 253

Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket

DG 11 4to 253

Windsor, Eton College

96 252 n. 107

STUDIES IN CELTIC HISTORY

Already published

I · THE SAINTS OF GWYNEDD
Molly Miller

II · CELTIC BRITAIN IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES
Kathleen Hughes

III · THE INSULAR LATIN GRAMMARIANS
Vivien Law

IV · CHRONICLES AND ANNALS OF MEDIAEVAL IRELAND AND WALES
Kathryn Grabowski and David Dumville

V · GILDAS: NEW APPROACHES
M. Lapidge and D. Dumville (ed.)

VI · SAINT GERMANUS OF AUXERRE AND THE END OF ROMAN BRITAIN
E.A. Thompson

VII · FROM KINGS TO WARLORDS: THE CHANGING POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF GAELIC
IRELAND IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES
Katharine Simms

VIII · THE CHURCH AND THE WELSH BORDER IN THE CENTRAL MIDDLE AGES
C.N.L. Brooke

IX · THE LITURGY AND RITUAL OF THE CELTIC CHURCH
F.E. Warren (2nd edn. by Jane Stevenson)

X · THE MONKS OF REDON: *GESTA SANCTORUM ROTONENSIUM* AND *VITA CONUVOIONIS*
Caroline Brett (ed. and trans.)

XI · EARLY MONASTERIES IN CORNWALL
Lynette Olson

XII · IRELAND, WALES AND ENGLAND IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY
K.L. Maund

XIII · SAINT PATRICK, AD 493–1993
D.N. Dumville and others

XIV · MILITARY INSTITUTIONS ON THE WELSH MARCHES: SHROPSHIRE, AD 1066–1300
Frederick C. Suppe

Previous Volumes

- XV · UNDERSTANDING THE UNIVERSE IN SEVENTH-CENTURY IRELAND
Marina Smyth
- XXVI · GRUFFUDD AP CYNAN: A COLLABORATIVE BIOGRAPHY
K.L. Maund (ed.)
- XVII · COLUMBANUS: STUDIES ON THE LATIN WRITINGS
Michael Lapidge (ed.)
- XVIII · THE IRISH IDENTITY OF THE KINGDOM OF THE SCOTS
IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES
Dauvit Broun
- XIX · THE MEDIEVAL CULT OF ST PETROC
Karen Jankulak
- XX · CHRIST IN CELTIC CHRISTIANITY: BRITAIN AND IRELAND
FROM THE FIFTH TO THE TENTH CENTURY
Michael W. Herren and Shirley Ann Brown
- XXI · THE BOOK OF LLANDAF AND THE NORMAN CHURCH IN WALES
John Reuben Davies
- XXII · ROYAL INAUGURATION IN GAELIC IRELAND c.1100–1600:
A CULTURAL LANDSCAPE STUDY
Elizabeth FitzPatrick
- XXIII · CÉLI DÉ IN IRELAND: MONASTIC WRITING AND IDENTITY
IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES
Westley Follett
- XXIV · ST DAVID OF WALES: CULT, CHURCH AND NATION
J. Wyn Evans and Jonathan M. Wooding (ed.)
- XXV · SAINTS' CULTS IN THE CELTIC WORLD
Steve Boardman, John Reuben Davies and Eila Williamson (ed.)
- XXVI · GILDAS'S *DE EXCIDIO BRITONUM* AND THE EARLY BRITISH CHURCH
Karen George
- XXVII · THE PRESENT AND THE PAST IN MEDIEVAL IRISH CHRONICLES
Nicholas Evans
- XXVIII · THE CULT OF SAINTS AND THE VIRGIN MARY IN MEDIEVAL SCOTLAND
Steve Boardman and Eila Williamson (ed.)
- XXIX · THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE IRISH CHURCH IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY
Marie Therese Flanagan
- XXX · HEROIC SAGA AND CLASSICAL EPIC IN MEDIEVAL IRELAND
Brent Miles
- XXXI · TOME: STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL CELTIC HISTORY AND LAW
IN HONOUR OF THOMAS CHARLES-EDWARDS
Fiona Edmonds and Paul Russell (ed.)

Previous Volumes

XXXII · NEW PERSPECTIVES ON MEDIEVAL SCOTLAND, 1093–1286
Matthew Hammond (ed.)

XXXIII · LITERACY AND IDENTITY IN EARLY MEDIEVAL IRELAND
Elva Johnston

XXXIV · CLASSICAL LITERATURE AND LEARNING IN MEDIEVAL IRISH NARRATIVE
Ralph O'Connor (ed.)

XXXV · MEDIEVAL POWYS: KINGDOM, PRINCIPALITY AND LORDSHIPS, 1132–1293
David Stephenson

XXXVI · PERCEPTIONS OF FEMININITY IN EARLY IRISH SOCIETY
Helen Oxenham

XXXVII · ST SAMSON OF DOL AND THE EARLIEST HISTORY OF BRITTANY,
CORNWALL AND WALES
Lynette Olson (ed.)

XXXVIII · THE BOOK OF LLANDAF AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE
Patrick Sims-Williams

XXXIX · PERSONAL NAMES AND NAMING PRACTICES IN MEDIEVAL SCOTLAND
Matthew Hammond (ed.)

XL · GAELIC INFLUENCE IN THE NORTHUMBRIAN KINGDOM:
THE GOLDEN AGE AND THE VIKING AGE
Fiona Edmonds

XLI · READING AND SHAPING MEDIEVAL CARTULARIES:
MULTI-Scribe MANUSCRIPTS AND THEIR PATTERNS OF GROWTH. A STUDY OF THE
EARLIEST CARTULARIES OF GLASGOW CATHEDRAL AND LINDORES ABBEY
Joanna Tucker